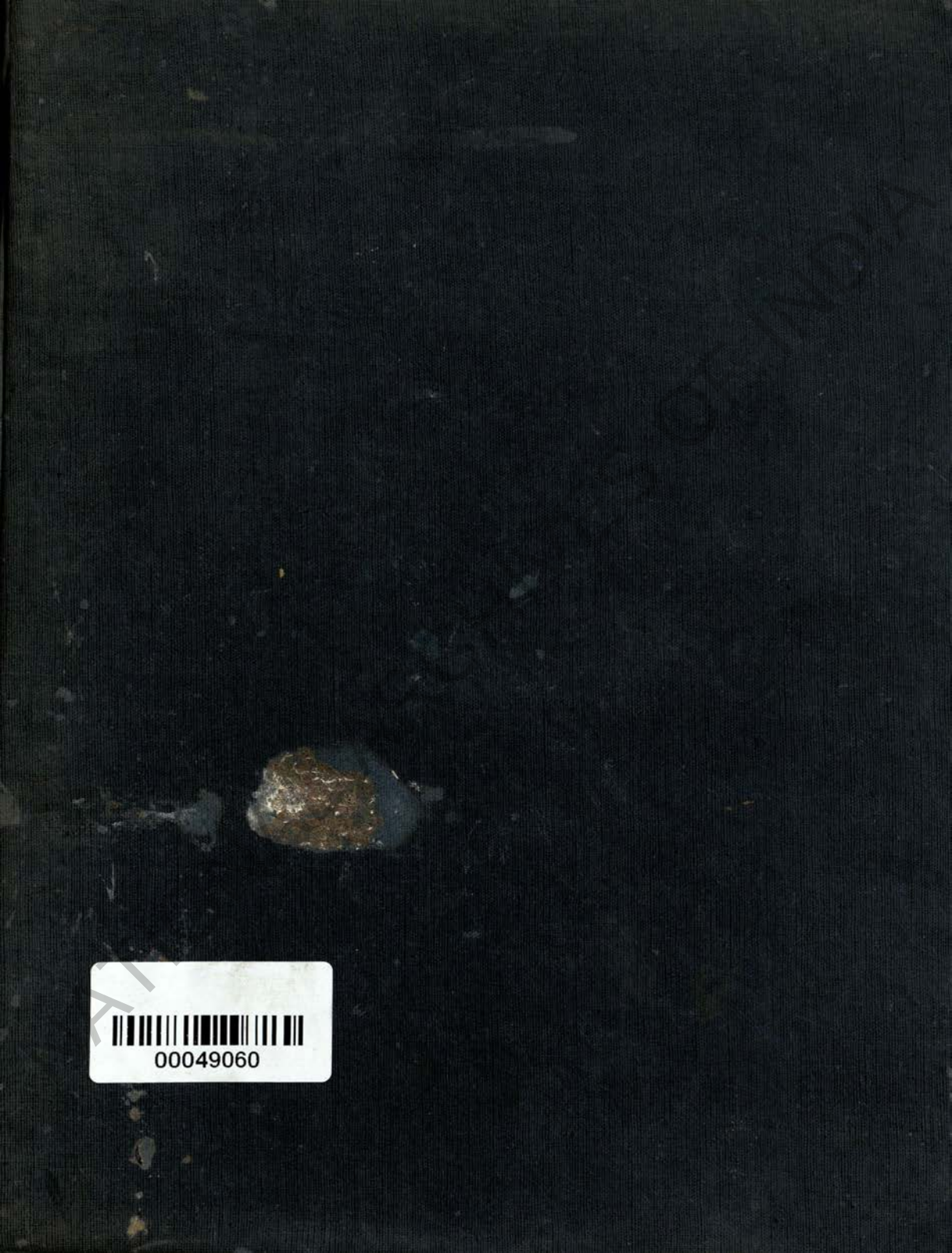
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Lady Avabai Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
The Founder of the Madrasa.

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SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY MADRESSA JUBILEE VOLUME.

PAPERS ON IRÂNIAN SUBJECTS

WRITTEN BY

VARIOUS SCHOLARS

49060

IN HONOUR OF

The Jubilee of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa.

EDITED BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH. D.

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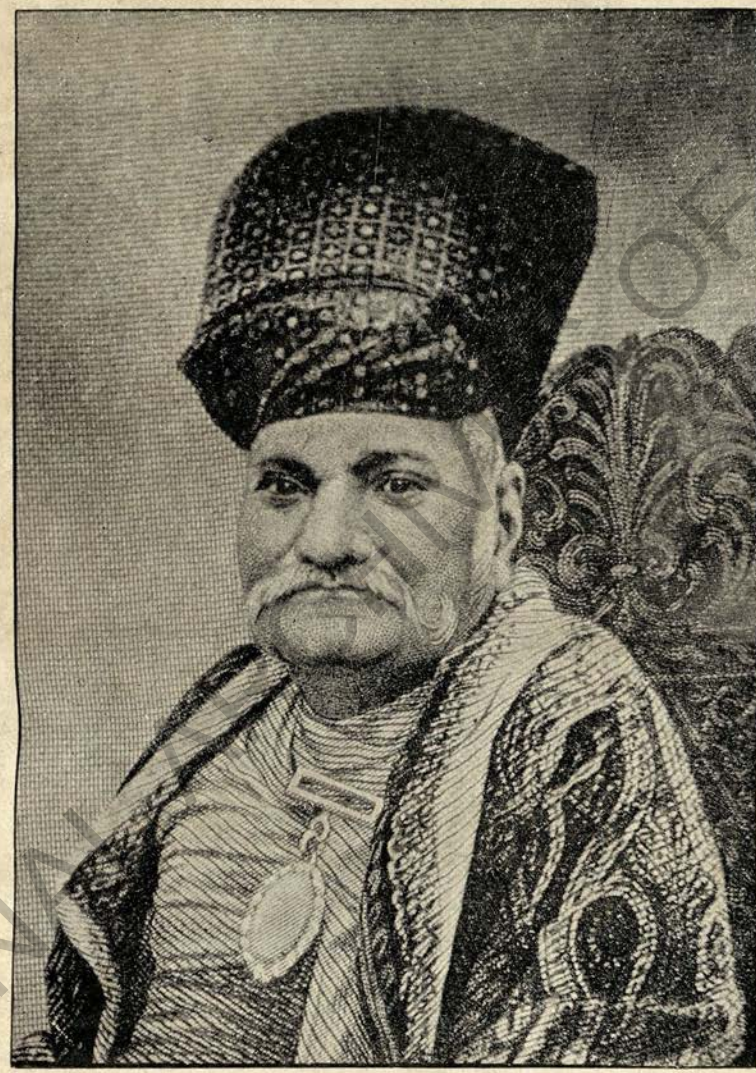

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy
(First Baronet)
In whose honour the Madrasa was founded.

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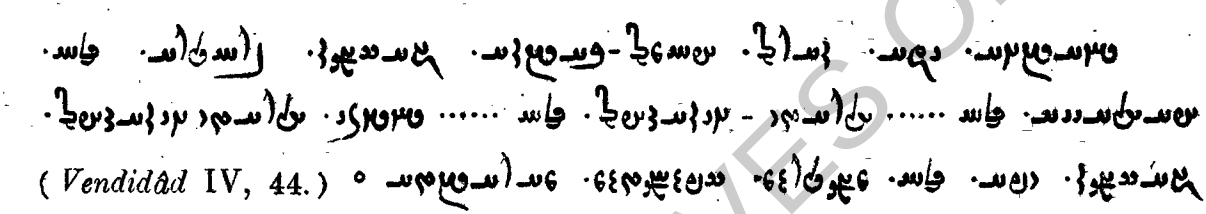
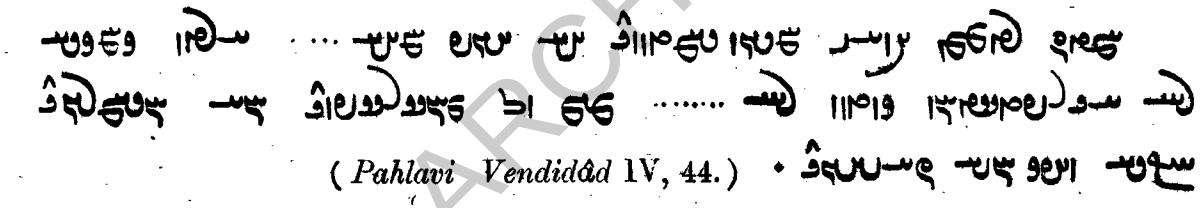


(*Vendidâd* IV, 44.)

If coreligionists-brothers or friends-come here in search of learning.....if they come seeking for learning, let the Holy Mâhthra be taught to them.



(*Pahlavi Vendidâd* IV, 44.)

If coreligionists-brothers or friends-come here in search of learning, to study in the Madressa, let the Holy Mâhthra be taught to them, *i, e.*, let them have a full taste of learning

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Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy
(Second Baronet).

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Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, C. S. I.
(Third Baronet).

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PREFACE.

The following letter, addressed by me to the past pupils of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa and to some of the Scholars interested in the study of Iranian languages, who, I thought, would likely write for this Volume, speaks for itself and describes the purpose for which this volume is intended.

"No. 131, Hornby Road, Fort.
Bombay, *1913.*

Dear Sir,

The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa, founded by the first Dowager Lady Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy to help the studies of Iranian languages, has celebrated its 50 years' Jubilee on 4th March 1913. The Committee appointed to organize its celebration has resolved to issue a Jubilee Memorial Volume to commemorate the occasion. It is proposed that the contributions for the Volume may be received from its past pupils as well as from other scholars interested in the study of Iranian languages.

So I beg to request you to be good enough to kindly contribute a Paper to the Volume on any Iranian subject you like. The paper may be sent to me at your early convenience during the course of this year.

Yours faithfully
Jivanji Jamshedji Modi
Hon. Secretary."

I tender my most sincere thanks to all the gentlemen who have kindly responded to my invitation. My special thanks are due to the scholars of the West—of Europe and America—who in spite of their other avocations, have, at a notice shorter than that given to my Parsee colaborateurs, responded to my invitation to write for the Volume and have thus shown their sympathy and co-operation in the cause of Oriental liturature, the study of which may be taken as one of the several means sought to unite the East with the West.

It is with feelings of great sorrow that I note here the death on 27th December 1913 of one of the contributors, Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia, who occupied the unique position of one connected with the Madressa, in one capacity or another,

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for a long period of nearly 51 years, from the date of its very foundation, when he entered into it as a pupil, to the day of his death, when he worked as the Lecturer in Avesta. He was, as it were, the lion of the Jubilee celebratisons in March 1913, when he was awarded, in addition to the Jubilee medal given to the surviving first pupils of the Madressa, a special medal by Mr. Framjee Hormusjee Sethna, for his long unique connection of 50 years. The following resolution passed by the Trustees of the Madressa, at their meeting of 9th January 1914, expresses the esteem in which his scholarship in general and his long connection with the Madressa in particular were held.

"સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ જરથોશ્તી મદ્રેસાના અવસ્તા ભાષાના શીક્ષક એરવદ એદલજી કેરસાસપજી આંટીયાનાં મરણથી ત્રસ્ટીઓ દલગીર થયા છે. મરનારનો આ કેળવણીખાતાં સાથે જુદે જુદે પ્રકારે નજદીક ૫૧ વર્ષનો સંબંધ હતો. એ અરસામાં શિક્ષક તરીકેનાં ૩૯ વર્ષનાં એવણના કામે વડા શિક્ષક, ઉપરી અને પરિક્ષક સાહેબોને સંતોષ આપ્યો હતો. તેની અને એવણ જેવા કોમના એક ભલા ભણેલા અભ્યાસીનાં મરણની ખોતની ત્રસ્ટીઓ નોંધ લે છે."

Translation.—The Trustees are sorry for the death of Ervad Edalji Kershaspji Antia, the teacher of the Avesta language in the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa. The deceased was connected with this Educational Institution in various capacities for nearly 51 years. During this period, his work as a teacher for 39 years had given satisfaction to the Principal, the Superintendent and the Examiners. The Trustees therefore record their sense of this loss and the loss to the community caused by the death of a good and learned scholar like him.

I had the pleasure of enjoying his friendship for a long number of years, from the year 1882 when I came into contact with him as his pupil at the Madressa,—a contact which endeared him to me from the very beginning and which led me to dedicate one[1] of my early literary productions in 1887, jointly to him and to the late Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga, another of my estemeed teachers.

I am glad, that I am fortunately associated with the work of editing this volume, because my connection with the Madressa, in one capacity or another, has been, off and on, of a period of nearly 33 years. I was first appointed an Examiner in Persian at the Madressa in 1880. I then joined the Madressa in 1882, for studying Avesta and Pahlavi. I left it in 1886, when I passed my final examination at the end of the five years' course in Avesta, Pahlavi and German. I

(૧) અવસ્તા જમાનાની ઘર સંસારી જીંદગી, ભુગોળ અને એકરારનામું. (The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of the Avesta times.)

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note here with feelings of gratefulness, my indebtedness, in addition to Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia, to my late esteemed teacher, Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byramjee Sanjana, the Principal, my esteem to whom I have, ere this, recorded in my dedication to him of my Pahlavi Jamaspi, published in 1903. Having won the first rank at the final examination, I was awarded the Bai Awabai Fellowship for a period of five years. As Fellow, I had to deliver a number of lectures on various subjects of religious interest. My book, entitled ભવિષ્યની જીંદગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું (Future Life or the Immortality of the soul) and published in 1889, was the result of some of these lectures. My Fellowship ceased at the end of 1891, and, after an interval of two years and a half, I was appointed, in June 1893, the Secretary of the Parsee Punchayat, and, as such, also the Secretary of the Madressa. I note with grateful pleasure this connection with the Institution as its Secretary, because after 12 years' work in this capacity, its then Superintendent, the late lamented Mr. K. R. Cama, kindly expressed his approval of my humble work, by founding, with a donation of Rs. 500 to the Funds of the Madressa, an annual prize in my name.[1] I pray, that I may be pardoned for these few auto-biographical references to my long connection with this Madresa, as they are given here to record the pleasure, which my long connection and association with the work of the Institution has given me in editing this volume.

In conclusion, I tender my best thanks to my learned friend, Ervad Bomanjee Nusserwanjee Dhabhar, M.A., for kindly assisting me in examining the proofs, especially the proofs of papers from Europe and America.

MITHI LODGE, COLABA,
ROZ GOSH, MAH BAHMAN, 1283 YAZDAZARDI.
22nd July 1914.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

1 *Vide* his letter dated 5th October 1905 to the Trustees of the Madressa, published in the printed Report of the Parsee Punchayet, for the Samvant year 1961.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy
(Fourth Baronet)

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INTRODUCTION.

In this introduction, I try to present before my readers a bird's eye-view of the papers in this volume with a few observations.

Mr. Jamsetji M. Unwala on The Religion of the Parthians.

Iranian scholars differ, as to whether the Achæmenians were true Zoroastrians or not. Similarly, they differ as to whether, the Parthians were true Zoroastrians or not. Mr. Unwala thinks that they "seem not to have followed the Zoroastrian religion in the Avestan spirit." In other words, their religion was "a very loose form of Zoroastrianism." This was due to the fact of their being under the influence of the Greeks who ruled over them for some time. The author advances several arguments in support of his view of their not being true Zoroastrians. Some of these are the following :—

(1) Their descent, about which scholars differ. They were more Turanians than Iranians.

(2) They had taken their worship of the Irânian deities like Mithra, Tishtrya, Verethragna, Âtar, Vât, Vanant and others, more through their Greek form of worship, than direct through Zoroastrianism of ancient Irân.

(3) The Parthian coins followed the Greek models in their designs and legends.

(4) Their Inscriptions followed more the Greek model than the Achæmenian one.

(5) The Parthian Kings had some of their rock-cut inscriptions in the Greek language.

(6) Some of them adopted the method of Burial for the disposal of their dead, a method opposed to the teachings of Zoroastrianism.

(7) Want of fire-altars on their coins.

(8) Statues and temples in honour of the sun, these being foreign to the true Zoroastrian ideal.

(9) They practised polygamy which is foreign to Zoroastrianism.

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(10) They had Macedonian names for their months and not the Achæmenian or Sassanian.

Even taking it for granted, that all the arguments advanced by Mr. Unwala have a valid force, what we can safely say is, that they were Zoroastrians in descent and faith, but had degenerated in their religious beliefs. They had fallen below from the original high ideal of Zoroastrianism.

Mr. M. N. Kuka, on The principal Persian Festivals in the days of Naosherwân.

The Iranian calendar is a favourite subject of study with Mr. Kuka, who had a lion's share in the preparation of the Report of the Parsee Fasal Mandal (The Calendar Society) as its Secretary. His paper in this volume is based on Mr. Kentok Hori's paper in the Spiegal Memorial Volume[1] on "A Chinese Account of Persia in the sixth century." With regard to the question, referred to by Mr. Kuka, about the uncertainty, as to whether the Farvardegân days were at the end of the month Aspendârmad or of the month Âbân at the time to which Mr. Kentok Hori's Chinese authority refers, I may say on the authority of an Iranian Zoroastrian, who recently showed me a Persian calendar published in Tehran, that the Mazenderanis, who even now use the Parsee calendar and use Parsee names for their days and months, place the five intercalary days at the month of Abân. Bearing in mind the fact, that the Mazenderanis, being secure in their mountain fortresses, were not much affected by the central authority of the Khalifs and that they continued the old order of manners and customs, we can safely say, that the Farvardegân days, at the period of time referred to by the Chinese writer, were at the end of the month Âbân.

Mr. Kuka's reference to Albiruni, saying that the Farvardegân days begin with the 25th day of the month, *viz.* Ashisang, shows, that the number of the holidays, which, according to the Avesta, was ten, began to increase in Persia itself in the later days of its empire, and not in India as supposed by many.

Mr. S. N. Kanga on The Apparent contradiction in the accounts of Geus Urvan's complaint in the Gathas and in the Bundahishn, with reference to the World-soul of Plato.

Mr. Sorabji N. Kanga's paper attempts to reconcile, what he thinks to be, a contradiction in the accounts about the complaint of Geus Urvan in the Gathas (Chap. XXIX) and the Bundehesh (Ch IV). The 29th Chapter of the Gatha is differently translated and differently understood by various translators, and the word Geus Urvan also is differ-

1. Spiegal Memorial Volume, edited by myself pp. 246-250.

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ently understood. That part of Mr. Kanga's paper is especially interesting which draws our attention to Plato's World-soul in connection with Geus Urvan. The pith of the subject, lies in the following words of Plato in his Timæus. "As for the soul, he (the Deity) fixed it in the middle (of the solely-begotten heaven or universe),extended it throughout the whole, and likewise surrounded with it its entire surface...And the Deity constituted the soul both in age and excellence prior to and older than the body." As to what the world-soul of Plato was, people may differ, as they do in the case of Geus Urvan. But, on the whole, one may be tempted to take it, that both mean the all-pervading soul that has permeated the whole of the universe. Mr. Kanga tries to show "that the Geus Urvan represents the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms only, but not the human kingdom also, as is generally supposed." He thinks that this Gathic view, which he sees at the bottom, though not on the surface, in the Bundehesh, is also to be seen in the world-soul of Plato.

Mr. Ardeshir Kh. Vesavewala on The word "Zaothra" used in the Avestan literature.

In his paper on Zaothra, Mr. Ardeshir Vesavewala collects most of the important references to Zaothra in the Avesta, and Pahlavi Books. The Zaothra ceremony of the Parsees is a kind of libation-ceremony. Libation was observed by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks and Romans as well as by the ancient Iranians. The other ancient nations used a kind of wine or liquor for the purpose, but the Persians used water with the addition of a little milk and Haoma juice.

In the oft-repeated passage of the Avesta, which begins with the familiar words, "Haomyo gava Baresmana", and which occurs at the end of all the Nyâishes and Yashts, we find the following offerings, as those given by the ancient Iranians: 1 Haoma, 2 Gava (gaô), 3 Baresma, 4 Hizvo-danghangha (wisdom), 5 Mãthra (thought), 6 Vacha (word), 7 Shyothna (deed), 8 Zaothra and 9 Arshukhdha Vâcha (truthful word). These offerings can be divided into two classes, (a) the physical and (b) the mental, intellectual or moral. One's offerings may all be mental *i. e.* of good thoughts, words and deeds, of wisdom and truthfulness. Among the visible offerings are Haoma, Gâush-hudhâo or Gâush-Jivya *i. e.* a product of the animal creation like butter or milk, Barsam and Zaothra or consecrated water. Thus, we see that Zaothra was one of the visible offerings recommended to the ancient Iranians. Lest a foreigner may misunderstand Mr. Vesavewala's statement, that

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"they pour Haoma, milk or any sacred water used in the religious ceremony in wells or rivers in order to form an invisible connection with the river Âvân Ardvisura," let us observe, that what is meant is a libation of consecrated water to which a few drops of milk and Haoma juice are added. In the present Parsee ritual, there is no separate libation of milk and Haoma juice.

Herodotus (BK. VII. 54,223) refers to a form of libation of the Achæmenian king Xerxes. The ceremony, as described by him, reminds one of the Avestaic Zaothra ceremoney, but it differs in many respects from it, as referred to in the Parsee books and as observed by the modern Parsees.[1]

As said by Dr. Haug "the Zaothra or consecrated water is required at the commencement of the Brahamanical sacrifices also, where it is called *Udaka Shanta*."

Mr. Khodabax E. Punegar on The Catholicity of the Avestan Concept: The Supernal, Internal and External.

According to Mr. Punegar, it is the characteristic of the Avesta "to look upon a subject exhaustively from all possible stand-points." True to that characteristic, its *daenâ*, or religion, whose root-meaning is perception, has for its field the whole range "from the infinitesimal to the Infinite". Thus man's "mental vision stretches to the unknowable that is outside its skirts and to the knowable which is within them", the knowable including "what he knows to be present within himself and all that is outside of him." This vision makes man "alive to the working of the powers which are superhuman, human and physical; that is to say, which are supernal, internal and external." Mr. Punegar examines in this paper how the thoughts about man's perception of the working of the above-mentioned three spheres fit the religious sentiments preached in the Avesta. His paper presents one view of the way, in which the Avesta may be looked at, as giving the concept of the grand Universe and its Architect—God, Man and Nature. The Avesta word for religion, *daenâ*, is significant. It says that religon is a kind of law or system which reveals to us something, which teaches us something, which declares something. That "something" is the righteous path which leads us to (1) duty towards our God, (2) duty towards those round about us, and (3) duty towards ourselves. These threefold duties are duties, as it were, to the threefold powers referred to by Mr. Punegar—the supernal, external and internal.

1 Vide my ઇરીમ ઇરાનીઓ *i.e.* "The Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo, compared with the Avesta and other Parsee books", pp. 36-39.

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Mr. Palanji B. Desai on The story of Kaikhusru; its remakable resemblance to the story of Yudhishthira; and its probable source.

In this paper, Mr. Palanji B. Desai presents one of his favourite subjects of study, the comparision of stories. The late Prof. James Darmesteter had, in 1887, in a paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, compared the Mahâbhârata episode of Yudhishthira's renunciation of the Indian throne and his accession to Heaven to Kaikhusru's renunciation of the Iranian throne and his accession to Heaven. He saw the origin of the Indian story in the Iranian story. The late Mr. Justice Telang had, at the time, entered a mild caveat to the conclusion arrived at by Prof. Darmesteter. Mr. Telang thought, that it was not proper to draw historical conclusions from such resemblances. It is possible, both the stories may have had separate origins or a commou origin. That caveat drew forth from the pen of the French *savant*, a paper entitled "Points de contact entre la Mahâbhârata et le Shâh-namah[1]", wherein he defended and supported his theory about the Persian origin of the Indian story. Mr. Palanji Desai takes a view opposite to that of Darmesteter and sees the origin of the Persian story in the Indian story. In the first part of his paper, he describes several points of resemblance between the earlier parts of the lives of both the heroes.

According to Darmesteter " the Persian legend was borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writers of the Sepher Hayashar, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch."[2]

The early part of the story of Kaikhusru has a parallel in the story of Hamlet, as given in the old chronicles, from which Shakespeare took his materials for the plot of his play.[3] The chief points of resemblance are the following : (1) Hamlet's father was killed by a near relative, his own brother. Kaikhusru's father was also killed by a near relative, his own father-in-law. (2) Both were killed as the result of a fear, lest they may take the thrones of the murdering kings. (3) Both had, as the aim of their life, the desire to kill the murderers of their fathers. (4) Both swore to avenge the murderers. (5) Both had, at one time, to feign madness to fulfil their desires. (6) Both ruled over their countries after

1. Journal Asiatique (1887) Huitieme Série, Tome X pp. 38-75.

2. Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XVII, Part I, No. XLVI, Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, pp. II-IV.

3. Vide my " Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society," p. 98.

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avenging the murders of their fathers. Shakespeare's Hamlet does not ascend the throne of Denmark, but the older chronicle of Denmark, from which Shakespeare had taken his plot, represents young Hamlet as ascending the throne of Denmark. In this connection, one must remember that the Danes of Denmark seem to be the descendents of the more ancient Danus, referred to as a tribe in the Avesta.[1]

If one were to look to modern times for a parellel for king Kaikhusru's retirement from the world, he would find it, to some extent, in Don Charles I of Spain (Charles V of Germany).[2]

The Parsees, on account of the above mentioned story of this great and good king's retirement and sudden disappearance, referred to by Mr. Desai in his paper, took it, that he was alive somewhere. So, in their *Tan-darugti* prayer, where they pray for God's blessings upon themselves and their relations and friends, some of them still mention his name as that of a living person and pray for his health. If one were to seek for a parallel of a similar kind, he would find it in the case of Latour d'Auvergne, a known daring French soldier, who was foremost in all battles. It is said, that Napoleon desired to give him a colonelcy for his brave and daring actions, but he refused that elevation and continued as a mere private till the end of his life. He was killed in one of such daring adventures. It is said, that out of respect for the memory of this daring good soldier, his name was not removed from the register of his Grenadier regiment on his death, but was continued to remain for some time. When the roll was called every day, his name was also called out, and the chief sergeant of his Regiment answered the roll-call in his name, saying "Mort au champ d'honneur" (dead in the field of honour).

Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwala on Jamshed in the Avesta and the Vedas.

In this paper, Mr. Shapurji Hodiwala, who is one of our very few Parsee graduates who have studied Sanskrit for the University course, tries to show "that Yama appears as a human being in the Vedas, just like Yima in the Avesta, and is identical with him, and further, that though he appears as a heavenly object in several places in the Vedas, we have no evidence to say the same about Yima." In the first part of his paper, Mr. Hodiwala examines the view of Prof. Max Muller,

1. Yasht V (Abân) 73; XIII Farvardin 37-38.
2. Vide my Gujarati "Episodes from the Shâhnâmeh" part I pp. 114-16

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that the Vedic Yama was not a mortal, and tries to prove that he was a mortal. In this attempt, he tries to explain, "by the light of the Iranian scriptures", a passage of the Rig-Veda (X, 13-4), which refers to Yama (Yima or Jamshed of the Irânians) and which puzzles scholars. The passage of the scriptures, to which he attaches some importance in connection with this matter, is Yaçna, Ha XXXII, 8. It is a difficult passage, in the translation of which scholars differ. However Mr. Hodiwala lays some force on that part of the passage which is translated "Yima (Jamshed) in order to please us men, reviled the Lord of the earth." He then adds: "This passage makes us infer that Jamshed did not claim to be god, but rather his people resolved to look upon him as god and that he, in order to please them, accepted that dignity. This story is quite in keeping with that in the Rigveda. The people made the rishi Yama—who was a pious worshipper—Brihaspati, the mighty Lord, and in order to please his people (प्रजायै = *lit.* for the sake of the people) he complied with their wishes, the result being, that he, who was so far immortal, perished with a fall".

We learn from the way, in which Mr. Hodiwala represents Yima (Jamshed, Yama of the Vedas), that Yima or Jamshed did not claim to be God, as said by Firdousi and other later writers, but that the people themselves elevated him to that position. His only fault was, that he tolerated that representation or rather misrepresentation.

We find that Jamshed is thus defended, though not exactly in the line in which Mr. Hodiwala has proceeded, by some later writers also. For example, according to the Desatir, the question seemed to be discussed in the time of the writer. The Desatir says: Ahura Mazda recalled Jamshed from this world because the people of his time did not behave themselves well and did not act according to the teachings of Jamshed. He then sent Zohâk to punish them. Again God asked Faridun to punish those who spoke ill of his friend Jamshed.[1]

I may refer here to one other kind of defence of king Jamshed. Mr. Sorabji Muncherjee Desai of Naosari, in one of his lectures in Bombay about ten years ago took this line of defence. All men are, to a certain extent, formed in the image of God. They have a divine spark (અંશ) in them. Some kindle

1. The Desatir or the Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets; together with the commentary of the fifth Sasan, translated by Mulla Firuz bin Kaus, edited and published by Dhunjibhoy Jamsetji Me dhora (1888), p. 75.

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that spark very brightly. Jamshed was pre-eminently one of such chosen few. So, when he is represented as boasting to be a god, that representation rather misrepresented what was true. He said that he had a Divine essence or spirit in him.

As to the tendency of the people of the East to raise their favourite king, queen, hero or heroine to the position of a god, we know, even now, instances of even Christian personages of eminence, who had won people's esteem, raised to the rank of a god. Our late Queen Victoria has been deified in India to a certain extent.

As to the question, whether a mortal "should receive divine honors", Mr. Hodiwala thinks "it was nothing wrong from the Vedic point of view," though "objectionable from the Zoroastrian stand-point." The case of Zoroaster seems to be somewhat an exception. He was at least raised to the position of an *Yazata* of this world, if not of the other world.[1] He was the only mortal who had a *khshnuman*[2] or a special formula of invocation like the Yazatas.

We have, in some of the Avesta fragments, a *khshnuman*[3] of king Faridun also, but these fragments, are not of the rank of the Avesta Scriptures like the Yaçna. They are a collection, more or less, of some later Iranian charms, amulets or incantations.

Mr. Phiroze S. Masani on The Rationale of Zoroastrian Rituals.

Our author is a zealous exponent of a new school of thought among the Parsees, who look for the "Key of the Avesta," not to grammar, and not to philology, but to some esoteric meaning or interpretation, which only a few select are expected to know. This new school calls itself, 'the school of Khshnum' (𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬨𐬀), or the school for interpreting the Avesta and its symbolism and ritual according to a particular kind of *knowledge*. This new school, though conservative and orthodox in its views, does not look even to tradition for a safe interpretation of the Avesta,—tradition, the knowledge of which is centred in our learned Dasturs. These Dasturs, on their part, stand aghast at the interpretation put upon the Avesta here and there, by some of the students of this new school of

1 Yaçna XVI, 2. 2 Yaçna III, 2.

3 Westergaard's Miscellaneous Fragments, p. 331, Fragment II. Vide my Paper, "An Avesta Amulet for cultivating Friendship," in my Anthropological Papers, pp. 131-139. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V. No. 7, pp 415-25.

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Khshnum. If the new school does not understand philology well, the learned Dasturs do not understand the new school's phraseology well. However, the liberal-minded literary world of the twentieth century, shall, I think, hear our new friends with patience, if not with credulity.

Our author, a learned exponent of this school, takes the word, "Khshnum" to mean "the highest type of knowledge leading to ecstatic beatitude through touch with the genuine knoweledge about Ahura Mazda." "The state of the soul after death, the existence of angels and archangels, the unseen world, the higher ritual &c", which fall under the domain of inquiry by all Churches, by almost all schools, are specially claimed by this school as their subjects of deep inquiry. Here are some of the esoteric explanations of this school of some of the words of the Avesta. Zravâna is "motion, energy, conception of time produced by motion." Staota is "unseen colours produced by vibrations of speech or sound." Khâstra is "Thermo-magno-electric currents and forces." Kharènangh is "human, vegetable, mineral and animal magnetism." Our author refers to the Gehsârna, the Naojote, the Jashan and such other ceremonies from this point of view *viz.* "the understanding of the Staota laws" which "leads to a clear exposition of the earlier Avesta." Holding that the Zoroastrian religion propounds all the laws of higher sciences, he hails Zoroaster as "the Master-scientist."

After reading Mr. Masani's article on the new school of *Khshnum*, a patient and tolerant student of religion and philosophy can safely say this : Religion is one in all the world, though religions are different as means to an end. Even in the case of different religions, though all members profess the same religion, they, to a great extent are different in their professions of their religion. A Zoroastrian, a Christrian, a Mohamedan or a Hindu differs from his brother Zoroastrian, brother Christian, brother Mohamedan or brother Hindu in the matter of the different phases or forms of belief. Whatever elevates a man is good religion ; whatever degrades him is bad religion. What the world wants for its moral advancement, its final Frasho-Kereti, is god-fearing men—men who look to a Higher Power whose highest and noblest desire is to see the whole humanity, the whole animal kingdom, the whole creation advance to higher and higher grades. If any of the newest *isms* of the West or *Khshnums* of the East lead to that result, let us look at them with an eye of toleration and expectancy, at least not with an eye of hostility.

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Mr, Maneksha N. Dastoor Jamasp Asana on The alleged reference to Gautam Buddha in the Avesta.

The word Gautama in Yasht XIII 16, is variously understood. Prof. Darmesteter has based one of his arguments against the antiquity of the Avesta on this word, taking it for the name of the founder of Buddhism. Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana identifies him with the Rishi Gotama or Gautama, who, with his son Nodhas is referred to in the Rigveda Bk. I. Hymn 62,13. Dastur Darab, agreeing with Rev. Windischmann, takes Nodhas (in Naidhyaongho, Yt XIII 16) to be a proper name.[1] Mr. Maneksha Dastur derives the word from *gu* or *gava*, takes it to mean (a) most corrupt or most rendering corrupt (b) or most wickedly powerful, and tries to show, that "these two meanings, apparently different are almost identical in their import". He thinks that the passage does not refer to any particular event or to any particular personage in the history of the country, but makes a general statement that, " through the glory and efficacious activity of the Fravashis", there arises, now and then, in different countries and at different times, "a man 'the man of the hour,' round whom on account of his sagacity, oragnising power and high position in society, legions of people gather together, and who by their help succeeds in overthrowing the power of the Tyrant, and establishes the society in a virtuous and prosperous condition of life." Our author takes the Fravashis, referred to in the passage, to be "those forces that are born of the great and good activity of all classes of human beings, and which advance humanity towards a higher and still higher condition of existence. All progress of mankind is due to these forces latent in humanity when developed."

Ervad Bamanji N. Dhâbhar on Andarzîhâ-i Pôshînîkân.

Ervad Bamanji Dhâbhar gives us, in this paper, the translation of an untranslated Pahlavi tract on "The Admonitions of the Ancients", one of the several tracts, published as a posthumous work of the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji, under the title of "The Pahlavi Texts." As pointed out by the translator in one of his notes, the tract is a later compilation, influenced, not only by the thoughts of the ancient Zoroastrian writings, but also by some foreign writings. The statements of sections 7 and 8 are worth noting, in as much, as we find here the Yazata Sraosha, opposed to the demon Vîzarîsh, though his usual opponent in other writings is Aêshema.

1 The Reference to Gaotema in the Avesta, by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.

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Naib-Dastur Minocher Jamaspji Jamasp Asa on Matan-i Shah Vahârâm-i Vârjavand.

Naib-Dastur Minocher gives us the translation of another Pahlavi tract out of the above-mentioned texts published by his father. It treats of the subject of the arrival of a future apostle, ordinarily known as Behrâm Varjâvand.

The Pahlavi tract of the "Mâdigân-i Mâh-i Farvardin Roz Khordâd," translated by his brother Dastur Kaikhusru, in his paper in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume,[1] gives, among the principal events that have happened and will hereafter happen on the Khordâd Sâl holiday, the event of the appearance of Vâhrâm Varjâvand, a future apostle from the land of Hindustân. The tract, which Dastur Minocher translates in his paper in this volume, gives a few details of the event.

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht[2] refers to this coming apostle and says that some name him Shahpur. It further says, that, according to some, he will come from the country of the Hindus (Hindustân), and according to others from the direction of Chinastân.

This prophecy of the coming apostle Behram Varjâvand is often referred to, now a days, by the Babis of Persia, especially by the Zoroastrian Babis. Babism, more properly its powerful offshoot, Bahaism, has spread, to a certain extent, even among the Zoroastrians of Persia. A few years ago, some of the Irani Zoroastrians came to me and said, that some of their brethren were misled by the prevalent Babism and believed that the Behram Varjâvand, referred to in our books as the future apostle, is Bâb or his representative, the founder of Bahâism. I argued with those Babis that neither the one nor the other could be Behrâm, because his (Behram's) place of appearance is said to be Hindustan or Chinastan.[2]

The Hon'ble Mr. N. D. Khandalavala, on The Names of Ahura Mazda.

Mr. Khandalavala's paper is, as it were, a running commentary on the two sets of names, found in the Ahura Mazda Yasht, the first set containing 20 names, and the second containing 52 names, both numbering a total of 72, corresponding to the number 72 of the Hâs or chapters of the Yaçna. Besides these two sets of the Ahura Mazda Yasht, we have another larger set of 101 names,

1 p. 122 *et seq.* 2 Chap. III 14. The Pahlavi Text of Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad, p. 15. l. 8

2 Vide my Gujarati paper on Babism in the Dnyân Vardhak of 1903, Vol. 31, pp. 164 et seq. and 219 et seq. Vide the report of the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol-karnari Mandli, Vol. of 1898-99 to 1903-4, p. 10, 25th February 1899.

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which are recited 10 times by the Zaoti in the *paragnâ* ceremoney, which precedes the recital of the Yaçna.[1] This third set is a much later composition, in later languages.

The paper is also, as it were, a short sermon, beginning with an apt quotation from Browning and ending with another from Tennyson. It says that the mere mechanical recital of these names has no efficacy, unless they suggest a kind of meditation, a quarter of an hour's daily meditation upon the attributes of the Deity enumerated in the list, a meditation that "would be the beginning of religious self-instruction." Yes, such a meditation is a good prayer, and a good prayer is a self-preached sermon.

Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp-Asa on Andarz-i Dastôbarân val Veh-Dinâu.

Dastur Kaikhusru gives us the translation of a third Pahlavi tract from the abovementioned Texts of his father. It is one of the several Pahlavi Pand-nâmehs or Books of Advice. This tract contains the "Admonitions of the High-priests to the Laity." It is interesting from several points of view. It says, that the recital of the Khorshed Nyâish every day makes a man constant towards religion, perhaps, because the constant rising and setting of the sun at regular hours according to the seasons, proves Order and Harmony in Nature. It supports the argument from Design in the matter of the evidence of the Existence of God. The recital of the Âtash Nyâish makes a man industrious, because the constant care, with which one must feed the fire to keep it ever-burning, makes him vigilant and active.

Nowhere else in the Parsee books is the practice of talking while eating condemned so strongly as in this Pahlavi tract. A Parsee is enjoined to eat with Bâj *i. e.* he is to eat after reciting grace[2] and holding silence. If he has at all to say something, he must say it in a suppressed tone. At the end of the meals he gives up the Bâj *i. e.* recites a small prayer, after which he can talk with others. According to Maçoudi[3], the practice of not talking while eating is as old as the time of king Kaiomars, the first of the Iranian kings. Strange to say, that Maçoudi gives the same scientific cause for this Iranian custom, as that given by some medical authorities now-a-days, *viz.* that eating in silence helps digestion, while, talking while eating mars digestion.

1 Vide Haug's Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis. 2nd edition (1878) p. 397

2 Yaçna XXXVII, 1. 3 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier De Meynard, ol. II, p. 108.

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With reference to the word *avar-gîr*, which occurs with *dandân-parish* (tooth-pick), and which Dastur Kaikhusru, in his foot note, thinks to be the same as tooth-pick, I beg to suggest, that the word means "an instrument or something with which the teeth are cleaned from above." It may be something like a tooth-brush or a tooth-stick, with which people in the East still clean their teeth.

The last part of the Pahlavi tract (ss. 34-35) proposes to give a reason for the custom of not eating meat during the first three days after death in one's family. The wording is not very clear, but the reason seems to be physical. During the first three days, when the family is over-burdened with grief, the power of digestion is weak. Hence, meat is not good for the health of the living relatives during these three days.

Dastur Dr. Maneckji N. Dhalla on Mani's Asceticism from the Zoroastrian point of view.

The Dasturs of old Irân have now and then exposed the heresy of Mani, and in Dr. Dhalla we see a modern Dastur doing the same. Mani taught asceticism, self-mortification, celebacy, fasting and vow of purity. Our author combats all these from the Zoroastrian point of view. One must be cautious in condemning these *in toto*. They are not evils in themselves, but they are evils only when preached and meant for general acceptance. A priest here and there, who leads an *ascetic*, *self-mortifying*, *celibate*, *abstemious*, *pure* life, is not to be condemned altogether. If he is all that, with a view to be more useful to his flock, to stand as a beacon to others, who think, that they live to eat and drink and not that they eat and drink to live, he is to be welcomed and honoured. His life and example serve as an acceptable brake upon the fastness of others. But the root of the evil in Manichæism was that the doctrine was carried to extremes, and the teachings, instead of being, taken as means to an end for a few, were taken to be the end itself for all. Even the twentieth Century Church is not free from the extremes of some vagaries of the kind of Manichæism. There are some monasteries in the West, even now, in which, it is said, that the idea of celibacy is carried to such a great extent, that not only women are excluded from its precints but even animals of the female sex. For example, one can take a bull in its precints but not a cow, a cock but not a hen. It is the letter of the teaching that is looked at and not the spirit.

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Manichæism, though driven away from its native soil, the land of Irân, by the Sassanian kings, like the Buddhism of India, flourished elsewhere for a long time. For example, the Yazadis were a set of the followers of Mani.[1] Not only did it flourish there, but at times even reflected the effect of some of its views upon the religion of its mother-land. Zâdsparam, the head preist of the Zoroastrians at Sarakhs in Khorâsân, on being transferred to Sukân, was believed to have taken some of his views on the subject of the Barashnum ceremony from the Tughazghuz, a Turkish tribe, which, according to Maçoudi[2], lived at Kouchan كوشان between Khorasan and China, and professed the doctrines of Mani. In one of the Manichaen manuscripts, discovered in Central Asia, we find a parallel, as it were, of Iranian Aderbad's Patet[3]. Christainity is believed by some to have influenced the Buddhism of Tibet and that influence is said to have been exerted through Manichæism.[4]

As to the custom of fasting, referred to by our author, it is worth noting, that according to Mirkhond,[5] it was Tehmuras, a Mazdayaçnian King of the Peshdâdian dynasty, who was believed to have first introduced the custom in ancient Irân. But he did not do it with the intention with which Mani is said to have introduced it. It is said, that at one time, there was a great famine in Irân. Tehmuras then directed that the rich may abstain from their morning meals and give the saving to the poor who were starving. Shaikh Sadi favoured fasting from this point of view.

Ervad Naushirvan B. Desai
on
Symbolism in the Liturgical services and on the 33 ratus.

As a learned writer says, "the symbolism of to-day preserves the serious belief of yesterday, and what in an age more or less distant was a vital motive inspiring an appropriate course of conduct, survives in the conduct it has inspired long after it has itself used to be active and powerful." Symbolism is, at times, variously explained by different writers. Mr. Desai's paper gives one kind of explanation on the authority of an unknown writer. Unfortunately, the writer gives no reasons for his point of view.

1 Vide "Amruth to Amruth," by Gertrude Bell, p. 272.

2 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 214.

3 Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, of 1911, p. 277. Vide, Ibid of 1913, p. 69. Mr. F. Legge's article on "Western Manichæism and the Turfan discoveries."

4 Trans-Himalaya by Dr. Sven Hedin, Vol. III, p. 335.

5 Mirkhond's Raozat-us-Safâ, translated by David Shea, p. 87.

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Mr. Desai refers in brief, to the enumeration of the 33 *ratus* of the Yaçna, as given by Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharaucha. Ervad Sheriarjee himself speaks on the subject at some length in his paper in this volume (p. 203).

Dr. Heinrich F. J. Junker on Collation Notes from Dénkart, Book VI.

Dr. Junker's corrected collations would be of use to some of the critical students of the sixth book of the Dinkard. This long list, so patiently and labouriously prepared by Dr. Junker, ought to hold out before the editors of Pahlavi texts, an useful lesson, that they must be scrupulousy careful in the work of their collation. The late Prof. MaxMuller used to say, that a good scholar of an old language was one who either edited a text well or translated it well. Some of our scholars here look lightly to the work of editing a text. Especially in a language like the Pahlavi, the collations must be full and careful. Nothing, however trivial it may appear to the Editor, must be omitted. Of course, he may fully express his views either in his Introduction or in his foot notes. I think, many will agree with Dr. Junker in his regret "that there is, up to now, nowhere a trustworthy fac-simile edition of the Denkart". I was one of those, who said, that, if the Moola Feeroze Library Manuscript of the Denkart was at all to be printed as a whole, that ought to be by the photo-litho or photo-zinco process. But the question of finances was mentioned as the difficulty. I repeat the words of Dr. Junker here and say, "that of unique Mss. only facsimile editions are of some worth."

Mr. Muncherji P. Kharegat on The Identity of some Heavenly bodies mentioned in the old Iranian Writings.

The conclusion, which Mr. Kharegat tries to come to in this paper, is this : "Most probably Tištar is Sirius, Haptokring the Great Bear, Vanand Vega, Gochihar the nodes of the moon, and Mûshpar a comet, and probably the Great one is Arcturus and Sataves Canopus." Without being dogmatic, our author handles his subject with judicial impartiality.

The Indian manuscript of the Bundehesh (II. 7), which Dr. West follows, makes Sataves the chieftain of the West, and Vanand the chieftain of the South. Mr. Kharegat's doubts about the statement are confirmed by the Iranian Bundehesh TD of the late Ervad Tehmuras D. Anklesaria, which makes Sataves the chieftain of the south (𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯 𐬐𐬀𐬎), and Vanand the chieftain of the west (𐬯𐬌-𐬙𐬌𐬯 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎). I think, the mistake has arisen from the fact, that, by some, the words *Rapithavin* in the Avesta and *Nimruz* in Pahlavi, which, at first, literally meant

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'mid-day,' were taken both for south and west. *Rapithavin* in the Avesta and *Nimruz* in Pahlavi do mean 'south' as well as 'mid-day'. But as after 'mid-day', the sun is generally declining to the west, the words were wrongly or rightly used for the west also. In the same way, the Persian word Khâwar (خاور) is used both for the east and the west. Perhaps, the mistake at first arose by mixing up the Avesta word *Dashina* (दक्षिण) south, with *Daoshatara* west. The word *Dashina* (*lat.* dexter) though strictly meant in the Avesta for the right hand side, has come to be used, as in the Sanskrit, for the south.

In his statement of reasons, Mr. Kharegat quotes Dr. West's note to the Bundehesh XIII, 9, wherein the Pahlavi Vendidad *V*, 57 is referred to as an authority. This requires a little correction. The passage is not *Vendidad V*, 57 as erroneously given by Dr. West, but *V*, 19.

In the above identification, that of Sataves with Canopus "is objected to on the ground that Canopus is not visible in the northern part of Persia and Central Asia." Our author proceeds to meet that objection, and, in doing so, gives us an interesting reading in the latter part of his paper on the subject of the land where flourished the writers of the Yaçna, the Vendidad and the Yasht. Seistan was the land where they flourished. It lies between Latitudes 30° and 32° and so Canopus was visible from there. It is worth noting, that Sataves, which is identified with Canopus, is spoken of as the Sepâh-pat of Nimrouz or the chieftain of the south. Now, Seistan, which Mr. Kharegat considers to be the most likely country whence Sataves or Canopus was observed by the Iranians, is also spoken of as the country of Nimrouz.

Mr. Kharegat shows in the end "that Baluchistan was once inhabited by Avestan people" and that the references in the Iranian books to Tishtrya and to the rain producing phenomena seems to be mostly the result of the observations made from there. Prof. Moulton, in his article entitled "Notes on Iranian Ethnography", comes to a somewhat similar conclusion on the authority of expert astronomers. [1]

In this connection, it is worth-noting, that Tishtrya or Sirius, which was, as said by our author, best observed from Seistan, is known as the Dog-star and that Seistan, the Pahlavi word, was read at one time, and may be even now read as Sagastan *i.e.* the country of *sags* or dogs. Rustam, the national hero of Iran, was the Feudal Lord

1. Vide for his paper, "Essays and studies presented to Dr. William Ridgeway, on his sixtieth Birthday" pp. 255-56.

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of Seistan under the suzerainty of the Shahs of Irân. He was, from that connection with Seistan, nicknamed, in the Persian *nameh*, by his enemies in warfare, as Sagi *i.e.* the dog.

It is worth noting, that some of the stars referred to in the paper have been also mentioned in some of the Iranian amulets or charms, perhaps on account of the belief in their efficacy to work upon the destiny of men. In one amulet, only the Tishtrya is named. It is an amulet for a disease of the eye.[1] One can easily understand why Tishtrya the strong-eyed (*dravo-chashmanem*), is named in an amulet for the eye. In another amulet,[2] all the above four stars, often mentioned together in the Parsee books, *viz.* the Tishtrya, Sataves, Vanant, and Haptorang, are named.

It is also worth-noting, that Tir the later Persian form of Tishtrya, is, as *Tir-i gardûm,* used for the Sun. Mr. Maunder the astronomer referred to by Prof. Moulton, also considers Tishtrya, to some extent, as "representing the Sun."

Prof. Eugen Wilhelm on Avestaic *Hvareno.*

There are several words in the Avesta, the specially technical ideas of which cannot be sufficiently well conveyed to the reader in any other language. *Hvarenô* or Kharenangha, is, like Asha, Ratu, and Fravashi, one of such words. It presents ideas of the Aureole, Nimbus or Glory of some Christian writers, but it has a special meaning of its own. Ahura Mazda, His Amesha spentas and Yazatas have their *hvarenô*, and every man has his own *hvarenô*. Even the coming Saoshyant has his *hvarenô*. The subject of Dr. Wilhelm's paper is this *hvarenô*, and it is suggested to him by an article of Mr. W. W. Jaegar, who thought, that Homer's Fortuna, which "disposes and governs the destinies of humanity", was a non-Roman Power, and that it was "a sombre demoniacal divinity, a brutal idol, by means of which the dying Grecian faith supplied the bright figure of the Olympic *Diespiter* altitonans." Mr. Jaeger also thought that this Fortuna was something like the Avestic *hvareno* and the Semetic *gad*, found in the word *gadman* used in Pahlavi. Dr. Wilhelm distinguishes between the *kavaêm hvareno* which was

1 Vide my Paper on "Amulets for some diseases of the eye", in my Anthropological Papers, pp. 42-50 (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III No. 6, pp 338-45).

2 It is the amulet for the Jashan-i Burzigarân. Vide my Paper "Nirang-i jashan-i Burzigarân," in my Anthropological Papers, pp. 123-30 (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, No. 7, pp. 398-405.

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special for kings and the *ahvaratem hvarenô*, which was, more or less, the lot of all men. We learn from the Kar-nâmak-i Ardeshir Pâpakân, that, latterly, this Divine splendour or the kingly splendour (gadman-i Khudâih) was believed to take the form of some auspicious animals like rams. When Ardvân pursued Ardeshir, he was, at first, informed by way-farers, that a ram accompanied Ardeshir. That was taken to mean, that the Divine splendour was close to Ardeshir but had not joined him as yet. So, there was still some chance left to arrest Ardeshir. On proceeding further, when other way-farers told Ardvân that a ram was on the horse of Ardeshir, he gave up all hopes of capturing him, because the Divine splendour, symlobized by a ram, was already seated with him on his horse.

Firdousi refers to this *splendour* (farr) in his episode of Shâh Kaikhosru's arrival in Irân from Turân. This young King's *Khoreh* enabled not only him but his party to cross a deep river on foot without being wet.

The Avestaic idea of the Divine splendour possessed by kings continued even after the Arab conquest. From Persia, it even came to India and we find it prevailing among the Mogul Emperors. Abu Fazal thus refers to it in his Âin-i-Akbari[1].

Dr. H. C. Tolman on The Grave of King Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam.

Dr. Tolman gives us an interesting paper, describing some of the details of the burial vault of King Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam. A rocky cliff in the north of Persepolis contains the burial vaults of Darius the great, his son Xerxes, his grandson Arta-Xerxes and his great-grandson Darius. The vault of Darius is easily identified, as it bears the inscription of this monarch. The other three burial vaults are not easily identified. That of Xerxes must be close to that of his royal father, but it is uncertain, whether the one on the left or the right of that of Darius is his. Prof. Jackson[2] thinks that the burial vault on the left of that of Darius is that of Xerxes, and the one left to that, is that of Arta-Xerxes. Dr. Tolman agrees with Dr. Jackson. Our eastern notion and custom, which consider the right to

1 پاد شاهي فروغيست ازداداز بيهمتا و پرتوئي از آفتاب عالم افروز فهرست جرا ئيد كمال فراهمگاه شايستگاه بزبان روز گار فرايزدي خوانند و بباستا ني زبان كيان خوره

Bengal Asiatic Society's edition by Blockmann, Vol, I, p. 2 ll. 22-23.

2 Persia past and present, pp. 297-300.

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be the seat of honour, would lead us to incline to the other view, but the fact, that as the cliff stood, there was no proper position and site in a proper straight line on the right hand side, leads us to acquiesce in the view of these scholars. Again, perhaps the forethought of Xerxes,—if he prepared his burial-vault in his life-time as his father did before him,—that he must provide a proper space for his successor if he wanted to follow the example of his father and grandfather, may have led him to prefer the left to the usual right, where there was not sufficient space in well-nigh a straight line. The builder of the fourth burial vault had therefore to choose "the jutting angle of the cliff." I think, that this view would be confirmed, if a future traveller would examine the site and tell us, that there was no good space available for a further burial vault on the left of that of King Arta-xerxes, taking its position to be that of "the first supposition" as accepted by Profs. Jackson and Tolman.

Dr. Tolman's comparision of the words on the burial vault, as given by Strabo and as given by the inscription, is very interesting, as it presents a proof of, and throws credit on, the authority of Strabo's writings.

Dr. Tolman proceeds to "recognize the various national types (of the figures) in the sculptures themselves." As to the "throne motive" of the figures being under the throne, one can, in addition to the reason referred to by our author, say, that the language of many a nation of the East and even of some of the West suggests the idea of the subjects placing themselves at the feet of the throne (پای تخت) of the King.

The position of the royal burial vaults being on "the steep mountain side" seems to be in accordance with the teaching of the Mazdayaçnan religion [1], which enjoins that the place of the dead must be, as far as possible, on mountains or elevated ground.

Mr. E. J. Thomas on Strabo and the Ameshaspands.

Of all the Ameshaspands, Vohumanô, the first in the list, (if we exclude Ahura Mazda), is one, round whose name a good deal of various arguments have been spun. Dr. Kohut, at one time, tried to identify this Vohumanô with the Michael of the Jews. I have shewn elsewhere that he was mistaken in this identification. [2] Prof.

1 Vendidad, VI, 45.

2 Vide my paper on "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians—A comparision," in my Anthropological papers, p. 173 et seq.

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Darmesteter tried to identify the Logos of the Neo-Platonists with this Ameshaspand and to make a capital out of this indentification for his theory of the Avesta being post Alexandrian. That theory has been refuted by several scholars.

At present, it is attempted to identify him with the Omanos, referred to by Strabo in one of his references to the ancient Persians. Mr. Thomas presents before us an interesting collection of the passages of Strabo which refer to him and to Anadatos. The identification of Omanos, one of the Ameshaspands as enumerated by Strabo, had recently formed the subject of some correspondence in a well known literary paper of England.

I give below, for the information of my readers, my letter to the Athenæum (Aug. 3, 1912), kindly referred to by the learned author.

Identicfication of the Omanos and Anadatos, the Ameshapands named by Strabo.

" *To the Editor of the Athenæum*

Sir,

The Parsees of Bombay are reading, with some interest, the controversy in the Athenæum, arising from Mr. Moulton's interesting Lectures on Zoroastrianism. In that controversy, there has arisen the question of the identification of the Ameshaspand Omanos referred to by Strabo. There is another archangel, mentioned by Strabo together with Omanos (Bk. XI et VII, 4). It is Anadatos.

Of these two Ameshaspands, Omanos appears to be identified by Mr. Moulton with Vohumano. The other, Anadatos is identified by Mr. Ed. Meyer, as Amerdad. I beg to submit that both these identifications are wrong. In this identification, one fact must most assuredly be borne in mind. It is the fact referred to by Strabo, that they "have common altar" (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation Vol. II p. 246).

Of all the Ameshaspands, the two that are always spoken of together are Haurvatât and Ameretât (Khordâd and Amerdâd). I think that Haurvatât is the Anadatos of Strabo and Ameretât is the Omanus.

I will give my reasons for these identifications. I have read the first name as Anadatos, following the abovenamed authors. The writer of the Note in the Athenæum of 8th June reads it as " Anadatos". Mr. E. J. Thomas says "Anada-

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tos" is corrupt. Another reading is Anandatos or Anadatos. So, we have, in all four variants *viz.* Anadatus, Anadatos, Anandatos or Anandates. Now the Ameshaspand, with whom I am going to identify it, is Haurvatât in the Avesta. As an abstract-noun, the word occurs both as Haurvat and Haurvatât. It is difficult to express the later Pahlavi rendering of this name except by Pahlavi types, but suffice it to say, that the word Haurvat, when written in Pahlavi characters, can be read in all the various forms given above. The last letter " s " is, as pointed out by Herodotus, found in all the Greek forms of Persian names. Among the Iranians themselves, the first letter 'h' of the word Haurvatât (Khordad), was read as "a". For example in the Paiwand-nâmeh, recited on marriage occasions, Haurvatât is spoken of as Avardâd.

The Ameretât of the Avesta, the Amerdâd of later writings. is the Omanus of Strabo. The Pahlavi rendering of the Avestaic Ameretat is Amaradat, which word can also be read Omanadat.

The dropping of final *tat* or *dat* would give us the words as Omana. This Omana is the Omanos of Strabo, the final "s" being the usual substitute of the final Persian "a".

We have other instances, where Ameshaspands (Archangels or Angels) are invoked by shorter names. For example, Asha Vahishta (Ardibehesht), who is the Ameshaspand presiding over Holiness, Rectitude, Sanctity, Truth &c He is often invoked under a shorter name of "Asha", which, in itself, bears the abstract meaning of holiness, rectitude, sanctity, truth &c. For another example take the case of Ashi Vanghui (Ashisang), a female Yazata, presiding over righteousness, good fortune, riches &c. She is at times spoken of as Ashi. It is her short form "Ashi", that has its equivalent in Ard in Pahlavi. (Bundehesh Chap. XXVII, 24).

If one is satisfied, that the Ameshaspand Haurvatât is the Anadatus or Anandatos of Strabo, if he bears in mind that Strabo speaks of him as having a common altar with Omanos, and if he bears in mind that, in the Avesta, Haurvatât and Ameretat (Khordâd and Amerdâd) are also spoken of together, so much so, that they have the dual terminations applied to them, he will slip over a very slight difficulty presented by the last part of the words Amerdad and Omanos.

Again, this identification helps us in giving a plausible explanation of Strabo's allusion to the use of a wooden statue, in honour of Omanos. Of course, the idea

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of a statue is, as pointed out, by the Athenæum, foreign to pure Zoroastrianism. So, Strabo's reference in this case must be to some corrupted form of Zoroastrianism observed in an out of the way place. But the fact of the statue being "wooden" may be explained by the fact, that the Ameshaspand Amerdad, was latterly connected with trees. He was presiding over the vegetable kingdom. So, possibly, what Strabo saw was an agricultural procession, where people celebrating an agricultural festival, carried some agriculturel symbol.

Colaba, Bombay,
7th July 1912."

Mr. Thomas had, in the manuscript of the paper sent to me, added the following foot-note to the word 'daily' p. 174 l. 2.

The note is by some misunderstanding left out. I give it below :—

"Dr. Moulton translates 'by day,' because any ritual of the kind performed at night would go to the profit of the Dâevas. But we cannot be sure that Strabo knew this. The translation ' by day' is possible, but Strabo uses the phrase in the usual sense 'daily' twice in this chapter."

I think the translation 'daily' is correct. It is not correct to say that ritual of the kind performed at night would go to the profit of the Daêvas. In fact, two of the five periods, during which the sacred fire is fed by the priest, are at night. One in the first part of night, and the second is after midnight.

Dr. Lawrence Mills on Yasna XXVIII as Avesta and as Veda, and on The Point of the Avesta.

These two papers of Revd. Dr. Mills are two chips from the valuable and vast Iranian workshop of Dr. Mills, who has devoted his whole life faithfully to the study of the Avesta. The first paper is one of his several efforts to familiarize and facilitate the study of Avesta with the help of the sister language, the Sanskrit. His second paper on "The Point of the Avesta " is rather suggestive—suggesting to scholars of Christianity, that, in the Avesta, they will trace some source-springs of Christianity. The latter part of this paper may be taken as auto-biographical.

Ancient Greece has influenced the whole world in various ways. Greek literature and Greek art have left indelible marks upon the literature of the western world. Then, if as said by Dr. Mills, "the higher lights of Greece" must have heard of "the interior elements of the Zoroastrian creed" long previously, it follows, that irrespective of the direct influence of Irân upon the religion and

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civilization of the West, the influence was also indirectly, though partially, exerted through Greece.

Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana on The Pahlavi Inscription on the Mount Cross in Southern India.

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab gives four alternative readings of the Pahlavi inscription on the Cross in the Mount Church, situated on Mount St. Thomas near Madras. A similar inscription exists in the Valyapali Church at Cottayam in Travancore. Our author criticizes the late Dr. West's very early reading and interpretation. Dr. West had, latterly, given a revised reading and interpretation in the Epigraphica Indica[1] of June 1896 (p. 174). As these seem to have escaped the notice of the learned Dastur, I give them below, as the English scholar's latest rendering. He says at first : "The Pahlavi decipherers in 1873-74 had only a single copy of the Pahlavi to guide them, taken from a photograph of the Mount Cross ; they were therefore at liberty to suggest a few amendments of the letters to suit their views of the meaning of the inscription. But now that we have before us three original versions of the Pahlavi inscription, in the shape of two inked estampages of each of two originals and one of the third, we are compelled to adhere strictly to these five impressions wherever they all agree, and to confine our speculations to the several possible readings of the Pahlavi words whose forms are thus so well ascertained."[2] Dr. West's latest reading and translation run thus :

1 Mûn ham-ich Meshîkhâ-i avakhshây-i madam-afrâs-îch khâr bûkhto

2 Sûr-zây mun bun dardo denâ.

Translation.—" (He) whom the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (has) saved, (is) offering[3] the plea whose origin (was) the agony of this."

In my Note, before the Jarthoshti Din ni khol karnari Mandli, read on 14th November 1896, drawing atttention to Dr. West's revised attempt, I have given a short account, as to how an inscription in a Christian Church came to be written in Pahlavi.[4]

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1 Vol. IV 1896-97. No. 21.

2 Ibid p. 175.

3 Literally " bringing forth."

4 Vide my "Iranian Essays" (Gujarati), Part III, pp. 193—96.

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Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha on Certain passages of the Avesta.

Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha's paper is, in fact, a collection of 12 small Papers or Notes on various Zoroastrian subjects. As he says, "undeserved imputations" have been, at times, thrown "upon the teachings of the holy Avesta," being based on crude and unworthy translations and as the result of attempts to look to the letter and not to the spirit of the writings. Ervad Sheriarji is one of the few who have bestowed "patience, care and devotion" on the study of the Avesta, and so, his suggestions are often valuable.

1. He suggests various new meanings and derivations of the names of some of the Gâhambârs. His attempt to trace in the word "*Varshniharshta*" (an epithet of the Gâhambâr Ayâthrem), which is the cessation of Yâthra (यात्रा-जात्रा pilgrimage), the origin of the old Aryan idea of the meritoriousness of *gôdâna* (गो दान) *i. e.* "giving of cows and bulls in charity to the sacerdotal class on the season of the श्राद्ध" (Shrâdha Avesta saredha 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬀). reminds us of the modern Parsee custom of *qâe bhanâvvi* (ગાય ભણાવવી) *i. e.* "to announce the gift of a cow" at the oothamnâ ceremony on the third day after death.[1] This custom may be a relic of the old Aryan idea.

2. If one accepts Ervad Sheriarji's account of the 33 *Ratus*, he will see in it, an additional proof of the Farvardegân days (the days of the Saredha श्राद्ध) being originally 10 and not 15 or 18 as held and celebrated latterly.

3. In his note on the order of the *Gâhs*, our author speaks of some manuscripts of the Khordeh Avesta, as naming the Ushahin, the first in the order. I have seen an old Manuscript[2] of the Khordeh Avesta, wherein, in the prayer, ordinarily known now as the Sarosh Bâj prayer, but formerly known, as said in the manuscript, as the *Nirang-i-dast shô* 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 *i.e.* the Nirang of washing the hands (in the morning after the application of the *gaômez* or cow's urine), I find, that the only recital there, is that of the *Ushahin gâh.* One *may*

1 For details of this custom, vide, in this Volume, my paper on "The Tibetan Mode of the Disposal of the Dead. Some side-light thrown by it on some of the details of the Irânian mode, as described in the Vendidâd", p. 336, n. 2, and my paper on "The use of Rosaries by the Parsees" p. 382.

2 The colophon of this old manuscript, written in Avesta and Persian characters (folio 458 b), gives its date as roz Amardâd mâh Khordâd, sâl 1029 Yazdazardi. The writer is Herbadzâdeh Herbad Hormazyâr bin Herbad Framruz bin Herbad Kiyâmdin bin Herbad Kukâ bin Herbad Hamajyâr bin Herbad Padam, lakbê Sanjâneh. The writer calls himself the parashtâr-i Irânshâh.

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infer from this, that the Ushahin being the first gâh of the day, the writer of the manuscript has given the recital of that gâh as a specimen. With respect to Ervad Sheriarji's fourth evidence in favour of the Ushahin being the first of the five gâhs, I would draw the attention of my readers to the Errata and the Corrigenda, where the author has attempted to make his point more clear.

4. Ervad Sherîarji's valuable notes—(a) on the four epithets of the Mâzdayasna religion as given in the Articles of Faith, (b) the word Asha in Yaçna XVI, 7, (c) the Gâthâ Vashishtoisht, (d) and the word Béndva, supposed to be a proper noun by many scholars, but now identified by him with Sanskrit मांद्य Gujarati માંદ or મંદવાડ,—are all very interesting.

5. Of all the 12 Notes of Ervad Sherîarjee, the 9th, on "Egypt's name in the Avesta, and Discovery of the Havâfrîdân dynasty in the Avestic time after the Kayânians", is the most interesting from the point of view of the ancient History of Irân. The author's discovery of the names is very important He thinks that "it is most likely that the person Hvâfrîto was the founder of a royal dynasty or a descendent of a certain royal dynasty after Kaê Gushtâsp (Abân yasht, 132) who must have asked this boon from Ardvi Sura" Thus, we see, that besides the well-known dynasties of the ancient kings of Persia, there was one more dynasty in the Avesta times, succeeding that of the Kayânians and preceding that of the Achæmenians. His discovery suggests to me a thought which I beg to submit, with some diffidence, for further consideration.

The Hvâfritô dynasty discovered by him may be (a) "not one more dynasty"; (b) it may not have succeeded the Kayânians; and (c) it may not have preceded the Achæmenians; but it may be the Achæmenian dynasty itself. The *Hvâfritas* may be the Hakhâmenians (Achæmenians) themselves. Ervad Sheriarji's another important discovery of a proper noun Maça for Miçra (Egypt) helps my suggested identification, for we know, that the Achæmenians had conquered Egypt and had long remained there. The particular Hvâfrit who prays for the boon of conquering Maça (Maçra, Misra, Egypt) may be taken as Cambyses, who both with a fleet and a land army conquered Egypt in the 6th century B. C.

I think, that it is probable, that the Kayânians and Achæmenians were contemporaries. The contemporaneous references to Cyrus, Nebuchadnezzar and

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Jeruselam, in the Pahlavi books of the Minokherad and the Dinkard and in the Arabic works of Tabari and Maçoudi lead to that conclusion.

Again, take the fact, that Pahlavi works like the Virâf-nâmeh and Shatroihâ-i Airân place the time of Zoroaster, who flourished in the reign of Vishtâsp (Gushtâsp), about 300 years before the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, *i. e.* about 600 years before Christ. This statement also then makes the Kayânians—as Vishtasp was a Kayanian—contemporaries with the Achæmenians. Thus, we find that our own Pahlavi works make the two dynasties contemporary ones. Arab historians like Maçoudi and Tabri also do the same.

But then, in accepting this theory, the cherished idea of taking the age of the prophet to be some hoary antiquity seems to be shattered. The Classical writers place Zoroaster thousands of years before Christ. Our own Pahlavi writers place him about 600 years before Christ. The modern Parsees, who often doubt the veracity of the Classical writers in their various accounts about the contact of the Greeks and Persians,—for example, their account of the Greco-Persian wars, and among them specially of battles like those of Marathon and Salamis,—are, strange to find, prepared, in this instance, to throw doubts on the veracity of their own writers and to admit the truth of the Classical writers. Again, if you take the age of Zoroaster to be as late as 600 B. C., the question of the antiquity of the Avesta, based on philological grounds, may be mentioned as standing against that conclusion.

The solution to such questions of difficulty seems to me to be found in the statement of one or two of these very classical authors, *viz.*, that there were two Zoroasters. I think, that is more than probable. The Classical writers were right when they spoke of a Zoroaster flourishing more than a thousand years before Christ. They had in mind the first Zoroaster. The Pahlavi writers were right when they placed Zoroaster about 600 years before Christ. They had in mind the later Zoroaster.

Writers like Abbe Foucher,[1] who wrote in 1755 on the history of the Zoroastrian religion, have proceeded on the basis of taking two Zoroasters to have flourished.

1 Mèmoires de Litterature de l'Acadèmie Royal des Inscriptions et Belle Lettres, 1761, p. 253 et seq.

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Then the question will arise : With whom do you connect the Avesta? Who wrote the Avesta books? Our reply would be : Some were written by the first Zoroaster and some by the later Zoroaster. Most of the Gathas were written by the first Zoroaster.

I must say, that I do not speak dogmatically on this question. It is still one of the unsettled questions of Zoroastrian history. But, I think, a solution may be scught in the direction of taking the Kayânians to be the contemporaries of the Achæmînians—a direction pointed out by the Pahlavi writers themselves. I think Ervad Sheriarji's discovery of the name of a new dynasty seems to point to that di rection.

Dr. Charles J. Ogden on Ctesias' Story of Cambyses and the Magus.

Dr. Ogden's paper adds to the two principal accounts,—*viz* those of Herodotus and the Behistun Inscriptions—a third interesting account of the story of the murder by Cambyses of his brother Smerdis, of the death of Cambyses, of the usurpation of the throne of Persia by the pseudo-Smerdis, and of the death of this Smerdis at the hand of Darius. Though this account, instead of producing, what can be called, a reliable story, makes the story more confounded, it is interesting from the points of some details. The main story, *viz.* that of a pretender rising to the throne of Persia, is the same in the three versions. From the fact of Darius's great anxiety, expressed in the Inscriptions, to be truthful in his account, and from the fact of his earnest appeal in the name of Ahura Mazda to future generations, not to obliterate his Inscriptions, one is led to take his version of the story, though short, to be faithful.

Mr. Edalji K. Antia on A few Avesta and Pazend maxims of advice.

The late Ervad Edalji K. Antia's article, which, sad to say, is to be taken as a posthumous article, is one which presents a view of the Wisdom of the ancient Iranians, as presented in the Avesta and Pazend writings. It places before us a compendium of maxims and sayings which " furnish us with rules of conduct to be guided by in daily life." "The corresponding beautiful thoughts," from various English authors add to the value of the article, as they help one to have a quicker and an easier grasp of the sayings and maxims. Some of the passages, though they cannot be strictly called sayings, present an interesting collection from the point of view of devotion and advice. The passages refer to various subjects, such as the Deity, Nature, charity, cleanliness, contentment, death, duty, evil, glory, friendship, order,

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health, honesty, industry intemperance, marriage, obedience, prayer, knowledge, self-reliance, repentance, righteousness, soul, truth etc.

Prof. Jackson on Abomination of Idol-worship.

Prof. Jackson shows in this paper, that idolatry played no part in the history of the religion of ancient Persia, and that, in the case of some figures of the Diety in the Achæmenian sculptures, they were more with a view to appeal to the non-Persian subjects than with any view of worship. He quotes passages from important Pahlavi books to support his statement. He begins his paper with a reference to King Kaî Khusru on the subject in the Bundehesh. The passage of the Bundehesh is explained by Firdousi's account.[1] It seems that Daz-i-Bahman [2] was an impregnable fortress and was a seat of the idol-worshippers. King Kaûs, in order to determine who should succeed him, his own son Faribourz or his grandson Kai Khusru, the son of his deceased eldest son Siâvaksh, asked them to compete and capture the fortress. He who won the fortress would have the throne of Irân. Faribourz tried first but failed. Then Kaikhosru tried and won. Âzar Bushasp or Azar Gushasp appeared on the harness of his horse and by its splendour he won the fortress. It seems that what happened was an electric phenomenon[3]. It is this event that the Bundehesh refers to. Firdousi and other Persian writers often use the word Âzargoushasp for lightening. It is this Sacred Fire, or the fire-temple enshrining it, which a Parsee names in the Pazend portion at the end of his Âtash Nyaish, together with the sacred Fires of Khurdâd, Burzin Meher and Karko. It seems that Kaikhusru installed the fire, produced by an electric phenomenon or by an electric lightening, into a fire-temple. In fact, at the above Daz-i Bahman, he installed fire-worship in place of its idol-worship. It seems that this sacred Fire continued to burn in Irân for some time, even after the Arab conquest.[4]

The second Pahlavi book, referred to by Prof. Jackson, is the Dinkard, which speaks of Tahmurasp as putting down idol-worship. But, strange to say, some writers accused Tahmurasp of idol-worship. According to the author of the

1 Vuller II p. 761. 2. According to Henry Rawlinson, it was the fort latterly known as Takht-i-Suleman (Journal, Royal Geographical Society (10) of 1841.)

3 Vide my Gujarati paper on "The History of the Fire Âzar Goushap" (Iranian Essays, Part I pp. 125-48.)

4 A similar electric phenomenon warned the ancient Byzantians of the approach of Philip of Macedon and saved them. Hence, they adopted the crescent as a design on their flag, a design which the Turks adopted from them when they took Byzantium or Constantinople.

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Zeenut-ul-Tavarikh, "the worship of idols was first introduced under this prince; and the account of its origin appears very natural. A malignant disease had raged so long in Persia, that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to preserve the memory of them by busts and images, which they kept in their houses, as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to a posterity by whom they were still more venerated; and in the course of time the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of worship." [1] Malcolm quotes from the book of "Travels of William de Rubruquis," a monk, who was sent, in A. D. 1253, by Louis the Ninth of France (commonly called St. Louis) to the Court of Mangou Khan, the grandson of Chengiz, a long passage, illustrating the above view of the introduction of idol-worship among the Mongols and among other "Moals (Moghuls) or Tartars".[2]

According to the historian Mirkhond, it was only the rich who made the idols of the dead in the reign of Tahmurasp.[3] From the fact of the rich making the idols, this king had been falsely accused of idol-worship. So, Tabari defends him and says, that those who accuse Tahmurasp of idol-worship say a falsehood ("Ils disaient un mensonage car Tahmourath adorait Dieu.)[4]

The Bahman Yasht, the third Pahlavi book, referred to by Prof. Jackson as speaking for the destruction of idol-worship, speaks of the founding of another sacred fire—the fire Âdar Burzin Meher. This fire was consecrated and installed by King Vishtâsp (Gushtasp) with the sacerdotal help of his arch-priest, Dastur Peshotan, on mount Raêvand, in memory of his first victory over the Turanian king Arjâsp.[5]

To the excellent list of Pahlavi passages on the destination of idol-worship, collected by our author, may be added, the small Pahlavi tract[6] on Shâh Vâhârâm Vârjavand (Behrâm Varzâvand). The text is translated in this volume by Naib Dastur Minocher Jamaspji Jamasp Asa.[7]

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1 Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol I, p. 9-10. 2. Ibid, p. 10 note A.

3 Mirkhond, translated by Shea p. 97. 4 Tabari, tradruit par Zotenberg, Vol I p. 101.

5 Vide my Gujarati paper on the "History of the Sacred Fire, Adar Burzin" (Iranian Essays Part I p. 161-166).

6 "The Pahlavi Texts" by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji, p. 161.

7 Vide p. 75 et seq.

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Jamsetjee D. Nadershah on Time and its Divisions in the Avestaic Age. Days and their Divisions

The Irananian calendar is a favourite subject of study for Mr. Jamsetjee Nadershah. His principal view in the matter of the calendar is, that "the Zoroastrians during their sovereignity had separate civil and ecclesiastical days as well as years." The same was the case in the matter of the *Gâhs* or periods of the day. The ecclesiastical Gâh began with the Hâvan but the civil with the Ushahin. This part of Mr. Nadershah's paper may be read in conjunction with Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha's paper, wherein the precedence of the Ushahin Gâh is one of the twelve subjects discussed.

The word Gâthâ is used in the Avesta for (a) a poem (from *gâ* to sing), (b) for each of the five Epagomenæ and (c) for each of the parts (*gâhs*) of the day. Originally it was used, and that very properly, for the five poems (gathas) of Zoroaster and his disciples. Then the five days at the end of the year (Gâthâ Gâhambâr) were named after the names of these five poems (Gathas). Finally, "this denomination seems to have suggested the idea of calling also the five divisions of a nycthemeron (the five *gâhs* of the day) by the same name". These five *gâhs* are spoken of as *gâthâs* in the Nirangastãn.

While writing on the five *gâhs* of the day, Mr. Nadershah, speaking of the present practice, says : "Whereas here (*i.e.* in the Nirangastân) the two twilights, dawn and dusk, form parts of night and are excluded from the day-time, in our present mode of calculating the gâhs, they are included in it, and, therefore, dawn is considered a part of the Hâvan gâh, and dusk that of the Uzayeirin Gâh". This modern practice often creates a difficulty in determining the day of death, when death occurs in the early part or the commencement of the dawn. Varying circumstances—for example, a clear or cloudy sky, a place that is all open or is in the midst of narrow streets, good or bad eyesight of ordinary observers, different seasons—all these make it difficult to determine, whether the particular time of death may be taken as the time of the Ushahin, and so taken as a part of the previus ceremonial or religious day, or as the time of the Hâvan and so as a part of the next day. The dawn of the day after the third night after death is an important day for the performance of the funeral ceremonies of a deceased person. So, the determination of the *gâh* at the particular time of death is very important. Cases have occurred where one

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Dastur has asked one particular day to be reckoned as the day of death, and another Dastur another day. An attempt is being made by a committee appointed by the Jarthoshti Din ni khol karnari Mandli to settle a procedure for guidance to determine the day, which can avoid difference of opinion. The committee, of which our author is a member, has examined the passages of the Nirangastan, referred to by him in this paper and other passages, and will shortly submit its report.

Prof. Khudayâr Sheriyar on
I.—Some Zoroastrian Rites and Ceremonies, viewed from the point of view of faith-cure.
II.—The celebration of the Gâhambâr.
III.—Funeral Ceremonies.
IV.—The Chahârum Ceremony.
V.—and the Nâvar.

Prof. Khudayâr Sheriyar gives us five interesting papers on some of the beliefs, customs and ceremonies, observed by the Zoroastrains of Persia, of which even the Parsees of India are ignorant. These papers give us useful materials for comparison and even elucidation on some points. Some of these materials have been of use to me in my papers in this volume. Our author, having been born and bred in Persia, and having again spent several years there after his education and graduation in Bombay, is in a good position to speak on his subjects with some authority.

I. His first paper, and especially, its preliminery portion presents to us the view, taken by some men on the subject of Faith-cure. The compilations of the Revayets, known as the Burjo-Kâmdin's Revâyet and Dârâb Hormazdiâr's Revayet, contain some of the Persian *nirangs* or *afsoons*, referred to by our author as incantation-prayers for the cure of several diseases.[1]

II. His second paper, gives us a glimpse of the great faith of the Irani Zoroastrians in the efficacy of the celebration of the Gâhambârs, for which, all, who possibly can, set apart some property in *wakaf*. At the bottom of this celebration, Prof. Khudayâr traces the idea of "charity" in the shape of dry fruits (*lork* لورک [2]) and loaves of bread (*loovoog* لووگ [3]), to be distributed to the poor and needy. On inquiry, I learn from the author,

1 For a list of such *Nirangs, vide* the late Dr. E. W. West's "contents of the Revayet," given by me in the Asha, Vol. 1, No. 4. p. 146. See also Mr. Frederic Rosenberg's Notices De Littérature Parsie II Analyse du II e Volume du Recueil des Rivâyats de Darab Hormuzdyâr, p. 56. Une série de '*nirangs*' (1909 St. Pétersbourg).

2 *Lork* or *lurk* ordinarily means "sour milk thickened by boiling."

3 I do not know what this Iranian word *loovoog* is. We have a word لوک which means "milk boiled to consistency" and لولہ *lola* which means "toasted flour."

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that "in all the people of the adjoining district," who go to the place where the Gâhambâr is celebrated, to partake of the charity, even poor Mahomedans are included.

Some of the functions of the Dahmobed (*lit.* the Mobed or the priest of the village) of Persia, referred to by our author, remind one of the functions of the *Râo* of an old headquarter of the Parsee priests, like Naosari. I also remember having heard, when a boy, at Colaba, which was then more of a subrub or village, the *panthaki* or the priest of the village, vociferating on the occasion of Gâhambârs, a certain prayer[1] which the Behdins (laymen) repeated after him before partaking of the Châshni.

I also remember having observed, at one time in Bombay, the custom of the general Hamâjor referred to by Prof. Khudayâr, wherein the Râthwi performed Hamâjor with all the members of the assembly, both priests and laymen. In moderen Persia, according to our author, the *Hamâjor* is performed by the Dahmobed going round with the censer of fire. In India, the Râthwi performs it with a particular movement of hands.[2]

III Our author's third paper describes the funeral ceremonies of the Zoroastrians of Persia. (A) In the first part, he speaks of the ceremonies pertaining to the disposal of the body, and (B) in the second, of those pertaining to the soul.

(A) In the first part, the following draw our special attention from the point of the view of Indian Parsees.

(*a*) The *paiwand* or the connecting link between the pair of corpse-bearers is made through a *kushti* or sacred thread and not through an ordinary lace or string, as here.

(*b*) "A pair of scissors is kept upon the bosom of the dead". Our author does not tell us why ? Perhaps, it is so kept to remind us of the sharp edge of the Chinvad bridge, over which, according to the Parsee books, a soul has to pass after death. The scissors perhaps signify the razor that is spoken of in a Pahlavi book. In the case of the soul of a righteous person, the bridge

1 *Jamavâni bâj* or grace to be recited before meals. Yaçna XXXVII. 1.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Kiss of peace among the Bene-Israels of Bombay and the Hamâzor among the Parsees" in my "Anthropological papers" pp. 283-94. *Vide* also the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay "Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 84-95.

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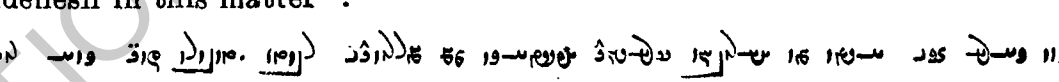
becomes broad, but in the case of that of an unrighteous man it becomes as narrow as the edge of a razor (*ostareh tâi*)[1]

(*c*) All the preliminary funeral ceremonies are performed, not at home, but at the Zâd-o-Marg, a house with two doors set apart in each village or town for the performance of such ceremonies. The Zad-o-Marg seems to be in the spirit of the teachings of the Vendidâd. The dead-body is taken into the Zâd-o-marg by one door, and taken out by the other. There is no custom of this kind in India. Father Monserrate[2] speaks of a similar[1] custom during his time (about 1579 A. D.) at Naosari. But some of his statements about the Naosari Parsees are so absurd, that, one hesitates before taking this statement to be true. As he remained at Naosari for only one day, most of his statements may have rested, not on personal observations, but on hearsay. The above custom reminds us of a custom among some of the Afghân tribes, among whom the dead body is not taken out by the usual door, but by a special door or opening made for the occassion. The words "Zâd-o-marg," applied to the house, where the body is first removed after death before its removal to the Tower, mean, " Birth and Death." They seem to signify, that all who are born are to die one day. The two doors of the " Zâd-o-Marg" also seem to have a similar signification, *viz*. that all have to come into this world by one way and have to go away by the other.

(*d*) At one time, the funeral party was accompanied by music, played on drums and hautbois. The use of music at the time of a Zoroastrian funeral strikes us as very strange. But, it appears, that some musical instruments were used in old Irân during the religious service. The late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria has quoted the following sentence from his grand Bundehesh in this matter[3] :—



Translation.—The sound (Kâlâ)[4] 'navan' is that with which the pious

1. The Dâdistân-i-Dini, Chap. XXI, 3. Ervad Tehmuras's text, p. 44. Pursishn, XX, 3.
2. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 503—704, p. 549.
3. The Report of the Zarthoshti Din-ni-Kholkarnari Mandli of the year 1869-70 to 1889-90, p. 292.
4. P. Guj. કલ્લો (કરવો)

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people sing or recite Avesta. The *rabut* [1] *tanbur*[2] and *chang* [3] or any string instrument (*rudihâ*)[4] on which they recite (Avesta) is called *navan*[5].

(*e*) At one time, the women carried in the procession accompanying the dead body to the Zâd-o-marg, the dress of the deceased and moved it to and fro. Our author does not say why it was done. One may compare with it, the modern custom of some civilized nations wherein the deceased's favourite horse, sword or such other pet thing is made to march or is carried in the funeral procession. But, looking to the fact, that the moving of the dead man's clothes is attended with the utterance of " some pathetic words," it may be taken as a sign of mourning and as a means for consolation. We know from the Shâh-nameh that Tehminâ, out of grief for the death of her son, Sohrâb, sent for his horse and patted him and kissed him while weeping. Then she sent for his dress and embraced it.[6] Then she sent for his sword and armour and did the same thing with them. The fact that this custom of waving the dress of the deceased is called *ta-ziya* تازیه, an Arabic word meaning "consoling, holding patience," seems to suggest this view of the custom.

(*f*) " The undertakers (*i.e.* the corpse-bearers) are fed with bread, wine and *arak*" (عرق a kind of strong drink). Looking to the fact, that they had to carry the body to a long distance, varying from 9 to 21 miles in the different Parsee towns and villages of Persia, this seems to be a necessity. The relatives and friends went on horses or donkeys, but the corpse had to be carried on shoulders.

(*g*) The whole assembly takes the Bâj, and not only those who go with the procession to the Tower, as in India. In a big city like Bombay, the custom of taking the Bâj is fast dying out. It is the priests only who now observe it.

(*h*) When the procession starts for the Tower, those of the priests who do not accompany the procession " sit on their legs with two fingers of their right hands resting on the ground. They raise up their fingers from the ground and make a pass or a kind of manipulation of the hand for every word, from the

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1. Perhaps P. *rabâb* رباب (guitar). 2. P. تنبور a lyre તંબુરો.

3. P. چنگ a harp or a small bell. 4. P. رود the string of a musical instrument.

5. It may be read *nun* نون and in that case, may be taken for the 'nasal' sound. The recital of religious prayers assumes a nasal sound.

6. بیاورد آن جامه شاهوار گرفتش چو فرزند اندر کنار

right side to the left of their heads above the ear." This custom is still observed at Naosari in a slightly modified form, not in the street as in Persia, but at the Tower before returning home.[1] The custom is spoken of as *jamin shujârvi* (જમીન શુજારવી). [2] Our author does not explain the *raison d'etre* of this custom. I have thought of one explanation in my paper on "A Tibetan form of salutation suggesting an explanation of a Parsee ritual" in this volume.[3] The manipulation of the hand referred to by Prof. Khudayar is not seen at Naosari. So, it suggests, that possibly, this addition in Persia, has been added with a view, implied in the Indian custom of *ovârvun* (ઓવારવું) which has for its object, the idea of avoiding a calamity or mischief. Perhaps, the mourners meant to wish that death may pass away from them, and they may not be soon overtaken by death which carried away the friend or relative.

(*i*) The son tied his right arm with a handkerchief for the first three days. It was perhaps as a sign of mourning. Compare the modern European custom of putting on a piece of black cloth on the arm. Or, perhaps, it was to remind the son that he was bound to perform a duty towards his parents in the matter of celebrating their funeral rites. In India, it is on the third day that they perform the ceremony, spoken of at times as *farz âpvi* (ફરજ આપવી) *i. e.*, to give (a vow of) duties. On that day, the son undertakes before the senior priest the duty of performing certain ceremonies.

(*j*) The Funeral feast at the Tower, served on *sufreh*, (سفرہ) or table-cloth and served with "wine and *arak* by a *sâkî*" (ساقی) or cup-bearer, continued "in this way chatting, eating and drinking for about two or three hours." The custom seems to have arisen from the fact, that the Towers are situated at long distances, varying from 9 to 21 miles in different villages. So, the mourners going there had to carry their own food. The words of prayer and condolence said by the relatives to the chief mourner at this funeral feast are worth-noting.

(*k*) The erection of a symbolic bridge with a pair of scissors in the front at the place, where the body was last placed before its removal to the Towers, is intended perhaps to remind one of the Chinvad bridge, which, according to the Parsee books,

1. *Vide* my paper in this Volume on "The Tibetan Mode of the disposal of the dead. Some side light thrown by it on some of the details of the Iranian mode." p. 337.

2. Mr. Dadabhoy Cowasji's "Tamâm Avestâni Ketâb" (તમામ અવસ્તાની કેતાબ), Part I. p. 660.

3. p. 408.

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the soul has to cross. The pair of scissors placed there perhaps signifies the razor or the sharp instrument, referred to above, on the edge of which, according to some books, the soul has to cross the bridge.

(*l*) The custom of placing at the above place "a bowl of fresh water into which is put some silver ornament" is not explicable from a Zoroastrian point of view.

(*m*) The custom of the *Sarosh-yasht-i-sar-i-shab*[1] (the Sarosh Yasht to be recited at the beginning of the night or the principal Sarosh Yasht of the night (સરોશ યશ્ત રાતની વડી) being recited by "some people" other than the family members or priests, is still observed at Naosari, where for three nights after death, relatives and friends gather at the house for the recital of the Yasht. The custom is known as that of *Yashtê javun* (યશ્તે જવુ) *i.e.* to go for the Yasht. Our author says that "especially school boys" went for the purpose. We do not know, why they, especially ? Perhaps it is intended to train them for their social and civic duties.

Of the two *dokhmas* of Yazd referred to by our author, the old one seems to be more simple and in the line of the original teachings of the Vendidad. The new one is the one built by the late Mr. Manockji Hataria, the Agent of the Parsees of India. It is on the model of the Bombay Towers. The *Atash-suz* of Persia, referred to by our author, is the same as our Indian *Saqdi* (સગડી).

(B) Coming to the second part of the author's paper, *viz.* his description of the ceremonies for the soul of the dead, and comparing the ceremonies with those observed by the Indian Parsis, one finds the following points worth noting.

(*a*) The *Yasht-i Shabgireh*, which consists of "an extra yazashne-i sarosh" is not known here. The word Shab-gireh is new to us. It is Persian *shab-gir* (شبگیر), which means "travelling after mid-night and before sunrise." The mid-night ceremony is known to us, and is sometimes spoken of as *ziârat* (زیارت) *i. e.* a religious visitation, but the extra *yazashna* is not known to us here.

(*b*) The third day afternoon ceremony, which is known among us here as the *oothmanâ*, a Hindu Gujarati word, is known in Persian as *sehom* or *siwum* (سیوم) *i. e.* the third day (ceremony). Prof. Khudayar's paper shows that a ceremony is performed in the afternoon at Persia also, and that the afternoon performance is not Indian as taken by some, from its Gujrati name *Oothmnâ*.

1. Yacna LVII, as distinguished from Sarosh Hâdokht. Yt. XI.

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(*c*) Among the ceremonial offerings, that of *sir-o sidâb* (سیرو سیداب), a mixture of garlic (*sir*) and rue herb (*sedâb*) is peculiar to the Zoroastrians of Persia. Its place is taken by *sherbet* here.

(*d*) The share of the dogs, collected by the Dahmobed from the eatables presented as offerings on ceremonial occasions is known among us here as the dog's morsel (કુતરાંનો ભુકડ). At one time, it was a common custom here,—and it still exists in some places and in some houses—to set apart in a small tray, the dog's share and place it by the side of the big tray of eatables before which the *satum*[1] is recited.

(*e*) We have not here in India two recitals of the Sarosh Bâjs referred to by our author. Instead of that, we have two recitals of the Khorshed and Meher Nyaishes on the afternoon of the third day. In Persia, the ommission in the case of the recital in honor of the dead, is that of the 'Ahmai raêçsha' prayer only. In India, there is also that of ' Kerfe Muzd' and a few words of the 'Jasmê avangahê Mazda.'

In connection with this mention of the recital of the Shrosh-Bâj at the dawn of the third night, one may say, that in Bombay, the custom is to recite the Shrosh Hâdokht (Yt. XI) at the third day afternoon Oothmana ceremony. This yasht is not recited at Naosari, the headquarters of the priesthood. It is worth-knowing, how they introduced its recital in Bombay, as the incident shows, how new recitals and ceremonies are added from time to time. It is said, that at one of the assemblies for celebrating the Oothmana ceremony of a departed person, the flowers, which form one of the principal requisites on the occasion, had not been brought in from the Bazar, and the assembly had to wait for their arrival. To remove, or make up for, the inconvenience of the delay, one of the elders proposed that the assembly, instead of sitting idle during the time that the flowers were fetched, may recite the Sarosh Hâdokht. The assembly recited it. The incident led to its frequent recital and to the formation of a custom.

(*f*) For a further explanation of the customs (*a*) of raising the fore and middle fingers during the recital of the Âfringân and (*b*) of the collection of the Avesta, I would refer my readers to my papers in this volume.[2]

In the list of the Roza (روز) ceremonies, there are two or three performances that are new to the Indian Parsees.

1. Yaçna, Ha XXVI.
2. p. 408 and p. 379.

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(*g*) The custom of the relatives sending trays of grain and such eatables is easily intelligible. A custom of that kind was upto a few years ago prevalent here to a certain extent. The origin of the custom seems to be this: At a time when the family is in grief and when the bread-winners are kept away from their usual vocations, the presentations *in kind* were welcome. I remember having seen in my childhood, quantities of *ghee* or clarified butter being sent by relatives to the families of the deceased, on occasions like the *varsi* or the anniversary of death, to be used by the family in the preparation of the eatables required for the occasion.

(*h*) The presentation of trays with candles stuck into wet clay and the presentation of dressed forms of men and women are customs entirely foreign to our Zoroastrian ideas and customs.

(*i*) The Iranian custom of performing the obsequious ceremonies on the anniversary days for 30 years after death, presents an answer to the question often raised here, as to how long it is incumbent upon the heirs to perform the ceremonies after death. The heirs of a deceased person are morally bound to celebrate the occasions of the anniversaries for 30 years. They can then stop doing so, if they liked.

(*j*) Our author's explanation of the use of the words "*Be Baharat-i-Ravân*" (به بهرهٔ روان) *after* the first year and "*Be Yâd-i-Ravân*" (به یاد روان) *during* the first year, leads to show, that it is after a full year, after one complete revolution of the sun's course, that the soul is believed to have settled in its life-course or progress in the other world. The Persian words, *si-rozeh* (30 days), *rozeh* (month's day) and *sâl* (the anniversary), taken from the Pazend Dibâcheh of the Afringâns, and the Indian words *Mâsiso* and *varsi* (માસીસો અને વર્સી) and the references to the moon's track (mâh-pâyeh) and sun's track (khorshed pâyeh) in the Pahalavi books in connection with the souls' progress in the next world, explain the custom referred to by our author, which is common both among the Persian and Indian Parsees, *viz.* that some of the *Daroons* or sacred breads should be symbolic of the shape of the moon and the sun.

(*k*) In the matter of the custom of Sagdid, which is variously explained, our author takes the help of Mr. Tilak's book "Orion", and thinks with him, that the Chinvad bridge is the Milky way and that the two dogs guarding the way are the Canis-Major and Canis Minor in the course of the Orion. Thus, he connects the idea of the *sagdid* with the symbolic idea of the two dogs at the Chinvad Bridge.

IV. In his fourth paper on Chahrum or the fourth day ceremoney, which is briefly referred to in the third paper, Prof. Khudayâr naturally repeats some of the

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points, referred to in the previous paper, as some of the ceremonies are common, but goes into details on the subject of some of the points. Here, he speaks of the *srosh-bâj* as Avesta-i Dast-o-ru (*i. e.* the Avesta of the hand and the face). It seems to have been so called, because, at one time, it was a custom, even in India, for Parsees to recite this prayer while applying the *gao-mez* (cow's urine) to the open parts of their bodies *viz.* hands and face in the morning. It was after this application and this recital that they washed their face. This is also spoken of as Avesta-i Dast Shu *i. e.* the Avesta of washing the hands.

V. Prof. Khudayâr's fifth paper on the Nâvar or the Initiation into priest-hood will be interesting to Parsee priests, especially from the point of view of the liturgical phraseology and of some difference in the ceremonies.

(*a*) Firstly, the Irânian Navar requires ten Bareshnums, while the Indian one requires two. If our author means by Barashnum, the "ten days' Bareshnum," the ceremony must last for about four months.

(*b*) The word *varsâl*, used for the initiating priest, is a new word to the Indian Parsees. Perhaps, it comes from '*vares*' (𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬯) hair, because, in the ceremony of yazashna, which the initiating priest performs, the *vares* or the hair from the tail of the sacred bull (called *Varasyô* in India) is necessary.

(*c*) During each Bareshnum three '*Gatikharids*' are performed by the initiate. In India, only one, known as *gewrâ* (ગેવરા), is performed by the two initiating priests, who are spoken of by our author as the two *yozdâthragars*.

(*d*) The jewelled and ornamented turbans and *padâns* are unknown in India. Here all simplicity is observed.

(*e*) The preparation of the *Vars*, "a conical figure made of fresh branches of different trees, twisted round with fleece of various colours", decorated with silver mirrors, and "fixed in a brass tray and covered over with a piece of peacock-coloured cloth", is a novel thing to us. Perhaps, it is a relic of some old form of an Iranian ceremoney, which is not strictly religious. It is intended to signify some good omens and auspices. In India, we have the *Sesh* (સેશ), a tray containing a cocoanut, grains of rice, and a *padâ* which is a conical or pyramidal structure containing sweets. It is carried by women in the procession which takes the initiate to the temple to be initiated there.

(*f*) The idea of the *darafsh-i-kâvyâni i. e.* the banner of Kâveh, the blacksmith who raised a revolt against Zohâk, is new to us. But in its stead, we are

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familiar with the *Gurz-i-Gâvianî i. e.* the cow-faced mace. The word *Kâvehâni* (*i. e.* of *Kâveh*) seems to have been mixed up with *Gâvehâni* (*i. e.* cow-faced). In India, the initiate carries the mace on his shoulder in the procession.

(*g*) " The ends of the branches, of which the *vars* is made, is decorated with a ring." We have nothing of that kind here. But we have a ring connected with *vars* (𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬯) or hair which is known as the *Varas ni viti*, *i. e.* the ring of the *varas*. It is a mettalic ring round which the hair of the consecrated bull's tail is put. It is symbolically used as a strainer, to strain the Haoma juice prepared by the priest during the recital of the Yaçna.

(*h*) We in India have nothing like the Verd " a T shaped figure consisting of a short and somewhat flat silver rod pierced through in the middle by another thin silver rod, both of them painted beautifully." " This flat rod turns round and round when moved with a finger." The word Verd is perhaps from Pahlavi 𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥 *vardidan*, P. گردیدن to turn, and the figure is so called because it turns round. If the process of something turning round, "when moved with a fingure," has some signification, we have in India, instead of the *Verd*, the ceremonial process, wherein during the preparation of the Haoma juice with the help of the *lâleh* and *Hâvanim* (the pestle and the mortar), the *lâleh* is placed in the *hâvanim* and moved round with a finger by the officiating priest.

(*i*) " He (the initiate) then takes off his clothes one by one. When he is quite naked, the Dahmobed calls the attention of the assembly to him to see that there is no wound, or stamp, or mark of any disease on his body." This is all new to us here ; but it does not surprise us, being in the spirit of the requirements of the old idea of a good priest, sound in body and sound in mind. The Avesta preaches and teaches the idea of " a sound mind in a sound body." Physical perfection must be looked at from the point of mental or spiritual perfection. Sroasha, one of the highest Yazatas, is both *takhma* (strong) and *hu-raodha* (well-formed or beautiful). Even the modern custom in India requires, that a priest, officiating in the inner circle of liturgical services in a temple, must be wholly sound. He must not be lame or hump-backed, or with a broken limb. He must have no wounds or scars or any kind of disease. He must be free from leprosy.[1] A candidate with these defects was rejected. All the above

1. We learn from Herodotus also, that the ancient Iranians had an awful dislike of leprosy.

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particular requirements are not so strictly looked at now ; but they were so, till a few years ago. Naosari, the headquarters of the priesthood, is more particular in these matters than Bombay. Even now, cases have often come to me for inquiry and opinion, whether such and such a priest, who was affected after initiation with such and such a melody or complaint, could continue to officiate. It is especially so, in the case of bodily spots, whether truly leprous or otherwise. At times, cases of this kind have been referred even to medical men.

Now, in India, though the candidate for priesthood does not present himself before the assembly stark naked to show himself that he is sound in body, yet he has to present himself, with the priest who has to initiate him before the assembly, after removing all his upper garments, clothed only with the *sudreh* or shirt, trouser and turban. The assembly has an opportunity to observe, if he has any physical deformity that should prevent him from being a good priest, sound in body and sound in mind.

Again, in India, during the process of the two Bareshnums, he has to be stark naked eight times in an open place of the Bareshnum-gâh, on different eight days for the purpose of having the ceremonial purification baths. Anybody, who has doubts about the physical soundness of his body can go there and have an opportunity to examine him. At least, the two priests who give him the bath have an opportunity to examine him more closely, as they have to be near him.

(*j*) The initiate has a crown over his head. We have nothing of the kind here. But the Iranian custom seems to be in line with the traditional view about priesthood. In ancient Persia, a *mobad* or a priest had a political as well as a religious status. The Unity of the State and the Church was always sought. At times, the rulers were themselves Mobads. King Jamshed, in one of his speeches according to the Shah-nameh, said, "I am a Mobed as well as a king." (منم شهر یار ی و هم موبدی). Even in Parthian times, kings like Valkhash (Vologeses) and his brother Tiridates, king of Armenia were Mobads. So, the Iranian Mobads or priests—at least some fortunate few—were *pâdshâhs* or kings. Strange to find, that even now at the present day, though not to such a great extent as in my very younger days, it is not unusual to hear Parsee laymen, welcoming their priests as *badshâhs* or *padshâhs i. e.* kings. I well remember, being welcomed many a time by some members of the Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy family with whom my family had a professional connection of

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more than seventy years, with words like *âvo bâdshâh* (આવો બાદશાહ) *i. e.* come in, king.

Not only priests, but the sacred fire, which the priests, as Athornâns, (Âthravans or protectors of fire) daily feed and look after, is spoken of as pâdshah.[1] For example, the Parsees speak of Âtash Beherâm pâdshâh. One of their festive toasts is *Atash Beherâm pâdshâh nâ pâi takhtni salâmati* (આતશબેહરામ પાદશાહના પાયતખ્તની સલામતી سلامتئے پایہ تخت آتش بہرام پادشاہ) *i.e.* the safety of the foot of the throne of King Atash Beherâm.

(*k*) The presentation of pomegranates to the Head priest and to other leading priests by way of Hamâzor is unknown to us, the only Hamâzor known to us here being that of hands.

(*l*) The priests join hands and form a circle round the vase or censer over which the sacred fire is burning. The circle, thus formed, goes three times round the censer that is put in the middle of the hall, each time reciting an Atash Nyâish. The process of going round is not known in India, but we know, that on ceremonial occasions, when priests meet together for prayers, they, at times, form a circle round the fire joining their hands and recite one Âtash Nyâish. Upto a few years ago, it was not uncommon to see, that here also instead of one, as now, three Âtash Nyâishes were recited.

(*m*) We have no admonishing ceremony in India as that in Persia, where the initiates are admonished by the Head priest before being initiated. The Persian custom seems to be old. I find good many points of similarity between the investiture of Knighthood as practised in olden times in Europe and the initiation of Nâvarhood among the Parsees. As Atkinson, the translator of Firdousi's episode of Rustam and Sôhrâb, says, "enterprises of European Chivalry may indeed be traced to the East," and we know, that in the investiture of European Kighthood or *Chevalrie*, the fendal lord, who performed the investiture, gave some admonitions.

(*n*) The Persian custom, wherein "the lady relations of the Nâvar *mobad* now and then pour some dry fruits" resembles the Indian custom, wherein rice is thrown over the candidate.

The following are some of the lines recited on the last day of the Navar

1 "Adarân Shâh phirozgar" Âtash Nyâish.

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by the Head priest. They are kindly supplied to me by Dastur Khodayar, later on, at my request.

سرو و نوزادي

امروز بفضل کرد گار — عالم شده ما همچون بهار
خلقان هر شهر و دیار — ددّ و گهر کرده نثار
عالم شده همچون بهشت — از دین پاک زرد هشت
از بخت آن نیکو سرشت

نوزاد ما نونا بر ست — یشت و یزشنش در برست
وستا و زندش بهراست — از جد او پیغمبر است
دستور و دستورانی دین — یشت و یزشن و آفرین
همت کنید از داد و دین — در راه این دین گزین
نوزاد ما نونا بر است — تاج الهیش بر سر است
ساقی حوض کوثر است — پیغمبرا و را رهبر است

The Editor
on
I.—The Tibetan Mode of the Disposal of the Dead. Some side-light thrown by it on some of the details of the Iranian mode, as described in the Vendidâd.
II.—The use of Rosaries among Zoroastrians.
III.—A Principle of Justice among the Ancient Persians, as described by Herodotus. Its Origin in Persian books.
IV.—The use of Sang-rizeh (سنگ ریزه pebbles) in a Parsee ritual.
V.—A Tibetan form of Salutation, suggesting an Explanation of a Parsee Ritual.
VI.—The Geh-sârna recital, as enjoined, and as recited about 150 years ago.

The subjects of all my papers in this volume, except the third, have been suggested to me by my study of Tibetan customs. As said in the first of these papers, I had the pleasure of visiting for about five weeks in May-June 1913, the beautiful Hill-station of Darjeeling in the Himalayas. Of the several Hill-stations of India, both in the Himalayas and elsewhere, that I had the pleasure of visiting at one time or another, none fascinated me so much as Darjeeling. That was due, not only to the beauty of the hill and to the commanding view of the snowy Himalayas, including the grand and glorious sight of the great Kinchinjanga, from its summits in the near, and to the glimpse, an occasional rare glimpse, of the Everest in the far distant, from the top of one of its neighbouring loftier hills, but also to the fact of its being inhabited among others by the Tibetan Bhutiâs who have three *gompâs* or monasteries in the neighbourhood. The several visits of these monasteries, the observation of their manners and customs, and the study, both on the spot and elsewhere, of the books of

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travellers in Tibet, have suggested to me the subjects of these papers. I give in this volume, papers, which result from my study of the subjects from an Iranian or Zoroastrian point of view. As to those of my readers, who like to know something about these interesting people, the Tibetans, from an Anthropological point of view, I beg to refer them to my five papers before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.[1]

My third paper explains a principle of wordly justice in ancient Irân, referred to by Herodotus (Bk. I. 137), on the basis of the principle of divine justice referred to in the Avesta and Pahlavi books.

The late Ervad Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli on The first Sir Jamsetji.

As said in my brief note preceding the paper, the author of the Persian couplets was both a distinguished pupil and a teacher of the Madressa, whose Jubilee this volume celebrates. The learned Dasturs and Mobads of the early part and the middle of the last century had, to a certain extent, a fluent pen in composing Persian couplets, both as laudatory poems and as *Monajâts* (مناجات) or prayers to the Deity. Prof. Kateli's couplets are a specimen of that kind of composition. Strictly speaking, his composition is not a paper written for this volume, but I have taken the liberty of embodying it here, especially as it expresses the esteem of a distinguished pupil of the Institution for the distinguished personage, whose honoured name it bears.

The late Dr. E. W. West on The Knowledge and Learning of the Parsee Priesthood of India about four centuries ago.

The letter from the pen of the late Dr. E. W. West may also be taken as a posthumous paper of the same kind. To save his learned letter from oblivion, I have taken the liberty of embodying it in this volume, especially as Dr. West was connected with the Madressa for some years as one of its Examiners and as he took some interest in its work.

Dr. West's letter indirectly indicates the several sources from which materials can be gathered, however few, for a chapter or chapters in the history of the

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1 (a) "A few Tibetan customs and a few thoughts suggested by them. The Prayer-flags." (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 64-81).
(b) The Prayer-wheel. (Ibid. pp. 88-94).
(c) The Prayer-beads or Rosaries. (Ibid. pp. 139-156).
(d) Tibetan Forms of Salutations (Ibid. No. 3 pp. 165-178).
(e) A Tibetan Devil-Driving procession (Ibid. pp. 209-228).

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Parsees. He suggests that the "official leaders" of the Parsee community may do something to save from gradual destruction many old documents of the community. In a letter, dated May 12th 1898, written sometime before the one which is published in this volume, he thus speaks more clearly on the subject :

"Why does not the Parsi Panchâyet, before it is too late, obtain complete copies of all Memoranda of Events, noted down at the time of occurence, by Heads of Families, priests, and others, more than 70 years ago ? I understand it was usual to make such Memoranda, but, as the practice has nearly died out, they will soon all be lost. The Punchayet should look upon such collections as valuable national records, to be preserved by all the means in their power.—and when the owners will not part with them (they should not be really urged to do so, if they feel any interest in them), they might be induced to allow certified copies to be made for the Punchayat Record office. No record of an event can be more trustworthy than one written down by an eye-witness immediately after it has occurred, and as long as such Records exist, it would be a thousand pities that they should be destroyed for the want of any one to care for them, for they form the basis of all history. The Parsi Prakâsh has drawn many details from such documents, sufficient to show that much material information might be obtained by systematic enquiry and influence."

There is one statement in Dr. West's letter with which, I think, many are not prepared to agree. He says : "Down to the end of the ninth Century, as we learn from the Dinkard, books VIII and IX, they still preserved in Iran nineteen Nasks of their sacred literature, out of the original twenty-one." Here, Dr. West makes rather a stronger assertion of what he said about the same subject in 1892, in the Introduction of his Translation of the Contents of the Nasks[1]. Speaking of Aturpads's compilation of the Dinkard, he then said. "And, as nothing is said about any previous treatise being consulted, it may be safely supposed that he had access to the Avesta texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia. The only Nask he could not obtain was the Vashtag, and the Pahlavi version of the Nâdr was also missing ; under which circumstances, the fully detailed accounts of these two Nasks, given in the Persian Rivâyats, must be viewed

1. S. B. E. XXXVII. Pahalavi Texts, Part IV, pp. XXXVIII—IX.

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with suspicion until better evidence of their authenticity has been discovered than is at present available.

"The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of Muhammadan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries; but when, through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries."

What Dr. West took to be a safe supposition in 1892, he takes to be rather a strong assertion in 1895. I had the pleasure of reviewing the above volume of Dr. West's Dinkard, in the Times of India of 3rd November 1892, and I quote here what I then said on the subject.

"He (Dr. West) says that the oft-mentioned twenty-one books seem to have been extant for some time even after the Arab conquest, and that the ancient Parsees themselves were to some extent responsible for their utter loss, in as much as they neglected to make copies from the few manuscripts existing at the time when the Dinkard was written. If the twenty-one Nasks were all lost, how, he asks, could the author of the Dinkard have given such a detailed account of their contents? The answer is, that they gave such a detailed account from what they heard from the lips of learned men who in their turn had heard of them from their parents. Oral traditions had preserved the knowledge of the contents of the books. It is very true that the first inroad of the Arabs did not do all the mischief at once. It was a slow and gradual work, and by the end of the second century after the conquest, the work of destruction was complete. Hence the necessity for Dastur Adar Farobag and other writers to collect in the Dinkard, at least the details of the contents of the lost books, fresh in the memory of many persons at the time. If the twenty-one Nasks were

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all extant at the time when Adar Farobag wrote, whence the necessity for writing the contents ? If zeal for preserving this literature prompted them to do the work, why did they do it half-heartedly by merely preserving the contents, and not by making copies and distributing them ?"

Mr. S. P. Kânga on A Happy Naoroz.

Mr. Sorabji Kanga, now and then entertains his friends on special occasions like the Naoroz (the Parsee New Year's Day) with his verses. Of late, he has been popularizing in these congratulatory verses some of the teachings of the great prophet. His verses in this volume are an attempt of this kind. He expresses his congratulations in the form of wishes for a good life, as preached by Zoroaster in his celebrated sermon of Yaçna XLV.

The good wishes or congratulations of good men do not always carry prayers for material riches or plenty. They pray as well for moral and spiritual riches or plenty. The good wishes of the prophet implied in his words *vivareshô*, *chikhshnushô* and *mimagzhô*[1] in the Hâ under consideration are of this kind. So, our author, following the teachings of his great prophet, conveys his good wishes of the Naoroz in this richest vein.

He has divided his verses into as many stanzâs (11) as the Hâ of his choice contains. In his popular rendering, he has well-nigh closely followed the chapter in its early portion, which contains, as Prof. Darmesteter says, the " Révélation de la doctrine mazdéene",[2] or as M. Harlez says, the "predication de la loi nonvelle." [3]

Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria on Savanhâcha and Arenvâcha.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria tries to show that the two ladies mentioned in some of the Yashts as "Arenavâ and Savanghâ" are the Iranian representatives of the Greek constellation Andromeda and Kassopeia.

All translators before Prof. Darmesteter had taken these two words to be common nouns. But, about the same time, when Darmesteter pointed out in Europe that the words were proper nouns and were the names of the two ladies referred to by Firdousi, Ervad Sheriarji pointed out the same fact here in

1. Yaçna Ha XLV, 8, 9, 10.
2. Le Zend Avesta, Vol. I, p. 295.
3. Le Zend Avesta, p. 349.

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Bombay, in a paper in the Zarthoshti Abhyâs (Zoroastrian Studies) by the late Mr. K. R. Kama[1].

The story of these two ladies, as given by Firdousi, when taken literally appears to be absurd on its very face, and requires some kind of explanation. The absurdity is in the matter of their age. They were the sisters of King Jamshed. King Jamshed came to the throne of Irân on the death of his father and ruled for 700 years. So, on his death, his two sisters must be at least 700 years of age. He was succeeded by Zohâk who ruled for 1,000 years. They were living when Zohâk was dethroned. So, on the death of Zohâk, they must be at least 1,700 years old. Now Faredun, the young Iranian hero, the liberator of Irân, aged about 18, is represented as marrying the two ladies. What comes to, then, is this : A young man of 18 marries two ladies aged about 1,800 ! Again the ladies at this age were still so young as to become mothers of children ! !

The absurdity of the story shows that some explanation is needed. Various explanations are given by different scholars for the stories of Jamshed, Zohâk and Faredun. An interesting explanation is now given by our author.

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1. My observation on Mr. Behramgore's paper were based on his paper, as seen by me in the first proof. Latterly, in the final proof, he has added fresh matter, for example, the reference to Ervad Sheriarjee's paper, which has made some of my observations redundant.

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THE RELIGION OF THE PARTHIANS.

By Jamsetji Maneckji Unvala Esq. B.A.

Before we speak something precisely about the religion of the Parthians, we must first of all say a little about their descent, and about the influence of the Greeks on them, under which they worked during the period of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria, as a subject nation.

About the descent of the Parthians, Prof. Eugene Wilhelm, in his essay on "Die Parther", advances the following four contingencies :[1]. Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, was a Turanian like the Parnians. He followed the example of the Bactrian satrap Diodotus, and with the help of the Parnians revolted against the weak Seleucid King Antiochus II of Syria—known in history as Antiochus "Theos," a title which he himself adopted in 255 B C. 2 Arsaces was indeed an Irânian and availed himself of the Turanian help. 3 Arsaces was a Turanian, but the Parnians were a tribe of the nomadic Irânians. Lastly Arsaces, as well as the Parnians were Irânians. Prof. Wilhelm considers the possibility of the Turanian origin of the Parthians to be the most probable, and says that there is no doubt that, at all events, the royal family assimilated very soon with the Irânians in the language, manners and customs, as much as possible. G. Rawlinson likewise confirms this view, and asserts that the Parthians were of the Turanian origin, and had migrated into the country known after them as Parthia, leaving their remnants in the north-eastern steppes of Central Asia. (cf. "Parthia" in the "Story of Nation" series). Moreover, if the ethnographical view is taken into consideration, the Parthians had big flabby bodies and acquilines noses and large eyes, as seen on their coins, a trait so common among the Semites. But the popular tradition makes Arsaces a descendant of Dârâ, who was defeated by Alexander in 323 B. C. Fatahali Shah Kazar says as follows in his "Nâmeh-i Khôsrovân" about Arsaces :—

گویند اشک پور دارا بهمد ستي شهریاران دیگر استهمن سردار سکندر را از پیش برداشته ایران را از یونانیان تهي کرد

i.e. It is said that Ashak the son of Dârâ, having driven before himself Astahman, the general of Alexander, made the Greeks evacuate Irân.

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Again, he says that (Ashkân) Arsaces was from the lineage of Dârâ از نژاد دارا

Leaving aside this question of their descent, about which there is a good deal of difference of opinion we can say with some certainty that, as the Parthians were under the influence of the Greeks—especially the Seleucides, who ruled over the Persian empire from about 323-250 B. C.—they had borrowed the worship of the Irânian divinities, like Mithra, Tishtrya, Verethraghna and others from the Greeks, and had their names formed from those of these divinities. It is quite certain that these Irânian divinities, with the addition of "Âthro"—Âtar, Vât, Vanant and others were worshipped in Greece and Asia Minor. They were worshipped even in India—in the Punjab and the adjoining districts—as seen, from the Indo-Scythian coins of the Kanishka[1] and Huvishka dynasties which flourished some two centuries before the Sasanides. (cf. M. A. Stein—"Irânian divinities on Indo-Scythian coins.")

Further, the Greek influence on the Parthians can also be traced from their coins which follow the Seleucid model. These coins bear on the obverse the effigy of the king, and on the reverse, a figure with a bow sitting on a cortina—on the coins of later kings the figure is sitting on a throne—surrounded on all four sides by his titles and rarely his name in the Greek characters and language. M. Lenormant and M. Bartholomae have suggested that this portrait on the reverse is of Arsaces I, but there is no doubt that the features of this figure are the same as those on the coins of Tiridates (Arsaces II,) who was the first to assume the title of king and whom Justin calls Arsaces I, and who was deified later on (cf. J. Lindsay "A view of the History of Parthia and of the Parthian coinage.") A coin of Mithridates I, supposed to have been struck at Seleucia, is altogether of the Grecian type. It has on the reverse the figure of a sitting Jupiter with an eagle. On the reverse of a coin of Orodes I 62-37 B. C., an anchor, an emblem of hope, a symbol of the Seleucidae, appears behind a chair, which henceforth is to be seen on the coins of his successors.

Moreover, near the rock-sculptures of Gotarzes at Behistun we find Greek inscriptions, which are now in a very bad condition and almost illegible, and which Gotarzes, imitating the example of Darius Hystaspes, had caused to be engraved in commemoration of his victory over the pretender Mithridates,

1 This word is also written as Kanarki, the name of a dynasty which ruled in Kabul.

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his rival for the throne of Parthia in 49 A. D. From all these numismatic evidences, it can be ascertained with some probability, that the Parthians were totally influenced by their former masters, the Seleucid Greeks, and that the general possession of some knowledge of Greek with kings and upper classes[2] seems to be implied by the use of Greek letters and language upon their coins and inscriptions, and whatever their national language might have been, we possess no documents in the scriptures written in this language. But Comte A De Gobineau says in his "Methode of reading the Cuneiform Inscriptions", that he possesses several old Parthian coins which have the well-known legend found on Sasanian coins, "The king of Iran and Anyran". According to him on drachms which he had the opportunity of deciphering the legends are in the Sasanian Pahlavi language. On a coin of Mithridates I the legend runs as follows:—"Kavu Metr Schahu Ayran Any," moreover, on the coins of this king the tittle adopted by his successors, "the king of kings", is to be first seen. He calls himself on his coins "Basileos Basileon Megaloy Arsakoy Epiphanois," *i e.* "The king of kings, the great and illustrious Arsaces." On two coins of Mithridates II there are two different legends, viz. "Metrydet Meleky Ayranve Any," and "Bagu Metredet Ayr——an." It has now become clear that these drachms alluded to by Comte A De Gobineau are of the last Parthian kings, and of the Partho-Persian Kings,[3] who were contemporaneous and tributary rulers under the Parthian kings. The language of these legends is undoubtedly Sasanian Pahlavi, intermixed with Semitic words, written in the Hebrew, as

2. Artavasdes, the Parthian king of Armenia, and Orodes I possessed a good knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and the former had composed historical works and tragedies in Greek. (cf. "Parthia" by G. Rawlinson. p. 177.)

3. Allotte De La Fûye in his essay on "La Numismatique de la Perside" concerning the date of these Partho-Persian kings, or as he calls them "Souverains particuliers de la Perse à l'époque séleucide et parthe" says, as follows:—

I do not believe that the coins of Bagadate I, the most ancient ones, are anterior by far to Antiochus III of Syria, 222 B.C., and that the most recent ones of the period, i.e. those of the son or sons of Autophradate I, are posterior to the commencement of the reign of the king of the Parthians, Mithridates I, 171 B. C. The conquest of Persia by Mithridates I, if however it is well demonstrated, would fall in the middle of the reign of Darius I, who at the time of his accession assumed the name of one of the founders of the Achæmenian monarchy, and adopted on his helmet the symbol of an eagle which can be regarded as an Achæmenian one. The names of these Partho-Persian kings, as deduced from their coins, are thoroughly Irânian ones, which are to be met with in the case of the following kings only; as, Bagadate (Baghdât), Oborge, Artaxerxes I (Artakhshathra),

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well as in the Chaldo-Pahlavi characters, which prove to a certain degree the knowledge of the Semitic language on the part of the Parthians.[4]

In general, the religion of the Parthians seems to be a very loose form of Zoroastrianism. Under the Achæmenians they submitted to the Zoroastrian system as followed by Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. But their national religion inclined rather towards the worship of the elements, and particularly of the Sun and the Moon. Therefore the Parthian kings were tolerant towards all sorts of religious sys tems,and did not enforce an uniformity of creeds. The early Parthian kings allowed the inhabitants of Persis to indulge in the Zoroastrian belief and practices, and even maintained fire-altars in the dependent province of Persis. In Greek cities Olympian gods were venerated, Judaism prevailed in some district, and Christianity flourished in the province of Osrhoene, where at Edessa before the end of the second century A. D., there existed a flourishing Christian church. (cf. G. Rawlinson. "The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy" p. 401). The priestly class was known as the "Magi", which word is the same as Avesta "Magu," old Persian "Magu", from which the Pahlavi word "Magupat", "Mopat" and modern Persian "Mobad" meaning a priest are formed. The "Magi" with the "Sophi" or "wise men" formed the "Megistanes" or "the nobles", "the great men", who had the power of nominating and deposing a king, and who exercised considerable power in checking and controlling the king. These Magi were held in high respect by the early Parthians, but later on they lost their repute, and were very little cared for. They practically lost the influential position they had enjoyed for so long a time, but which they *still held* only formally. The Parthian religious system deviated manifoldly from the pure Zoroastrian system. We possess no clear evidence of the chief-divinity worshipped by the Parthians, as we possess of the Achaemenian "Auramazdâ", with whose help Darius the Great vanquished his enemies. If the inscriptions at Behistun of Gotarzes had been preserved intact, we would perhaps have found a clue to the

Autophradate I (Adufrâdha?), Darius I (Darayavu), Autophradate II, his son Darius II (died 80 B.C.), his son Oxathres (Hvakhshathra), his son Artaxerxes II (livedabout the middle of the first century B.C.). The legend on the coin of Bagadate I is as follows—"Bagadat Pratadara zi Alahia Bagakart," *i.e.* "Bagadate, pratadar, le devin, fils de Bagakart." The same type of the legend is found on the coins of these kings.

4. A coin of Vologesses IV, 191-207 A.D., bears the legend in two languages, one in Hebrew and the other in Greek. The Hebrew legend runs as follows : רלבשולגא "Volgasi Malka;" the Greak legend is illegible. The mint-monogram is A = Tambrace.

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chief divinity of the Parthians. On the contrary, from the time of Vologeses I, 50 or 51—77 A. D. to the downfall of the Parthian monarchy, on the reverse of the Parthian coins, the king is represented sitting on a throne and receiving a diadem, a symbol of power, offered by Tyche[5] of the city, who stands before him holding the diadem in her out-streched hand. Here we would rightly expect the effigy of Auramazda, the chief Zoroastrian divinity, as it is also to be seen, that on Nacksh-i-Roostum, Ormaz, the chief divinity of the Zoroastrians is represented sitting on a horse, and holding in his out-streched right hand a diadem, which he gives to Ardeshir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the left hand being held to his mouth. Hence it is provable, that the later Parthians inclined rather towards Greak divinities than towards purely Zoroastrian ones.

The burial of the dead is reckoned as one of the most heinous sins worthy of death in the Avesta and Pahlavi scriptures. But from the Parthian remains of the so-called "Slipper-coffins" found at Warka we have grounds to believe, that the Parthians buried their dead These coffins cannot be regarded as " Astodâns " or the receptacles for the bones of the deceased, for their length varies from three to six feet, and their construction proves rather their use as coffins than as "Astodâns". (cf. "Parthia" P. 388, for a description of "Slipper-coffins".) History provides us with some further proof of the burial of the dead among the Parthians. In 217 A. D. Caracallus, the Roman Emperor, on his march against Artabanus V throngh Babylon and Adiabene arrived at Arbela, and greatly insulted the Parthian religious feeling by his insane act of excavating the royal tombs, and dragging out of them dead bodies, and scattering the bones to the four winds. Arbela was of old known as "the city of the dead". Still it must be said, that the early Parthians neither burnt nor buried the dead, but after allowing the corpse to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey collected the bones and preserved them in tombs (Astodâns) like the Achaemenides.

The sacred fire, which is invariably represented on the coins of all Sasanian monarchs guarded by two priests each standing on either side of the fire bearing a sword, is wholly absent on Parthian coins. On the contrary, we find a figure of a sitting Arsaces with a bow on the reverse of the coins of almost all

5 The Greek name of the Latin goddess Fortuna, represented with various attributes to symbolise her fickleness, her influence, her generosity, etc. She wears a chiton, a peplos, and a turreted head-dress, as represented on these coins.

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Parthian kings, who, according to Justin, was deified later on, and in some rare instances, as on a coin of Mithridates I, the figure of a sitting Jupiter with an eagle, a symbol of sovereignty, is represented. On the reverse of the coins of the Partho—Persian kings, who were tributary to the Parthians, the king is represented standing to the left of the fire-altar in a worshipping posture, and holding a bow in his right hand, while the left is raised above in supplication, and above the cone of the flames of the fire, a "Farohar" (a winged form with a human bust,) probably of the king, is flutterring, and to the right of the fire altar something resembling a flag with an eight-cornered star in the middle is represented. This type of coins reminds us of the images on the tomb (Astodan) of Darius the Great, which exactly resemble those on these coins. The Farohar represented only in its crude form, i. e. only with a ring between two wings, is also to be seen on the pedestal of the fire on the reverse of the Sasanian coins. Moreovor, we find no mention of fire—altars built or venerated by any of the Parthian kings.[6] Although the early Parthians seem to have held the element of fire in high respect, we hear of the later Parthians burning the dead (Herodian IV 30), and of the Parthian kings of Armenia, that they allowed the sacred fire to be extinguished,—an act punishable by death according to the Avesta and Pahlavi scriptures.

The worship of the Sun was very common among the Parthians. From the ruins at Hatra a temple of Mithra, the Sun-God, is discovered, where on the door-way to a hall (No. II) between two rows of ornamental flowers, there are

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6. In "Nâmeh-i-Khôsravân" it is said that the sixth Askanian King Behram, son of Shahpur, who was a contemporary of Christ, founded Constantinople and built an Atâsh-Kadeh there.

در نزدیکي استنبول شهري از خشت پخته ساخت و آتشکدهٔ بزرگي در آنجا بنیاد نهاد

But it is very doubtful who this Behram might be. Again in Bundehesh, ch. 34 § 9, there is a mention of those Askanians, who ruled in holiness for 284 years over Persia. The text runs as follows:—

[illegible] (variant [illegible]) [illegible]

E. W. West translates the passage thus :—

"The Askanians bore the title in an uninterrupted (a-arûbâk) sovereignty two hundred and eighty-four years," and makes a note, that this period is nearly two centuries too short.

In "Nâmeh-i Khôsravân" the period of the sovereignity of the Askanians is said to be 461 years.

ورز گار پادشاهي این کرده چهارصد و شصت و ایک سال و با لستهن رومی بیست تن بوده اند

This statement well-nigh agrees with true history for the Parthians ruled for nearly 481 years—from 255 B. C. to 256 A. D.

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emblematic figures of griffins, eagles, and human and animal heads in a row. One of these human heads is considered to be the representation of this deity—the Sun. Also statues of this deity were made and venerated in temples. Again there was a temple dedicated to the Moon at Edessa, where Caracallus was assassinated by Martialis on the 8th of April 217 A.D. Likewise, on coins of many Parthian kings, there are crescents on either side of the face of the king, and on a coin of Phraates IV there is a crescent and a star in front of his face and an eagle with a ring, a symbol of sovereignty, behind it.

Although in the Avestan scriptures the Sun and the Moon are revered as divinities, and a long yasht is dedicated in honour of the former, still nowhere a mention of temples erected in their honour is to be found. The idea of building temples in honour of divinities must have been borrowed from the Greeks. They worshipped and built temples in honour of Mithra, Meher, whom they named "Helios", for on one of the Indo-Scythian coins mentioned by M. A. Stein the word "Helios" is to be seen on the side of the same figure, which bears name "Mithro" on coins of this series. The Parthians indulged in a sort of ancestor worship, and either worshipped the dead under the name "Teraphim" or the "sacred beings", just as the Greeks worshipped them under the name "Daemon", and the Romans under the name "Manes", or merely as gods of the family like "vithaibish baghaibish" of the inscriptions of Darius. The Parthian kings swore by these deities on solemn occasions, and the members of the royal family also made use of the same oath (Joseph "Ant. Jud" XVIII 9.§ 3. quoted by G. Rawlinson.)

Polygamy was the established rule among the Parthians. They were allowed to marry and maintain, besides their chief wife, as many concubines as they pleased. Many of the nobles maintained a large number of them, but as the expenses of the seraglio were great, the custom did not prevail among the commonalty. It was the custom in the east of carrying in a battle the royal seraglio, and it is said, that more than two hundred chariots were required for conveying the seraglio of Surenas, the commander-in-chief of the Parthian army, when he marched against Marcus Crassus, the pro-consul of Syria in 53 B. C. But it is provable from the Avesta and Pahlavi scriptures, that poligamy is strongly forbidden, and that it is contrary to the Zoroastrian precept. From the Avesta it is observed, that the great historical personages of the time, like

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Zarathustra, Vîstâspa, and Jâmâspa, had only one wife. Likewise there is a precept in the Dinkard Bk. V, (p 447. ll. 15-16. published by the Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion," Bombay 1911) which says ... *i.e.* in any case, a woman should not marry a (second) husband, nor a man a (second) wife, (during his or her lifetime), for it is not proper.

Yet from this passage it should not be supposed, that divorce was thoroughly out of question for the *Zoroastrians*. If the first wife has no children, the husband is, of course, allowed to marry another, yet not without the consent of the first wife, and still the first wife is in consequence not to be divorced. The wife cannot contract a second marriage under any circumstances whatever, as long as the husband lives;[1] likewise it appears that the husband is only allowad to divorce his wife under any of the following reasons[2]; [1] if his wife leads a scandalous life,[2]) if she keeps the time of her menstruation secret from her husband,[3]) if she practises sorcery,[4]) if she begets no children

Further, on Parthian coins, Macedonian names of months are found and not the Irânian ones, which were in use among the Achaemenians and the Sasanians, and the era used on Parthian coins is the Seleucid era, begun by Seleeus in 312 B. C., while on the Sasanian coins the regnal year is to be found.

On a coin of Phraates IV the legend runs as follows ;—

"Basileos Basileon Arsakoy Eyegatoy Epiphanois Philellhnos" Date M ; month " Yperbere," city of the mint A--Tambrace i. e. " the king of kings Arsaces, benefactor, the illustrious one ; lover of the Greeks. " Date 200 Anno Seleucidi, month Hyperberetaeus = October.

One of the main causes of the Persian revolt under Artaxerxes (Ardeshir), the tributary king of Persia (Persis) under Parthia, against Artabanus V in 226

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* Cf. Spiegel " Die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen " Vol. II. Intro. P. XXXI.

1. Cod. XII p. 531.

از روایت بهمن پونچیه آن کم شوهر نگاح کردهٔ باشد.
بدیکری نتوان دادن تا او زنده باشد.

2. Cod. XII i.c.

از روایت کامدین بهرهٔ بدین به مازدیسنان نشاید. که زن رها کند و طلاق نه افتد مگر بچهار چیز یکي آنکه بستر شوهر ببرد وبی رسمی کند و نا شایستي ازو پدیدار آید و دوم آنکه دشنان پنها کند و شوهر نداند سیوم آنکه جادوی کند و آموزد چهارم که فرزندان ازش نزاید.

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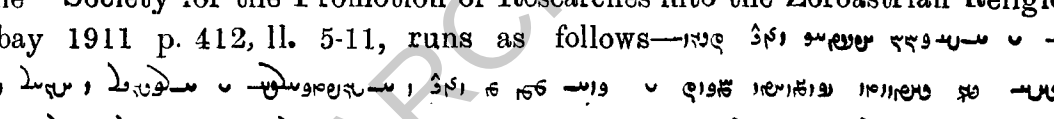
A. D. is the non-observance of the true Zoroastrian religion. The Persians looked at the tolerance of non-Zoroastrian faiths practised by the Parthian kings with disgust, and were angry with them for the disrepute in which the Magi were held, and only waited for an opportunity of revolting, which offered itself through internal dissentions during the weak reign of Artabanus V. But Hamza of Isphan seems to contradict this view, for he says that the political views and not the religious ones led Artaxerxes to revolt against Artabanus V, and that both the Arsacides and the Sasanians were the followers of the Bactrian prophet. Likewise Pliny says of Tiridates, the brother of Vologeses I, whose investiture by Nero, as the king of Armenia, took place at Rome in 66 A. D., with great rejoicings and entertainments at the Roman costs, that he was a Magian and was very scrupulous in respecting the elements. Moreover, in Dinkard BK. IV § 24, it is said that one Valkash, an Askanian, probably Vologeses 1, a contemporary of Nero, the Roman Emperor, who ruled over Parthia from 51 or 51 –77 A. D., was the first editor of the Avestan scriptures. The text according to the Mulla Firoz manuscript of the Dinkard published by the " Society for the Promotion of Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion," Bombay 1911 p. 412, ll. 5-11, runs as follows—



i. e. " Valkhas, descendant of Askân, in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, and making of memoranda for the royal city, of the Avesta and Zend as it had purely come unto them and also of whatever instruction, due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander, and the cavalry and infantry of the Arumans." (S. B. E Vol. XXXVII. Dinkard Bk. IV. translated by E. W. West p. 413 § 24.)[8]

8 In this connection the " Zartosht Nameh " of Zartosht Behrâm is to be compared. There the following episode is narrated of Zartosht. Zartosht asked of Ahura Mazda immortality, which the latter refused on the ground that if Zartosht was made immortal, Tur-i-Baratur, his assassin will also be immortal. But Ahura Mazda offers Zartosht a drop of liquid to swallow, whereby the latter falls into a deep sleep and has visions of heaven and hell, which he describes when he wakes up. Moreover he describes a

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As stated above Tiridates was a Magian, and was following, if not the true form of the Zoroastrian religion, the form known as Magism. He did not cross the sea when he went to Rome for his investiture as the king of Armenia, but took the land-route only crossing the Helespont, for he was afraid of insulting the water if he undertook a voyage. Again, Justin says that the Parthians paid a special reverence to rivers. Perhaps Vologeses might have been influenced by his brother in his religious views, and in consequence have edited the Avestan scriptures, which were devastated by Alexander. Prof. Geldner in his essay on the Avestan literature, translated by the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, and published in the Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume, p. 53, says, that it is better to suppose Vologeses III, who ruled peacefully from 148-191 A D., to be meant by the one Valkash mentioned in the Dinkard Bk. IV § 24, for the later Parthian kings were better Zoroastrians than their predecessors, and that the Greek influence was gradually losing its ground from the middle of the first century A. D. Fromthe time of Mithridates VI[9], the contemporary of Trajan, who was the emperor from 101-117 A D., we have Sasanian Pahlavi legends on the coins of Parthian kings instead of the usual Greek ones, and moreover, the edition of the Avestan scriptures under one Vologeses might perhaps be the beginning of the revival of the national spirit, which culminated under the Sasanides. But from what has been shown above, the Parthians seem not to have followed the Zoroastrian religion in the true Avestan spirit.

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tree with seven branches which are of gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, steel, and mixed iron, and which respectively overshadow the world. These seven branches represent seven great personages who will arise in successive ages of the world. The branch of gold is Zartosht himself, that of silver Gushtasp, that of copper an Ashkanian king, that of brass Artakhshir, that of lead Behrâm (Gôr), that of steel Nôshirvan, and that of mixed iron the melicious monarch who will upset the true faith. (cf. S. B. E. Vol. XLVII. Intro. § 43.)

9 No such king is mentioned by G. Rawlinson. Pacoras II and his brother Chosröes were contemporaries of Trajan.

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PRINCIPAL PERSIAN FESTIVALS IN THE DAYS OF NAOSHERWAN.

By Mehrjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka Esq. M. A.

In the Spiegel Memorial Volume edited by Shams-ul-ulma Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi there is an interesting article, from the pen of Mr. Kantok Hori, on the references to Persia in the writings of Weï Shou, the Chinese historian of the Weï dynasty, who flourished in the sixth century after Christ. One para in particular, wherein mention is made of some Iranian festivals, is of special interest to students of the Iranian Calendar. It runs as under:—

> "In this country New year's day is kept in the sixth moon (July). Their greatest festivals are the seventh day of the seventh moon and the first day of the twelfth moon. On these days the common people are invited at the King's orders to a great banquet, when music is played, and all join in gay amusement. Furthermore on the twelfth day of the first moon everyone brings sacrifice to the departed souls of his ancestors."

Unfortunately, as it stands, the para does not convey much information. The New Year's day is mentioned as falling in the sixth moon, but the date is not given, nor are we told what Persian month began the year. The description of other festivals is very vague. The last festival has something more said about it, but the description might as well apply to the festival of the 19th day of Farvardin, or to that of the 19th day of Âdar, or to any of the ten Farvdardegân days. If the last be the case, there is again the uncertainty as to whether the Farvardegân days were at the end of the month Aspendârmad or of the month Âbân. The Chinese year being a luni-solar one, the difficulty is enhanced of determining the festivals referred to, and of ascertaining the year which was taken by the writer as his standard. The problem however is not unsolvable, and the object of the present paper is to submit a full explanation of the para in question.

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It will be noticed that the Iranian festivals are mentioned as falling in the sixth, the seventh, the twelfth, and the first moons, which indicates that the writer has taken the festivals in the order in which they follow in the Persian Year, and that we have here to deal with two successive years Chinese, in the first of which took place the first three festivals, and in the other the fourth one.

Let us first take in hand the fourth festival, that in which sacrifices were offered to the souls of the departed ancestors. We learn from Alberuni, (and his statement is confirmed by other evidence), that in the time of the Sassanian Dynasty the Farvardegân days consecrated to the ancestors began on the 25th day of the month Âbân. We therefore take the fourth festival above referred to as the 25th day of Âban, and work backward. Counting the twelfth moon Chinese as a month of 29 days, we find that the interval between the 1st of the twelfth moon and the 12th of the first moon is of 40 days. This is exactly the interval between the 16th of Mehr and the 25th of Âbân, and the third festival would therefore be that of the *Mehrgân*, one of the most important of the Persian festivals.

Between the 7th of the seventh moon, on which the second festival falls, and the 1st of the twelfth moon, the interval is four lunar months and 23 days. The number of days in four lunar months is 117, 118, or 119. Taking here 117 for our purpose, we find the above interval to be of 140 days, which is also the exact interval between the 26th of Ardibehsht and the 16th of Mehr. According to Alberuni the 26th day of Ardibehsht was the first day of the *Paitishhem gahambar* or the Harvest Festival, in the times of Sassanians and down to his own times. This therefore would be the second festival referred to.

So far our hypothesis has worked smoothly, but now comes a difficulty. If the 7th of the seventh moon corresponded to the 26th day of Ardibesht, it will be seen that no date in the sixth moon could coincide with the 1st of Farvardin. But as the writer expressly states that the Persian New Year festival fell in the sixth moon, the only solution of the problem is the supposition that there was an intercalated month between the sixth and the seventh moons. The interval between the 1st of Farvardin and the 26th of Ardibehsht being 55 days, we can thus fix the 12th of the sixth moon as the Persian New Year's day, taking 30 days as the length of the intercalated month.

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We thus find that the four festivals mentioned by the author are :

The 1st of Farvardin, or the *New Year's Day.*

The 26th of Ardibehsht, or the first day of the Harvest festival —the *Paitishhem Gahambar*

The 16th of Mehr, or the *Mehrgân* festival, and

The 25th of Âbân, or the first of the *Farvardegân* days.

It now remains for us to ascertain which year of the Persian Era the author has taken as his standard.

It can be shown from Chronological tables that this was the 40th year of the reign of Naosherwan. In that year the 1st of Farvardin coincided with the 2nd of July (O.S.), A.C. 570. The Chinese year then current was the 27th year of the 54th Cycle. It commenced on the 24th January 570 and consisted of 13 months. The succeeding Chinese year commenced on the 11th February 571. The following table will make the interconnection of the eras and dates quite clear.

Chinese Dates.			Persian Dates.		Julian Dates.:			Number of days in the Chinese month.
Year	Month	Date	Month	Date	Year A.C.	Month	Date	
27th	I	1	Mehr	27	570	January	24	30
,,	II	1	Âbân	27	,,	February	23	29
,,	III	1	Adar	21	,,	March	24	30
,,	IV	1	Dae	21	,,	April	23	30
,,	V	1	Bahman	21	,,	May	23	29
,,	VI	1	Aspendârmad	20	,,	June	21	30
,,	,,	12	Farvardin	1	,,	July	2	
,,	Intercalated	1	,,	20	,,	,,	21	30
,,	VII	1	Ardibehsht	20	,,	August	20	29
,,	,,	7	,,	26	,,	,,	26	
,,	VIII	1	Khordâd	19	,,	September	18	29
,,	IX	1	Tir	18	,,	October	17	29
,,	X	1	Amerdâd	17	,,	November	15	30
,,	XI	1	Shahrivar	17	,,	December	15	29
,,	XII	1	Mehr	16	571	January	13	29
28th	I	1	Âbân	15	,,	February	11	
,,	,,	12	Âdar	26	,,	,,	22	

The information which we have thus derived from the writings of the Chinese historian tallies with what Alberuni has said about the position of the Gâthâ days in the Persian Calendar and of the the Persian months in the solar

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year, and it is satisfactory to find the statement of the Arabian chronologist confirmed by the testimony of a contemporary of the Sassanians.

It will be observed that the New Year's festival took place in July, while the prevalent belife based on ancient Persian literature is that its proper place is in the first month of Spring. The explanation of this seeming anomaly is that there were two year-beginnings or Naoroz days. The New Year's day referred to by the Chinese writer was the beginning of the civil year, and was celebrated with great pomp on the 1st of Farvardin. The importance given to it by the state was due to the fact that the reigning sovereigns counted each year of their reign from this day. For religious purposes the year had another beginning, in the first month of spring, and near the Equinox, and this day in Naosherwan's time was the 1st day of Âdar. This religious Naoroz seems to have been celebrated very quietly, or perhaps by the priests only, and its importance seems to have been eclipsed by that of the state festival of the other Naoroz* In the civil as well as in the religious calendar the months were the same, just as we see in the Indian Calendar, wherein the commercial year begins on the 1st of Kârtik and the religious one on the 1st of Chaitra, but the Chaitra of the commercial year is identical with the Chaitra of the religious year. In like manner the month Mehr of the Persian religious calendar coincided with the month Mehr of the civil calendar, as is evident from the celebration of the Mehrgân festival, which is a religious festival and not a civil one, in January.

Owing to the neglect of intercalation the latter Naoroz gradually shifted its position till, in the time of Sultan Jelaludin Malekshah Seljooki, it was found to be very near the beginning of Spring. It was then adopted by the state as the first day of the Civil Year.

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THE APPARENT CONTRADICTION IN THE ACCOUNTS OF GEUS URVAN'S COMPLAINT IN THE GATHAS AND IN THE BUNDAHISHN, WITH REFERENCE TO THE WORLD-SOUL OF PLATO.

By S. N. Kanga Esq. B. A.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the accounts in the Gathas and in the Bundahishn, in the second we get some idea of the World-Soul of Plato, and in the third, we give the concluding remarks.

PART I.—GEUS URVAN IN THE GATHAS AND IN THE BUNDAHISHN.

In Yasna 29 of the Gathas, the Geus Urvan or the kine's soul is not satisfied with the arrangement made in the matter of her complaint, as against the account in Ch. IV of the Bundahishn (S. B. E. Vol. V) where she is evidently satisfied with the decision arrived at on her behalf. It is our object to see in this paper how and to what degree this apparent contradiction in the two accounts may be reconciled. We first go to the Bundahishn. The chapter opens thus:—"This also is said, that when the primeval ox passed away, it fell to the right hand, and Gayomard afterwards, when he passed away, to the left hand." The significance of this right and left is not properly understood, unless the right shows priority of time in the case of the ox *i. e.* of the animal kingdom to that of Gayomard *i. e.* the human kingdom. For mark the expression "and Gayomard afterwards" in the above quotation. According to Ch. III of the Bundahishn, the evil spirit first came on *i.e.* entered into the water, then to the vegetation, then to the ox, then to Gayomard, and then to fire. The advent of the evil spirit is meant to show the cause of movement and growth in the creations mentioned above, and in the case of Gayomard particularly *i.e.* the human kingdom, of the mingling of good and evil as we understand

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these relative terms. That there was supposed to be some intimate connection between the vegetable and the animal kingdoms may be inferred from Chapter X of the Bundahishn, where it is said "Owing to the vegetable principle (Kiharek) proceeding from every limb of the ox etc." In the same way we find some intimate connection between the animal and the human kingdoms; for we read in para 19, of Chapter III as follows :—

"And before the evil spirit's coming to Gayomard, Auharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant and tall. When Gayomard issued from the sweat, he saw the world dark as night . . . ; the celestial sphere was in revolution, and the sun and moon remained in motion; and the world's struggle . . . was with the constellations.". In the above quotation we find that the Gayomard spoken of first represents the type or model of the human race, while the Gayomard that issued from the sweat* is spoken of as 'a man,' who was evidently endowed with mentality, for as soon as he came forth, he saw that the world was dark, and the celestial bodies were in revolution. And this bringing forth of man from the sweat happened 'before the evil spirit came to Gayomard' and evidently, after it had done with the ox or the animal creation. The sequence of events as narrated in the above paragraphs is thus worth noting. We find a similar sequence of events mentioned in Fravardin Yasht 86, where we find આપેા, ગેમેા, ગેઉશ and ગયેહે mentioned in their natural order. There also, ગેઉશ and ગયેહે represent respectively the animal and human creations. We thus find a striking parallel in the Bundahishn to the modern theory of evolution as preached by Darwin and others.

So much by way of a preliminary; and we now go again to the beginning of Ch. IV of the Bundahishn where it is said that 'when the primeval ox passed away it fell to the right hand and Gayomard *afterwards*, when he passed away, to the left hand." Then in the second stanza it is said:— "Goshurvan, as the soul of the primeval ox came out of the body of the ox, stood up before the ox and cried to Auharmazd, as much as a thousand men when they sustain a cry at one time, thus: With whom is the guardianship of the creatures left by thee, when ruin has broken into the

* Incorrectly reading the Pahlavi word West has translated it as 'Sweat' instead of 'sleep'.

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earth and vegetation is withered, and water is troubled? Where is the man of whom it was said by thee thus: I will produce him, so that he may preach carefulness." Now why is it said above that the Goshurvan or the soul of the ox stood up before the ox and not before any other creatures, and cried to Auharmazd? I think it is for the simple reason that at that time there was no human creation on earth, but only the animal creation as represented by the ox. And in this connection we have to mark again the words 'when ruin has broken into the earth and[1] vegetation is withered and water is troubled.' The ruin caused by the evil spirit had reached at that time to earth, water and vegetation only.

That mankind had not made its appearance on earth at that particular time appears also from the reply of Auharmazd in the very next para 3 that "it was not proper to produce that man in this earth, at this time," as otherwise "the evil spirit would not have been oppressive in it." The advent of Zarathushtra at that particular stage in the world's history would have been a fruitless affair and not in accordance with the laws of nature. And this was so, because there was no human *i.e.* thinking creation then existing on earth. Having been told that it was not *then* proper to produce that man, the Goshurvan was shown the Fravashi of Zarathushtra. As stated in the 4th para, "Goshurvan forth walked to the star station, and cried in the same manner, and forth to the moon station, and cried in the same manner, and forth to the sun station, and then the guardian spirit of Zarathushtra was exhibited to her, and Auharmazd said thus: 'I will produce for the world him who will preach carefulness." The Goshurvan was thus shown the Fravashi of Zarathushtra which was residing in the sun station. This would show that Fravashis,[2] which I am inclined to think, are in some mysterious way the same in essence with Auharmazd, are residing in the sun station. And Auharmazd promised that at some *future*

1 In this para the purely animal creation is not specifically mentioned. The reason seems to be as already stated above that there was supposed to be an intimate connection between the vegetable and animal kingdoms. That the vegetable kingdom was also represented by the ox appears from Ch., X of the Bundahishn where it is said "Owing to the vegetable? (Kiharek) proceeding from every principal limb of the ox &c."

2 See my "Fravashis and Platonic Ideas" written for the 2nd Zoroastrian Conference held in Bombay in 1911.

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time, but not then He will send 'that man,' Zarathushtra, to the earth. Thereupon as in the last para of this Chapter, 5, "contented became the spirit Goshurvan, and assented thus: 'I will nourish the creatures'; that is, she became again consenting to a worldly creation in the world." We thus see that in this Chapter there is no discontent shown by Goshurvan with the decree of Auharmazd, and also that as no other aid was possible to her at that particular stage, she herself undertook to nourish her own creation.

Points of connection between Ch. IV of the Bundahishn and Yasna 29 of the Gathas.

They are as follows :—(1) the use of the word Goshurvan which is philologically the same as and indentical in meaning with Geus Urvan; (2) the sustained cry as that of a thousand men, which is the same as the gerezda (ગરજવા Guj.) of the Gathas; (3) both ask for a chieftain as guardian for the world; (4) but according to both accounts none is forthcoming *at that particular time*; according to Bundahishn it was not *proper then* to produce such a man, and in the Gathas, Asha, as the orderer of all things in the world, could not find such a man. For we must remember that to try to find or produce such a man at that particular stage of the world's history would have been subversive of the laws of nature. So far then the accounts agree, but now the point of divergence comes in.

The point of divergence between the two accounts.

According to Bundahishn, as we have already seen, Goshurvan remains satisfied after she is shown the Fravashi of Zarat'ushtra, *even though* her troubles remain the same as before. But in the Gathas she is represented as having been dissatisfied with the reply given to her original complaint. How to account for this apparent contradiction in the two accounts? I think, however, that there is no real conflict between them. It appears to me that in Yasna 29 of the Gathas two particular periods of time in the world's history have been depicted by Zarathushtra.—one belonging, as it were, to Geus Urvan proper and representing the period that elapsed before the beginning of human creation on earth, and the other, the period of time from the very beginning of things upto the time of Zarathushtra and for the matter of that upto all time. This will be attempted in what follows.

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In the meantime it is necessary to remember that in stanza 5 of Yasna 29 Zarathushtra speaks not alone in his own name, but in that of the Geus Urvan also.

Translated by Mills :—" Therefore it is that we both, my soul and (the soul) of the mother kine (are) making supplications for the two worlds to Ahura.' And what are the two worlds here referred to ? In the light of the above explanation and of what will follow hereafter I take it that it is the animal and the human kingdoms that are here referred to. To take them to mean the material and the spiritual worlds would have no meaning in this part of the Gathas.

Then for the purposes of this paper I divide Yasna 29 into two parts, one ending with stanza 3, and the other with the end of the chapter. The writer of the Bundahishn, who is evidently reproducing the ideas in Yasna 29, suddenly stops, it will have been seen, in his exposition, when he arrives at stanza 3 of that Yasna. Is it that having arrived at the idea that the Goshurwan was satisfied with the explanation given, he, the writer of the Bundahishna fails to reconcile that idea with what follows in the succeeding stanzas of Yasna 29 ? And in this connection we remember with Mills that a verse or verses may have fallen out after stanza 3. That Zarathushtra at this juncture, i. e. after stanza 3, suddenly intervenes in the midst of the Divine Assembly has also been noticed by him.

That there is a break, after stanza 3, in the midst of the conversation that was carried on in the Divine Assembly is evident. The probable explanation and rejoinder by Ahura to Asha's mental difficulties in the matter of his inability to find a suitable *man* at that particular stage of the world's history, has not been specifically given, but is evidently taken for granted. And here we find that the first part of Yasna 29 naturally comes to an end, and from the next stanza we are, as it were, suddenly transported to another sphere. We find Zarathushtra suddenly intervening as we said above in the midst of the interrupted conversation, and in stanza 5, making with Geus Urvan joint supplication to Ahura and asking questions in doubt. That is, whereas in the first three stanzas, Geus Urvan

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alone makes the complaint, we now find that both Zarathushtra and Geus Urvan make their joint supplications. And we have to note one peculiarity in their joint supplications. Whereas, as in stanza I, Geus Urvan's complaint on account of her ignorance was absolute, now, that is, in stanza 5, that absolute complaint has given place to 'questions in doubt'; for Zarathushtra at any rate knew the trend of events, and his complaint thus naturally took the form of questions in doubt only.

We then find that in the succeeding stanza, 6, Ahura Himself, and not Asha as in stanza 3, replies to their joint supplications and questions. Ahura says, "Not in this manner is an Ahu or a Ratu found &c." In this line Mills reads with the Pahalvi translator aeva ahu, meaning "in this way", instead of aevo "only one", as is generally done. From what has been said above one might be inclined to think that "not in this way" would be more in the fitness of things. But what is the significance of "not in this way."? The Geus Urvan wanted a towering personality who would remove her ills at one stroke and for all time. But this was not possible in the economy of things. Just as Asha in stanza 3 could not find for the Geus Urvan, that is for the animal kingdom, a man of a particular type and after her own liking, so also in stanza 6 Ahura also for similar reasons could not find both for Geus Urvan and Zarathustra, that is for the animal and human kingdoms, an Ahu or a Ratu who would be powerful enough to remove all the ills *at one stroke.* Ahura therefore appoints Zarathustra himself, as the next best man as it were, to look after the world's affairs.

Geus Urvan's complaint thus remains the same as before, and she is naturally dissatisfied with the answer given, and laments, as in stanza 9, that in her time of need she gets only the "voice of a pusillanimous man." Zarathustra however understands the trend of events better than Geus Urvan, and has therefore nothing more to say by way of complaint, but agrees that the plans laid down by Ahura are for the best. Zarathustra thereafter, according to the succeeding stanzas, accepts the holy mission and thus the second part of Yasna 29 aptly comes to an end.

From the accounts given in Bundahishn Ch. IV, and from the above analysis of Yasna 29, one point comes out prominently to the front and

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it is that the Geus Urvan represents the mineral vegetable and animal kingdoms only, but not the human kingdom also, as is generally supposed. The distinction that is kept up in the other parts of the Avesta between ગેઉશ and ગ્યેહુ must not be lost sight of in this connection. We have finished with the first part of our paper and we now go to the second.

Part II.—The World-Soul in Plato.

In the "Timæus" of Plato we come across the doctrine of a World-Soul, which has its points of connection with the Geus Urvan of the Gathas and the Goshurun of the Bundahishn. Here, however, we restrict ourselves to the point which is of importance in our discussion, and that is to see whether in Plato also the world-soul represents the animal creation only or both the animal and human creations. We shall first give an idea of what Plato's world was like in Plato's own words. "The framing Artificer was good, and being free from envy desired that all things should as much as possible resemble himself. . . . He found by reasoning that of things naturally visible, nothing without intelligence could be more beautiful than what is wholly endowed with intellect, and besides this, that apart from the soul no one could possess intelligence. In pursuance of this reasoning placing intellect in soul, and soul in body, he constructed the universe. . . . Hence therefore we have a reasonable motive for calling the world an *animal with a soul*, truly intellectual, and created through the providence of the deity. . . . And we must consider the universe as most nearly of all resembling what contains the other animals both separately and collectively as parts [of a whole]—for it (*the Universe*) comprises within itself all intelligible animals, just as *this world* contains us and all other visible creatures. The deity. . . . formed it into *one visible animal, containing within itself all the other animals* with which it is naturally allied. . . . And this the solely-begotten[1] heaven (or universe) having been generated, now exists and ever will exist. . . . As for the soul, he fixed it in the middle, extended it throughout the whole, and likewise surrounded with it its entire surface ..... And the Deity constituted the soul

1 The Primeval Ox, literally the sole created ox of Bund Ch. IV.

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both in age and excellence prior to and older than the body ..... " (TRANSLATED BY HENRY DAVIS M.A. BOHN'S EDITION.)

We see from these words of Plato that the universe was permeated all over, as it were, with a soul, which carried intelligence with it. Can we say the same as regards the world represented by the Geus Urvan? Is the world according to the Zoroastrian ideas animated with life and intelligence? Perhaps we might be better able to understand this question, if we remember that there are Fravashis of both animate as well as inanimate objects; and as Fravashis are not inanimate things but are entities in the strictest sense of the word, then, the world may naturally be represented as animated with life and intelligence. It is not however to be supposed that this fact indicates the existence of the doctrine of pantheism in the Zoroastrian Religion. I have tried to make this point clear in my paper on " Fravashis and the Platonic Ideas" spoken of above.

The point however that we were looking for in the above brief account of the world-soul in Plato was to see whether Plato's universe represented the animal creation only, as we have seen in the accounts of Geus Urvan in the Bundahishn and in the Gathas, or both animal and human creations. We would again draw attention to the words of Plato quoted above: " For it (the universe) comprises within itself all intelligible animals, just as *this world* contains *us and all other visible* creatures." It will have been seen that in some way or other Plato's universe is distinct from " this world which contains us [mankind] and all other visible creatures." We also read in another part of the dialogue as follows:—" Next, he created the earth, our common nourisher, which being confined round the axis that extends through the universe, is the guardian and the artificer of night and day, as well as the first and most ancient of the gods that have been generated *within the universe.*" We thus see that even Plato's universe represents the animal world only and is distinct from the earth which later on produced mankind. In fact, as we go through the Timæus we find that the creation of mankind comes later in point of time.

In all the accounts then, the world soul represents the animal creation only. If this is so, it would seem to emphasize the point which we have tried

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to make clear, in the first part of this paper, namely, that the Yasna 29 may be divided inte two parts, of which the first part ends with stanza 3, and in which part nothing is said that has reference to human beings, but to animal creation only as represented by the Geus Urvan.

We now come to an important point for consideration. If the universe of Plato were distinct from the earth, can we say, extending the analogy to the account given of Geus Urvan in the Gathas that the first three stanzas of Yasna 29 do not refer to anything happening on *this earth*, but to some kind of universe in Plato's sense, that existed before it. To understand this point clearly we must again go to Plato and see whether his universe was quite distinct from the earth and existed separately in space. And we now suddenly remember that Plato did not intend to say that his earth or world was quite separate from the universe. We again refer to his words: "Next he formed the earth, our common nourisher which.....is the first and most ancient of the gods that have been generated *within the universe.*" If generated *within* the universe, this earth is not necessarily separate from it. Plato's universe then appears to be the same as his earth, only, that the earth represents the later form which his universe assumed in course of ages.

Plato's "universe" is thus the same as his "earth", and we find that in the Gathic accounts no difference is sought to be made between a universe in Plato's sense and the earth. And it is the same in the Bundahishn. On this point also, then, there is no divergence in the accounts of Plato, the Gathas, and the Bundahisn.

Part III.—Concluding Remarks.

We now come to the third part of this paper. We have seen the points of connection between the first two parts. We have seen, for instance, that in the first part of Yasna 29 (the first three stanzas) as well as in that part in Plato which refers to his universe, no reference has been made to human beings on this earth, for there were none at the time; and that in the second part of Yasna 29, as well as in that part of Plato, where his universe is spoken of as this earth, allusion is made to human beings on it.

In the first part of Yasna 29, the conversation takes place, as it were, in the Divine Assembly, and in the second, human element enters largely in that conversation.

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But if what we have said above about the first part of Yasna 29 be correct, then that part will have to be differently interpreted. For instance the Aeshma in stanza 2, will have to be translated not by wicked men (see Mills), but in its proper significance of a disturber of the order in the universe. In the Srosh Yasht, 4, Aeshma is spoken of as an antagonist of Sraosha, who has to keep watch night and day over things of the world against his attacks. And we remember according to Bundahishn. that the evil spirit goes to the things of the earth in the capacity of a disturber.

We have come to the end of this paper. We find that the writer of the Bundahishn in his account of Goshurwan in Ch. IV has followed Yasna 29 correctly upto the 3rd stanza, and has evidently taken it for granted that the Geus Urvan, representing the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, and as representing the time that elapsed before the advent of man on earth, was satisfied with the reply given to her complaint. He, however, suddenly stops, in his exposition, at stanza 3 of Yasna 29, and we may ask whether it was so on account of his inability to reconcile what follows in that Yasna, with what has gone before so far. What ever that may be, we find that the Geus Urwan who was satisfied with the reply given in the first part of the Yasna, is unable to appreciate the trend of events that appear after the advent of man on earth and of the action of the law of duality, and consequently remains dissatisfied with the reply given in the second part of the Yasna, namely, that she can only get, as she understands, the voice of a pusillanimous man, Zarathushtra, instead of that of a man who is mighty and lord over his will. We can only be sorry both for the Geus Urvan and for ourselves that it was not to be otherwise.

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THE WORD 'ZAOTHRA' USED IN THE AVESTAN LITERATURE.

By Ardeshir Khurshedji Vesavewala, Esq. B.A.

This paper is intended to give an exhaustive interpretation of the word Zaothra as it is used in Avesta and Pahlavi literature. Zaothra is something that is offered in sacred service or religious ceremony as it is understood literally. This offering may be either with meat, food or consecrated water used in the Yasna ceremonies. The four elements which play a most important part in the Zoroastrian ceremonies are Hom, Barsam, Jivam and Aiwiaonghana. Ceremonies are performed by these means in honour of Ahura Mazda and Amesha Spentas in which fruit, vegetables, holy unleavened bread named Draona, water etc. are dedicated in their honour. The Zaota or the principal performer of the ceremony tastes these things and delivers the rest of them to other Zoroastrians who eat them after reciting the due formulæ. The Avesta Myazda, Vedic Miyidha is the sacred solid thing dedicated to the Yazatas in the ceremonies, whereas Zaothra is the sacrificial watery offering dedicated in the Yazashna ceremony. This Avesta word Zaothra is the same as Pahlavi Zohar, Persian Zor and Gujarati word zor. In Yazashna ceremony the sacrificial water is presented near the fire and then dropped in a well. This is called " the mixing of Zaothra જોર મેલવવી."

The Pahlavi translators as well as the Sanskrit translator such as the learned Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval many times do not translate the Avesta word in their own language but only transcribe it. In the same way this word Zaothra is transcribed by the Pahlavi writers Zohar or Zor. The Avesta 'th' becomes 'h' in Pahlavi as for instance Chithra becomes Chihar, Puthra becomes Puhar, so Zaothra becomes Zohar. In Sanskrit we find Nairyosang using the word Prân for Zaothra. It is not known why he uses so. The learned Dastur Sheriarji Bharucha suggests that Nairyosang might have used Pân 'પાન' *i.e.* beverage which the copyists in mistake might have read Prân પ્રાણ. This

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word Prân પ્રાણ is used many times in the translation of Yasna and Mainyu Kherat. Again the Avesta word Zâvera meaning strength is transcribed in Pahlavi as Zohar or Zor and Nairyosang uses prân પ્રાણ. This shows that for the two separate Avesta words only one word is used in Pahlavi and Sanskrit, and thus they are often mixed up together.

So it is not known why Nairyosangh uses the word 'Prâna for the Avesta word Zaothra which is nothing else but water offered in sacred service. Perhaps he might be using the Pahlavi word Zohar in the sense of Persian Gohar mea. 'essence.' It is a custom among the Zoroastrians that they do not extinguish the lights from the fire-temples but take out the burning torch and mixed up with the fire. In the same way they pour Haoma, milk, or any sacred water used in the religious ceremony in wells or rivers in order to form an invisible connection with the river Avân Ardvisura.

The vessel in which Zaothra is prepared is called 'Zaothrabarena' (the dish) that holds the Zaothra (see Visparad, 10-2). In this dish the Zaothra water which is prepared in various ways in the Yazashna ceremony is mixed with the juice of Haoma, milk and Hadhanaepata.

It seems that in the Yazashna ceremony the work which is performed now by Zoti *i. e.* the officiating priest and Raspi *i. e.* one sitting opposite to the Zoti was formerly performed by many priests, the eight classes of which are spoken of in Ujirâna gâh, 5. The Frabarèta is the priest who brings to the Zaotar all the implements and other things required for the ceremonies. The Zaothra bara is the priest who carries or brings the offerings and so on.

The attributes of Zaothra are (1) Yaozadâta meaning purified or cleansed, (2) Dahmopairishta meaning examined and tested by a pious man, (3) Pairi-angharshta meaning well strained, (4) Shraeshta meaning fairest (5) Dahmo pairi-angharshta meaning well strained by a pious man (6) Dahmo Yaozdâta meaning sanctified by a pious man. (7) Yaso-béréta meaning (Zaothras) brought for Yasna. (see Yasna Ha-68-10. Zaothra dedicated to the water is not a solid thing but a liquid matter as we see in Bundahis 21-3 where "Ahuramazda says 'I will create Zarathustra who will pour sixfold holy water (Zôr) into the river and make it again wholesome." Shâyast-lâ shâyast Chap 2-43 says, at a house in which the sacred ceremony is prepared and a dog or a man dies

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there, the holy water Zohar which is taken in that place is to be carried away immediately to the water. Mainyu Kharat (62-34,36 says that by pouring Zaothra in the sea the noxious creatures perish. In Yasna Hâ 68-1 it is said that O Ahûrian of Ahura if we have offended Thee so may this Zosthra arrive (to thee), that provided with Haoma, flesh and Hadha-naêpata. O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! for sweetness and fatness, mayest thou, O Zaothra arrive to me. Ha 66-1 says 'with purity give I this Zaothra, provided with Haoma provided with flesh, with Hadha naepata uplifted with purity, to thee O Ahurian descended from Ahura.'

The Zaothra prepared with Yazashna ceremony is to be dedicated to Avân Ardvisura from sunrise to sunset (Yasht 5-91). It is forbidden to take out water from a well or to water the ground after sunset. Those who break this order are considered as wicked. The Zaothra ceremony performed in honour of Avân Ardvisura at night does not reach him but it reaches the Daevas who rejoice at it. (Yasht 5-94). In Meher Yasht 31-34 the reciter says—

"O Mithra, hear our offering, be content with our offering, come to our offering, accept our alms, accept the offered gifts, carry them together to the gathering place, lay them down in the place of praise.

Ahura Mazda and all the heavenly Yazatas are praised with this offered Zaothra and with rightly spoken words. In gosh yasht and Avân Yasht we find a list of the benefits accruing to the great Shaoshyants *i. e.* benefactors by performing ceremonies with Zaothras, as for instance, Paradhata Haoshayangha, Yima Khshaeta, King Faredun. Haoma, Kava Husrava, Zarathushtra and Kava Vishtaspa. In Avân Yasht we know that prayers of the following wicked rulers are not accepted as for instance, Johâk, Afrasiab, the sons of Vaesaka, Arejat Aspa, and Vandaremainâ. In all these Zaothra played an important part in things offered for sacrifice.

We have seen about the preparation of Zaothra and mixing the same in the rivers and wells. We also find reference to Zaothra-Âtash *i. e.* Zaothra for the fire in Vendidad. In Fargard 18-70 we find the penalty that a person shall pay to atone for his bad deeds where Ahura Mazda says 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle, he shall godly and piously offer up to the fire the entrails thereof together with Zaothra libations. Fargard 19-24 says (In order to remove

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defilement) he shall, when nine nights have passed away bring libations into the fire, he shall bring hard wood into the fire, he shall bring incense of Vohu-gaona unto the fire.

Shâyast lâ shâyast chapter 7-9 says ' whoever shall extinguish a fire by him ten fires are to be gathered together..... and by him holy-water (zôhar) is to be presented to the sacred fire (Atash-i-Vahram.)

Chapter 2-5 of the same book says "For in the Dâmdâd nask it is revealed that when they sever the consciouness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then to the moon, then to the sun and it is needful that the nearest fire.....should be provided with zôr."

About the merits of the Zaothra offerer it is the teaching of our religion that the main thing to be seen in our prayer is one's own good intention or aim. A man must have good and noble thoughts while praying to God in order to form his character. In order to propitiate Ahura Mazda we should not look to the quantity of things dedicated in the ceremony but we should look to the aim or the object of the dedicator. Shâyast la shâyast chapter 15-12 says,

' Whoever wishes to propitiate Ardavahist in the world is he who wishes to promote his things..... that he should propitiate the fire of Ahura Mazda in whatever has happened and whatever occurs and should act for its happiness *he should not put upon it wood, incense and holy water which are stolen and extorted* and should not cook at it a ration which is violently extorted from men."

From this we see that the offerings of a dishonest rogue do not carry any advantage with it. Ram Yasht 19-4 says

" To it prayed Azi Dahaka for this favour, grant me O air, thou that workest on high that I may make all immortal who are in the seven Keshvars. The Air which works on high did no grant this favour to him offering, not to him praying. . . . not to the offerer of gifts."

In Hâ 63-3 we find the Zaothra of good thoughts, words, and deeds dedicated to Ardvisura.

Ashish Vangh does not accept the gifts of a man who has no more seed, a child who is under age, a maiden unsought for, etc.

The solid or liquid things dedicated in ceremonies are offered to those Zoroastrians who join them. First of all the Zaota or the principal performer tastes them and then he delivers the rest of them to other Zoroastrians at the

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same time warning them that they should be pure and chaste. No one else should make use of these offerings except the pious Athornans and the holy Mazdayasnans. Yasht 10-120 says

" May the pure man eat of the purest gifts. If he does this, if he offers to Mithra with wide pastures then he is content and not offended."

In Tir Yasht para 60 it is said that if ă destroyer lays hold of this offering, â harlot, an unbeliever who does not recite the Gathas, who slays the world, an adversary of the Ahurian Zoroastrian law, then Tishtrya, the shining majestic, seizes the healing remedies, there come to the Aryan regions hindrances, troops rush on them and the Aryan region is damaged.

Avân Ardvisura says in para 92 of Avân Yasht " There shall not eat of these my offerings, a foe, a passionate one, a liar, no slanderers, no detractor, no serman, none who spurns praying, no deformed.

In Yasna Hâ 3-7 we see that the objects of propitiation are enumerated and other praises sung and they are all presented to the holy beings supposed to have arrived there in response to the invitation, and then the Zaoti and Raspi says that those who are pure and chaste shall taste these offerings. This reminds the taster that unless his soul is pure and unless he comes out successfully in his moral career all the ceremonies that he performs in honour of the holy beings are useless. Since according to the Zorastrian religion the salvation of a man is made to depend solely and entirely upon his own efforts and deeds it is his peremptory duty to lead a holy life and to think speak and act righteously.

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CATHOLICITY OF THE AVESTAN CONCEPT: THE SUPERNAL, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL.

By Khodabax Ėdalji Punegar Esq. B. A.

Narrowness of view is a phrase foreign to the lexicon of the Avesta, inasmuch as straitness is the root-signification of Angra who, morally interpreted, is simply to be shunned and discarded. Universalism, on the other hand, is the very key-note of the Avestan music, so melodious, expressive and impressive. The Avesta looks upon a subject exhaustively from all possible stand-points and deals out to it a thorough treatment in all its details. It is not given to the Avestan writings to prominently put forward one mere phase of an entire conception, and to relegate others into oblivion. This would be devoid of the idea of thoroughness and would savour greatly of incompleteness, to which the Avesta cannot plead guilty.

The Avestan word for "religion" is *daenâ*, whose root-meaning is "perception," which ranges from the infinitesimal to the Infihite. The Avestan conception of "religion," therefore, covers a wide ground of thought and is not restricted merely to the narrow field of the perception of the man himself, or to that of the world in which he breathes. This is but natural. Religion, as we know without questioning, is meant for "man" on this earth. As a human being, there is a limit to his knowledge, beyond which he feels the presence of some forces which he terms as the unknowable. Thus, his mental vision stretches to the unknowable that is outside its skirts and to the knowable which is within them. Under the category of the knowable may be included what he knows to be present within himself and all that is outside of him which he actually sees with his physical eyes and which he knows the presence of through his five physical senses.

It is but natural, therefore, that he reflects of forces which he believes to exist in the sphere, beyond his conception, those which he experiences to work within himself and the others which he finds asserting their power outside of him in

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the world. In other words, he becomes alive to the working of the powers which are super-human, human and physical ; that is to say, which are supernal, internal and external.

These three spheres are all that a man can think of and it is in respect of the self-same spheres that a "religion" should afford materials to mankind to have a clear perception. The Avestan word *daenâ* does signify this notion, and the Avestan writings are replete with such ideas and they do afford materials enabling mankind not simply to have a perception of the workings of the three spheres enumerated above but to act upto them and be benefited by reaping the advantages accruing therefrom.

Now let us translate these thoughts to the Avestan scriptures to see how far they fit the religious sentiments propounded in them. The Avesta speaks of two kinds of existence, the spiritual and the material[1] and equally angels are spoken of as belonging to the world of the spirits and to that of matter.[2] The idea of spiritual intelligences is not unknown to the sacred texts of the Parsis.[3] A regular hierarchy of such intelligences is formed and at the head thereof we find Ahura Mazda, the God, who is depicted as the progenitor of the Archangels and, at the same time, to be of same thought, word and deed with them.[4] The Minos (spirits) and angels succeed the Archangels. A belief in the existence of Archangels could be easily gathered from the Avestan remnants that are spared to us by the iron hand of Fate.[5] Nay, there can be no other go for a Zoroastrian but to entertain such a belief inasmuch as it is embodied in that part of the literature which forms the very key-stone of the religion, *viz.*, the Confession of the Faith (Yasna Hâ XII).[6] The said belief and the confession as a Zoroastrian run, therefore, conjointly and inviolably. The Gathas cannot be said with safety to be silent on this point.[7] Although the term *Amesha Spenta* which

1 Yasna Hâ XXXV 1.

2 Khorshed Nyaish 14.

3 Yasna Hâ XXXIII 11 (See note 7 below.)

4 Farvardin Yasht § 83.

5 Yasna Hâ XXVIII 3 (See note 7 below.)

6 "I confess to be a praiser of the Amesha Spentas, an extoller of the Amesha Spentas." (Hâ XII 1.)

7 See notes 3 and 5 above: "Listen-you unto-me and have-mercy on-me for every offering (whatsoever) you-who are the most-beneficent Ahura Mazda, and Armaiti, and the world-furthering Asha, and Vohu Mano and Khshathra!" (Yasna XXXIII 11).

"Whereby, O Asha and Vohu Mano! I will celebrate you and the unprecedented Ahura Mazda, from whom are the unflinching Khshathra and the increasing Armaiti, As my source of joy come-you to the invocations.' (Yasna XXVIII 3.)

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conveys the notion of "Archangels" is not to be traced in the body of the Gathas except in its introductory strophe, the idea of the archangels as highest intelligences is nevertheless patent. Salient Gathic passages[1] may be cited where the names of archangels occur, explicable only in the supernal sense of intelligences in which sense the same names unmistakeably stand in the later Avesta generally and in the Yasht literature particularly. The Gathas equally abound in passages wherein the names of Archangels have to be interpreted in the internal sense of abstract qualities in man.[2] The Avesta and the later Pazand writings [3] have delegated the care of external objects in this world to the Archangels ; nay, have identified their cause with such objects. *Vohu Mano* (Behman), for instance, manifests his presence in the external sphere in connection with the animate creation[4] and so does *Asha Vahishta* in relation to fire,[5] Khshathra Vairya to metal, [6] Spenta Armaiti to the Earth, [7] Haurvatât (Khordâd to water[8] and Ameretât (Amardâd) to vegetation and trees.[9]

So far for the names of the Archangels. When we come to those of the angels, we find that *Âdar* stands out as an angel most prominently in Yasna LXII (Âtash Niyâishna) where he has been apostrophized.[10] This is the supernal aspect. The same term is also used in the Gathas [11] in the internal sense of animal heat and energy. Externally interpreted, Âdar signifies fire on the altar or in the hearth.[12] In respect of the names of other angels, it seems that they are employed in two, if not all the three, of the aspects mentioned above. The word *Âp* (Paz. Âwân) is used in the supernal sense of a female angel presiding over

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1 Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna Hâ XXVIII 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; Hâ XXIX 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11; Hâ XXX, 1, 7, 9, 10, etc.

2 Gatha Ahunavaiti, Yasna Hâ XXVIII 2, 4, 6, 11, XXX 8, 9, etc.

3 Patet Kardeh 8.

4 Yasna (Gatha Ahunavaiti) XXXIV 3; Vend. XIX 20 "a man."

5 Yasht Haptanghaiti 4.

6 Yasht Haptanghaiti 2.

7 Yasna XVI 10; Vend. II 10, 14, 18; Vend. III 35; Vend. XVIII 64.

8 Hâdokht Parg. I 7 "drink water"; Yasna III 1; Yasna VII 1, 2?; Jamyât Yasht 96 (Haurvatat and Ameretat smite hunger and thirst.)

9 Hadokht Parg. I 7 "partake of fruits"; Yasna III 1; Yasna VII 1, 20; Yasht Haptanghaiti 3; Jamyât Yasht 96 (see note 15.)

10 Yasna LXII 4-6 etc.; Yt. Jamyat 46, 47; Yasna XVI 4.

11 Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXXI 3, 19.

12 Gatha Spenta Mainyu Yasna XLVII 6; Gatha Vohu-Khshathra Yasna LI 9.

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waters[1] and in the external sense of waters on the face of the Earth.[2] Similarly, beyond being used in their supernal aspect of angels, in their external aspect, *Hvarĕ-Khshaeta*[3] represents the Sun, *Mâongh*[4] the Moon, *Tishtrya*[5] the Star Sirius, *Gaosh*[6] the cattle-creation, *Vâta*[7] the wind, *Asman*[8] the sky, *Zem*[9] the Earth and *Anaghra Raochangh*[10] the Boundless Light. On the other hand, the word *Sraosha* " stands as the name of an angel, which is its supernal aspect, presiding over " obedience" and " adherence " to Nature's Law, which is equally to be traced internally within man as a virtue. Likewise, over and above their supernal usage as angels, in their internal aspect, *Rashnu*[12] signifies rectitude, *Fravashi*[13] principle, *Verethraghna*[14] victory and triumphant spirit, *Râman*[15] joy, *Ashi*[16] piety, virtue, blessing, and *Arshtât*[17] righteousness.

Now remain principally *Mithra*,[18] *Daenâ*[19] and *Mâthra Spenta*[20] which, like *Âdar* appear to have been employed in all the three aspects. Supernally, they are the names of angels, whilst internally they signify " love and friendship", " conscience" and " faculty of thought" respectively. Their external significations are " the light emanating from the Sun," " religious

1 Yasna I 12; II 12.
2 Yasht Avã 3, 5.
3 Yasna II 11 (angel); Yasna LX 4 (sun).
4 Yasna II 11 (angel); Gatha Ushtavaiti Yasna XLIV 3 (moon).
5 Khorshed Niyâish 8 (angel); Tir Yasht 42 (star).
6 Tir Yasht 2 (angel); Yasna LXXI 9 (cattle-creation).
7 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Tir Yasht 33 (wind).
8 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Meher Yasht 95 (sky).
9 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Meher Yasht 95 (earth).
10 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Vend. XI 1, 2, 10 (boundless light).
11 Gatha Ushtavaiti Yasna XLIII 12 (angel); Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXXIII 14 (Adherence).
12 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Yasht Behram 47 (rectitude).
13 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Yasna XIII 7 (principle).
14 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Yasna IX 17 (victory).
15 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Yasna Haptanghâiti XXXV 4 (joy).
16 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Gâthâ Ushtavaiti Yasna XLVI 10; Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXXIII 13 (piety, blessing).
17 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Visperat VII 2 (righteousness).
18 Yasna XVI 5 (angel); Meher Yasht 116-117 (friendship) Vend IV 2 (contracts); Meher Yasht 144 (light emanating from the sun).
19 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXXI 20 (conscience); Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXXIII 13 (religious dictates.)
20 Yasna XVI 6 (angel); Gatha Ushtavaiti Yasna XLV 3 (faculty of thought); Gatha Ahunavaiti Yasna XXIX 7 (religious thought or text).

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dictates" and "religious thoughts as embodied in the sacred literature" respectively.

So far we have dealt with the catholicity of the Avestan concept. However, we have seen above, that the three-fold interpretation cannot be, for the present, attached to the names of most of the angels. Some seem to have no external phase of the three-fold interpretation, whilst others are short of the internal phase. Indeed, this is the situation with our present state of acquaintance of the Avestan writings. Future studies may, rather shall, transpire the solution of these apparent shortcomings, and this will well-nigh be the case as the Avestan atmosphere is redolent of universalism. Shakespeare read geography on the body of a person, and we require a Shakespeare to read nature anthropopathically and to read human virtues in nature. Out of the names of angels interpreted above, *ap* may be explained even internally with reference to the humours of the body and Yasna Haptanghâiti (Hâ XXXVIII 5) may be cited in support thereof. On the other hand, *ashi* can be interpreted externally in the sense of "riches."[1]

In conclusion, we may observe that a Zoroastrian is thus enjoined to pay due regard to all the three aspects uniformly and to neglect none in favour of the others. In other words, to be a Zoroastrian in entirety, he has to do homage to super-human forces, to develop his human virtues so as to attempt to reach the stage of perfection typified by the super-human forces, and finally to make the best possible use of physical products in nature which are tangible reflections of super-human and human forces. In fine, he has to be a devotee of the Above, the Within and the Without, that is to say, a man of God, Virtue and the World—a spiritualist, ethologist and materialist inseparably.

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1 Ashi Yasht 7.

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THE STORY OF KAIKHUSRU ITS REMARKABLE RESEMBLANCE TO THE STORY OF YUDHISTHHIRA; AND ITS PROBABLE SOURCE.

By Palanji Bajroji Desai Esq.

I.—THE STORY.

The great monument of the ancient Persian glory—the world renowned epic of the great and grand poet Firdausi—is full of historic tales and interesting legends. One of these legends is the love-story of Bizhan and Manizheh. It is a romance full of love and adventure. It begins with sport and pleasure, and ends with the meeting together of the loving couple. It is intertwined on the one hand with sorrow, artifice and terrorism, and on the other with gentleness, love and devotion. The story commences with the adventure of the hero Bizhan on the northern boundaries of ancient Persia for the extirpation of wild boars, where he first sees his future wife, and instantly falls in love with her. Manizheh, the princess of Afrasiab, king of Turan—the great northern foe of the Iranian Kings—entices and carries away her lover to the capital and conceals him in her palace, where Bizhan is found out at last, and the king orders him to be heavily chained and imprisoned in a deep well, where Manizheh, forsaking every royal happiness for the love of him, goes and resides, keeps him company, and sustains him with her loving and consoling words. King Kaikhosru of Iran, in whose reign Firdausi conceives this romance to be happened, sends the great national hero Rustam to Turan for the deliverance of his own grandson—for Bizhan was the son of Rustam's daughter Banu Gushasp. The battle wages, the Turanians fly, and the hero of the story is being rescued by his own grandfather to be carried in triumph with his lady-love, the devoted Manizheh, to Iran.

There is another episode in the Shahnameh which attracts the attention of the reader. It is the story of Prince Isfandiar's adventures for the

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deliverance of his sister Humai, who was carried away by Arjasp, the King of Turan—or, more properly, of Khyon or Chion. This story reminds us of the story of Helen, who was carried away to Troy by Paris, and for whose deliverance heroic battles were fought at the gates of that ill-fated city. Again, the germs of this very story we see in the story of Sita, for whose deliverance her husband, the princely Rama, had to conquer many a difficulty, which all he overcame, like Isfandiar who overcame the seven labours or *Haftākhans*. Thus in all these three stories we see the sole object of reconquering the Beauty from the hands of the Beast, who had the audacity to carry her away from her native land. The story of the fall of Troy, as well as of the fall of Lanka in the beautiful story of Sita, is very well known to the general reader. But the story of the fall of Ruindezh is the third edition of this self-same story with which most of the lovers of Comparative Mythology are, I am afraid, not so well acquainted.

In the same way, that the story of Bizhan and Manizheh is also a counterpart of an interesting episode in the Harivams Parva of the great Sanskrit epic, the Mahabharata, few scholars appear to be aware of. I have tried to compare these two Iranian and Indian versions of this one and the same story of love and adventure some years ago in a lecture delivered before the Dnyan Prasarak Mandli. That the story of the fall of Troy is the counterpart of the story of the fall of Lanka cannot be gainsaid. At the same time, I am of opinion, that the story of the fall of Ruindezh is the third edition of the story of the Beauty and the Beast. I have tried to analyse these three stories in another lecture before the abovementioned Mandli.

But a third episode of the Shahnameh is the most attractive and the most interesting for the Mythologer. It is the episode of the life and death of king Kaikhusru, whom many a writer in the first half of the last century persistently tried to identify with Cyrus the Great. I am not to discuss here the pros and cons for this identification, because that have already been done exhaustively elsewhere. Here I wish to draw the attention of students and *savants* of History and Mythology to the incidents mentioned by Firdausi in his beautiful description of many achievements of

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king Kaikhusru of Iran which compares very forcibly with the description of the Pandava king Yudhishthira given in the Mahâbharata of poet Vyasa.

The Mahabharata is a great epic like the Shahnameh, and the episodes and achievements of Yudhishthira and Kaikhusru have so many incidents in common among them that the intelligent reader will be more readily tempted to conclude that not only there is very little difference between the two stories, but that one is the source of the other.

Let us see how one could arrive at this bold conclusion. Although I cannot give here a short synopsis of the doings of the Iranian as well as the Indian kings, yet, to be more explicit, I will give the gist of the incidents and events happened during the reign of each of these prehistoric kings, comparing them at the same time with one another, so that the reader could see at a glance the similarity between these two differently given versions of one and the same story.

The Mahabharata story is best known as the story of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The ancestor of these two clans was one named Kuru, but while all his descendants are known as the Kauravas, the Pandavas are known as the descendants of Pandu, the youngest son of Vichitra-Virya or Vyasa, and half-brother of Dhritarashtra, who was born blind. Pandu was the king of Hastinapura, who died leaving five sons—Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna, &c., all of whom being of very tender age, their uncle the blind king was called to the throne. He had a large number of sons, of whom Duryodhana was the best known.

This Duryodhana might be best compared with the Turanian king Afrasiab, whose ancestor was king Faridun of Persia, who was also the progenitor of the Iranian Royalty. Faridun had three sons, one of whom being Tur his decendants were called Turanians after his name, while the Iranians were named after Iraj or Iran, the third son of Faridun. Although Tur and his sons were given the country of Turan as their patrimony, they forcibly took hold of the throne of Iran, and the Shahnameh is full of the wars waged between the Iranians and the Turanians like the Mahabharata, which is full with the feuds of the Pandavas and the Kauravas. In each case the parties are related to each other, and the great wars were fought between the sons of the two brothers and their followers.

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Yudhishthira was the head of the Pandava clan ; the head of the Iranian clan was Kaikhusru. It is said of both of these two kings that they were the most pious persons among all mankind. When Yudhishthira came to age he claimed the throne of his father: Kaikhusru did the same, for a large part of his ancestor's dominions was under the control of the Turanian king Afrasiab. Yudhishthira was the heir-apparent, but the people wanted him to ascend the throne at once in place of the blind king. In the same way the Iranian people wanted their youthful king Kaikhusru to be liberated from the domination of the Turanians and ascend the throne. Duryodhana contrived to annihilate all his Pandava cousins with their mother, but they were rescued by the timely help of a distant relative. Afrasiab, too, contrived the death of Kaikhusru and his mother, but they were saved by Piran, the Turanian Vizier, who was also their distant relative.

During the war in the historic field of Kurukshetra Arjuna, the hero of the Pandavas, used to kill at a stroke five hundred of his enemies ou right. The prowess of Rustam, the world-renowned hero of the Iranians, is well-known to the readers of the Shahnameh. But he could very well be compared with Bhima more than with his brother Arjuna. Eleven Kaurava armies took the field and they were all annihilated. At each battle eleven heroes fought on each side in single combats, and in most of these the Pandavas proved victorious. In the same way, after many a bloody battle eleven brave warriors (*Yazdeh Rukh*) of the Iranians met with the same number of the Turanian heroes, and after deadly single combats the former proved victorious. In almost all the single combats the Pandvas had an upper hand, but the Iranian hereos were victorious in all the eleven combats.

Duryodhana was wounded, and he fled for his life from the battlefield. He concealed himself at the bottom of a lake, keeping its waters at a distance on all sides from himself, as if by magic or incantation. The Pandavas getting information as to his whereabouts collected themselves on the banks of the lake and compelled the fugitive king to come out of the water by calling him names. Then a fresh combat was fought between Duryodhana and Bhima, in which the Pandava hero broke his antagonist's thigh-bones in such a manner that Duryodhana lay dead on the ground. It is interesting to note that Afrasiab was defeated and killed in the very same manner. After

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the annihilation of his armies, he fled from the field of battle and crossing the Caspean sea, or "the sea of Chin," as the Shahnameh calls it, concealed himself in a lake, named alike in the Avesta as well as in the Shahnameh, Chaechast. He was hotly pursued, and on being rebuked he came out of the waters of the lake, and was siezed and brought before king Kaikhusru, who was near at hand at the time, having arrived at the fire temple of Azerbadgan, to praise the Almighty for his great victory over his Turanian foes. The hero who killed Afrasiab is named Hom (Haoma), a descendant of king Faridun, who is equally honoured for his bravery in the Avesta as well as in the Shahnameh.

Now peace was restored : the Pandavas regained their Kingdom of Hastinapura from their Kaurava cousins, and the Iranians gained theirs from the Turanians. Yudhishthira united the Hastinapura and the Indraprastha kingdoms, and became the sole master of all the dominions like king Kaikhusru, who also united the Iranian and Turanian kingdoms under his own sovereignty.

II.—THE RESEMBLANCE.

Thus far the reader could have marked the glaring similitudes between the Mahabharata and the Shahnameh versions of the great wars between the two very nearly related families in both cases. Now let us see what further comparisons we are able to make between the Indian and the Iranian episodes.

Yudhishthira, the great king, is now satisfied with what he wanted in this world. He has gained kingdoms, renown and happiness: he now gives up all his joys and pleasures. He has no children of his own ; he abdicates his throne, gives it up to one of the royal princes, and goes to the woods to see and meet the Parmatma. His four brothers, his queen Draupadi, and a faithful dog are his only companions. They were seven altogether. They marched to eastwards and southwards, and then to northwards, and on and on they went without settling on the way. All of them died on the long road of hunger and exhaustion except the ex-king and the faithful dog, who was none other than the Dharma-devta, who guided the way. Yudhishthira again and again requested to and expostulated with his companions to return to their kingdom and not follow him where he intended to go, for in doing so there was death and ruin to them all. But they were inexorable: the good king's advice was ineffective. He with his dog survived them, and at last, when he arrived on the banks of the heavenly-born Ganga, Yudhishthira stepped into its waters and reached the Heavens !

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The counterpart of Yudhishthira—king Kaikhusru—does the same things over again. After gaining the kingdoms of his forefathers, he relinquishes all his worldly joys and happiness, pomp and pleasures, kingdoms and armies, and prepares himself to go to some distant waters, there to comtemplate and praise the Almighty. He abdicates the throne, and having no progeny of his own establishes one of the scions of the Royal Family, named Lohrasp, as his successor. The ized Sarush reveals himself in a dream and bids the king to retire to lake Chaechast. The king is accompanied by princes Tus and Gustahm, the hero Giv and his son Bizhan, prince Fariburz (the uncle of the Shah), and the ized Sarush as their guide. Here also they are seven in all. After a long march the king advises his five companions to return to the capital, but they would not leave their Emperor alone. Kaikhusru predicts a storm and fortells their fate; but to no purpose. At last a snow-storm overtakes them, and they are found dead on the morrow. The Shah only survives, but soon to become invisible. It is believed that he still exists and is deathless.

The similar fate of the Indian and the Iranian kings completes the list of the similar events during their glorious lives. Now we shall try to summarize some of the details of their feats and achievements with a view to further compare them.

In the first place the heroes of the two stories are princes of royal blood. They are equally just, honest, and liberal; their dominions are usurped by their own cousins, who are wicked and ambitious; and to regain these, wars are declared and fought and won. At the time of his birth it was heard from the heavens that Yudhishthira shall be good and popular king: while the astrologers had declared at the birth of Khusru that he shall be a benevolent and exalted king, and that he shall unite Turan with Iran.

2ndly—Yudhishthira was terrorised by his uncle Dhritarashtra and his son Duryodhana, the usurper, while Khusru was ordered more than once to be put to death by Afrasiab, his maternal grandfather, who had usurped the northern part of Iran proper during his infancy.

3rdly—Yudhishthira was assisted in his attempt to regain his kingdom by his brothers Bhima and Arjuna; while Khusru had the help of Rustam and his brave son-in-law Giv. Bhima had saved his mother Kunti and his brothers from a burning house in which they had taken shelter during their sojourn in a town of the

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Kauravas. In like manner Giv had saved the lives of Khusru and his mother Firangiz from many a difficulty while they were in Turan.

[The exploits of Bhima and Arjuna on the one side could be very well compared with those of Rustam and Giv on the other.]

4thly—[The Kauravas with the Turanians and the Pandavas with the Iranians might be compared.] Vidura was a Kaurava, but he was very friendly with the Pandava king and his queen-mother Kunti; so was Piran, the Turani Vizier, a great friend of Khusru and his mother Firangiz.

5thly.—As Duryodhana had promised to restore the kingdom of Hastinapura to the Pandavas after a reign of 12 years, so Afrasiab his counterpart had swayed over Iran for a like period of 12 years In both cases the usurpers were faithless and had broken their promises.

6thly.—As the Pandavas had tried to inveigle Karna, a Kaurava prince, into their camp, but he refused to be faithless to his king Duryodhana notwithstanding the exhortations of Krishna, so was Piran vainly tempted by Gudarz, the wisest man among the Iranians, to secede from the Turanian king Afrasiab.

7thly.—Bhima had vowed to quench his thirst with the blood of his great foe Dushashana, and had done so after the overthrow of the latter at a single combat. Gudarz did the same after the death of Piran at his hand in single combat. He drank his blood and quenched his thirst.

8thly.—There were general battles as well as single combats between the armies of both the countries of Iran and India. When the eleven armies were extirpated, eleven warriors on each side were selected to fight for the cause in single combats, and in both cases the usurping parties were the losers.

9thly.—Duryodhana after his last and greatest defeat concealed himself in a lake, parting the waters for his free abode at the bottom by magic, &c., so his counterpart Afrasiab was also a black magician, taking refuge in a lake after his last and ignominious defeat. Both were taunted to come up the surface of the water, and both were seized and slain by their rivals in fresh single combats.

10thly.—There was a tyrant named Bakka in the city of Ekachakra, who used to devour one of the inhabitants daily; he was killed by Bhima, and the inhabitants were freed and delivered from his oppressive rule. There was a similar tyrant named Zohak in Iran, who used to feed two serpents sprung up on his shoulders with two human brains daily. The terrified inhabitants were delivered

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by Kava the blacksmith, the famous hero of Iran, who flourished in the time of of Faridun (=Kuru), the ancestor of both the Iranians (=Pandavas) and the Turanians (=Kauravas).

11thly.—Yudhishthira was of divine origin, and had gone to heaven after death. Kaikhusru, notwithstanding many a death sentence, was saved by Divine Benevolence, and without any semblance of death became invisible in a snow-storm. Both were married, but both were childless; both relinquished their kingdoms to some relatives of their own, in order to go and meet the Almighty. Their ministers were equally against their intention of forsaking the world. Both the kings took their course towards a certain place, equally accompanied by six followers, one of whom being a Devata or Ized (god). Both survived the fate of their companions and reached their destination alone.

III.—THE SOURCE.

Thus we have arrived at the end of our endeavour at comparison between the intensely interesting *Kathas* or *dastans* (episodes) of Yudhishthira and Kaikhusru. Stories and fables are known to have migrated from one country to another, and the stories of Pilpay or *Punch Tantra* have done the same throughout the whole world. The exploits of Rustam and Hercules have been compared long ago; but the achievements of Yudhishthira and Kaikhusru, as compared here, have not been done so, as far as I know, elsewhere. (1)

Now we must try to find out the reason of their being compared thoroughly and exhaustively. It seems that one of the episodes is the copy of the other. India and Iran are neighbouring countries; they have had intercouse with each other from very ancient times; the Iranians and the Indians are the descendants of the prehistoric Aryans; the Vedic and the Avestic are the sister languages, and according to Dr. Mills the Avestic language is the elder of the two. Kaikhusru was a Kaianian king. He is mentioned in the Avesta as

(1) Messrs Warner Brothers in their English "Shahnama" write in one of their notes §§ 47-63, thus—"The legend of Kai Khusrau's melancholy, his expedition into the mountains, and his attainment to Heaven without having tasted death, has its parallel in the great Indian epic the Mahâbhârata, ...On comparing this legend with that of the text it will be seen that, in spite of natural differences of detail, the resemblances are too numerous and close to be wholly accidental ..... One legend therefore must be derived from the other, or else, and this seems to be the better opinion, they must be referred to a common origin of great antiquity."—Shahnama, Vol. IV., p. 138-139.

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Kava Husravangh. Although a prehistoric king, it seems probable that there was such an Aryan king, because in the Vedas too we find a king named Susravas. In the Avesta it has been mentioned in many *Yashts* that Husravangh was a great king ; that "he was quite free from sickness and death," that "he had conquered Frangrasyan (Afrasiab) on the banks of the lake Chaechast," that "the warrior Haoma had brought Frangrasyan before King Husravangh bound hand and foot," that " the king had killed him in revenge of his own father Kava Syavarshana (Kai Siavash)" and that the king "united the Iranian and Turanian dominions."

These particulars from the Avesta go a long way to emphasise the details given in the Shahnameh. Unfortunately, there is nothing particular in the Rigveda about the doings of king Susravas that could be compared with those of king Husravangh, leaving aside the full details enlarged upon in the Shahnameh. This much is certain that there was an Aryan king named (Ved.) Susravas or (Av.) Husravangh, who had taken revenge of his father on a certain un-Aryan (=Turanian) king named (Av.) Frangrasyan. Now this Husravangh was a king of the Kavi or Kaianian House (or clan), and that the Avesta too mentions that this House was at war with the House (or clan) of Afrasiab the Tur, or Turani, from very ancient times. As these Turani enemies were thoroughly defeated and demolished by Kaikhusru (Kava Husravangh) they are not further mentioned in the Avesta after the union of the Kingdoms. In the time of Kava Vishtaspa although we find the Iranians at war with their northern neighbours they are not known or mentioned as Turanians but as Khyonians. Thus then it seems probable that the exploits of King Kaikhusru have their germs in the Avesta, and that this particular episode in the Shahnameh is not without its prototype.

Not so the exploits of king Yudhishthira. He is a king mentioned for the first time in the Mahabharata only, and not a word about him is to be found in the Rig Veda ; and thus there are no prototypes to be found in that ancient book as to his varied adventures. The Mahabharata is not a Book of Kings like the Shahnameh ; it has no semblance of an historical work ; it is a book of romance, interspersed with moral and religious teachings, legends, &c. ; it is also not a work of a single author, but it is an epic composed, revised and enlarged by three different poets, viz. Vyasa, Vaishampayana, and Sauti ;

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its date is later than the Avesta, it having assumed its present form between three and one hundred B. C. (1); but most assuredly it is much anterior to the Shahnameh. The story of Kaikhusru is therefore older than the story of Yudhishthira. Kaikhusru flourished long before the schism among the Vedic and Avestic Aryans ; he flourished many centuries before the great Prophet of Iran. Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) flourished in the time of Kava Vishtaspa, whose name is met with in the hymns of the Rig Veda. These particular hymns were sung by such poets as Kakshivan, Mana, Manya, Agastya, &c.

King Kaikhusru, therefore, reigned long before the Vedic poets, and these again lived long before the Great Bharata was composed by Vyasa (B. C. 300). It has been shown (1) that the Mahabharata at first was a short poem, but afterwards it was elaborated by the disciple of Vyasa, and very greatly so by Sauti two hundred years afterwards (B.C. 100), when many an episode was added to it. Hence it was called Mahabharata. For example, the Harivamsha Parva which relates the story of Usha and Aniruddha, was the section of the book that was written long after the earlier portions of the great epic were composed. This story is the same which has been identified(2) with the story of Bizhan and Manizheh in the Shahnameh,

Now, of this story of Bizhan and Manizheh, there is no prototype in the Avesta. In fact, there we do not find even the name of the hero, or that of his father Giv, or even of Rustam, the great Iranian Hercules of the Shahnameh, or his father Zal. These are the names of the members of a heroic family, which was living on the frontiers of Iran and India, and which has been identified with the Indian family of Gallava Rishi and Brigu Rishi, by the late Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave B.A. in a series of letters to the *Rast Goftar* (3). In Pahlavi books of course we see the genealogy of Rustam given, and Firdausi has followed his Pahlavi authorities. He has followed in many of his interesting episodes many a Pahlavi historic work ; but the story of Bizhan and Manizheh is not to be found even in the Pahlavi works extant.

(1) "The Mahabharata: a Criticism," p. 2-8.

(2) In a lecture delivered by me before the Dnyan Prasarak Mandli, 1903.

(3) April 1895.

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Where did Firdausi get this story from? That he has conceived it himself is now no longer true. I think he had a ground-work for his plot—nay, there was a story current in India ready-made for him to put into verse, and he has done so. If not, how is it that this very story—the story of Bizhan and Manizheh—could very happily be identified with the story of Usha and Aniruddha, given in the 19th *Parva* of the Mahabharata? If you read carefully you are sure to conclude that the one is not only the origin or source, but the copy of the other. They are like twin sisters distinguished only by their different embellishments and situations. And the great Persian bard himself hints as to the source of this fascinating story at the very commencement, thus:—He says that as he was "not at one with slumber" one dark night, he called out for light and "a loving wight" brought him light and fruits and wine, and said.—

"Quaff thou thy wine while from this volume's store
I will read out to thee a tale of yore.
Or ever part thereof shall reach thine ear
Thou wilt admire the process of the Sphere.
The theme is love. spell, war and stratagem,
All worthy that a sage should list to them."
"O moon-face!" said I to that Cypress-stem,
"Recite, recite," who answered: "That will I,
And thou shalt weave it into poetry."
"I said: 'Begin, my fair-faced Moon! to read,
And make me love thee more. I may be freed
From my distemperature, sleep betide
In musings, darling mate! by thee supplied.
Then will I turn the story, every whit,
To verse exactly as thou tellest it,
And telling, offer praise to God above,
Of my discreet companion and my love!'
"That darling Idol read the tale to me
Out of the book of ancient legendry,

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So now give ear the while that I rehearse,
And exercise the judgment on my verse." [1]

Thus far Firdausi. Now what was that "book of ancient legendry"? What that "tale of yore," "the theme of which was love, spell, war and stratagem"? From what I have said above, the reader will safely guess that "the tale of yore" was none other than the love story described in the *Harivams Parva* of the Mahabharata—*the book of ancient legendry*. That was the romantic story which stirred up, or rather inspired our poet "to weave it into poetry."

I think the Mahabharata was very well known to Firdausi. It might have been translated into the Pahlavi language in the time of King Noshirwan of Persia, when a number of Pahlavi and Sanskrit and Greek works was collected and translated into these different languages; or it might have been brought into Persia during the successful compaigns of Mahmud of Gazni, the patron of Firdausi, and thus our poet might have freely utilized it. Not only the Mahabharata, but the *Ramayana* too must be known to Firdausi, as well as to Dakiki, the Zoroastrian poet of whom Firdausi says that "he was my pioneer," and whose one thousand verses he has incorporated bodily in his Shahnameh. In these verses Dukiki has described the first portion of the religious wars between Gushtasp and Arjasp. Before continuing the story of the fall of Ruindezh, Firdausi thus pays off another debt to "a book fulfilled with legends" thus;

"A book fulfilled with legends met my view,
Its words possessed of character and true,
Its stories very ancient and in prose;
The wits had never thought of rhyming those,
No one had thought of linking line to line
A fact that struck this gladsome heart of mine.
Two thousand years had passed the story o'er,
Two thousand years and haply countless more,

1 Warner's Shahnama, Vol. III, p. 288-89.

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And I began his praises to rehearse,
Who showed the way to turn it into verse.

I guess that one or both of the poets—Dakiki and Firdausi—have transcribed from this "book full of legends" the story of Isfandiar's *Haftakhans* and the deliverance of his sister from the hands of Anjasp, and that book is the *Ramayana*.

Similarly, can it be possible that the basis or source of many of the achievements of king Kaikhusru as described in the Shahnameh is the great epic—the Mahabharata ? Yes. In describing these exploits our honest poet does hint, as he has done in relating the loves of Bizhan and Manizeh, at the very commencement that he was again indebted to "another tale of yore." These are his words:—

"This much achieved the poet will present
Another tale of yore—how Kaikhusrau
Sat on the throne and sent an ornament
Against Turan. Thus if God's grace allow
The life and health, shall I one story more
Leave to the world from this famed book of lore." [1]

It once the reader is convinced as to the source of one of the episodes of the Shahnameh, then he is sure to suspect the sources of other stories too. And here Firdausi gives out plainly that "from this famed book of lore" he has presented to his reader "another tale of yore." What was this "famed book of lore" ? Was it relating to the Persian history ? Was it written in Persian or Arabic or Pahlavi ? Or was such a romantic work in the Avestic language, and that too was extant in the time of Firdausi ? It is said that there was a Pahlavi book named *Khudai nameh*, which was the chief foundation of the poet's monumental work. That nameh is not be found at present. But did it contain the germs of the episodes like the stories of Bizhan and Manizeh, and Zal and Rudabeh ? or the tragadies of Sohrab and Rustam, and Gudarz and Piran, and Rustam and Isfandiar ? Or the romances of Rustam's Haftakhans, and Kai-

1 Warner's Shahnama. Vol. V., p. 88.

1 Warner's Shahnama, Vol. III., p. 15.

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khusru's exploits and achievements? Perhaps not; because our poet in the whole of his sixty thousand couplets does not for once mention the name of this particular book, although besides the above quotations Firdausi admits in many a place, wherever he thinks proper to quote his authority, that his stories were "based on documents" and "on rustic minstrel's lay." As for the story of king Kaikhusru this much seems to be certain that the poet was well-acquainted with the Mahabharata, and was induced to utilise the plots therefrom, and had put them into an interesting Iranian garb. He with his master-mind thought fit to adopt the general story of the wars of the Pandavas and the Kauravas in such a manner as to make it fit to the Iranian and Turanian animosities.

Firdausi was more honest than Shakespeare. This great English bard is indebted for many a plot of his tragedies and comedies to earlier authors, but he has not for once acknowledged the sources of his play. But Firdausi acknowledges his authorities in his own way leaving for the reader to guess the work or story from which he has copied. Firdausi does not seem to be acquainted with the Avesta literature, and therefore does not know that the germs of the story of Kaikhusru are to be found in the *Yashts*. Had it been otherwise he would have made most of it and had laid great stress on that fact. Avesta language was dead long before Mahmud's time, and Pahlavi literature having been destroyed only few Zoroastrians were cognizant with some of the fragments that were miraculously saved. From this it seems probable that Firdausi while [illegible] the story of Kaikhusru has closely followed the Yudhishthira story as given in the Mahabharata—that "famed book of lore"—so closely that he has not left even one important event to be narrated that has been given in the Mahabharata. For example, it is stated in that "famed book of lore" that a scion of the Pandava family was appointed to rule after Yudhishthira as his successor, because that King was childless, our poet also shows his hero—king Kaikhusru—without any progeny, and makes him appoint a prince of the Kaian family his successor, named Lohrasp (—Aurvataspa, in the Avesta).

Now in the Avesta, the name of Aurvataspa does not appear in the list of Kaian kings. He is mentioned once only, and that too, not as a king himself, but as the father of the Kaian king Kava Vishtaspa. I am not going to discuss here whether Lohrasp was really a king or only the father of a king.

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But I am afraid that those who have an implicit faith on the Shahnameh as a great historical work, wholly founded upon native historical documents, will have a rude shock to encounter by this fact.

To conclude : This much seems to be certain that some of the *dastans* in the Shahnameh do not belong to the historical part of the work, but they were added to embellish this world-famous Book of Kings, having been collected from the old Iranian and foreign legends, and that some of the stories are imitated or transcribed from the Sanskrit epic, the Mahabharata, such as the love-story of Bizhan and Manizheh, and the warlike episodes, exploits and achievements of king Kaikhusru, which the Bard of Iran admits of in his own way.

Bombay, 15*th May* 1913.

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JAMSHED IN THE AVESTA AND THE VEDAS.

By Shapurji K. Hodiwala Esq., B.A.

Jamshed, the 𐬬𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀 (*Yima Khshayeta*) of the Avesta, was a King of the Peshdâdian dynasty. He was the son of 𐬫𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀 (Vivanghvat). His mother's name was Gulnâr according to the Shahnâmeh. He had two sisters named 𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬌 (*Arenvâchi*) and 𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬙𐬌 (*Sanghvâchi*)—Arnavâz and Shehernavâz of the Shahnâmeh. According to the Vendidad Chap. II §2 he was the first among men except Zarathushtra with whom Ahuramazda had a conversation. "In his dominion there were not pride, impurity, enmity, dishonesty" &c. (Vend. II-37). "Before he uttered falsehood and the untruthful word, there was, in his Kingdom, neither extreme cold, nor extreme heat, nor old age, nor death nor demoniacal jealousy" (Jamyâd Yt. §33). Subsequently Angra mainyu induced him to speak untruth and 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 "it quickly made him mortal by his own tongue." (Vend. II-6). It is for this reason that Zarathushtra says in Yacna (Ha 32 §8): "Among these sinners Yima the son of Vivanghvat is heard—who in order to please us, men, reviled the Lord of the earth." I have translated the words 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬫𐬀 by the expression "the Lord of the earth." But in Sanskrit, गो is also used for "speech" or "the goddess of speech." We might therefore translate the words *gâush bagâ*, as "the Lord of the Speech," that is, Brihaspati to whose dignity Yama (=Yima of the Avesta) was raised in the Rigveda, as we shall see hereafter.

Yama in the Vedas.

In the Vedas, Yama was the son of Vivasvat by his wife Saranyu (Rv. 10-58-1, 10-60-10). He had a twin sister named Yami and two brothers, the twin Ashvins. He had a step brother named Manu, who, according to a legend, was the son of Vivasvat by his wife Savarnâ, whom he married after Saranyu's death (Rv. 8-52-1). This Manu was the father and also the leader of men (Rv. 10-62-11). We find in Shatapatha Brâhmana (I-8-1-4 to 6), that it was this Manu who escaped from the great flood.

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Was Yama a human being?

Prof. Max Muller raises the important question, whether in the Rig veda, Yama has been represented as a human being at all. He says: " A passage from the Atharva-veda has been appealed to by Kuhn and others to prove that Yama was not a mythological being at all, but was really a human being and the first of mortals. In the Atharva-veda XVIII, 3, 13 we read :—

यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकं ।
एतं वैवस्वतं संगमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा सपर्यत ॥

" ' Serve with offering the king Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men, who died the first of mortals, who went forward the first to that world. '

" This verse is comparatively modern, still it is perfectly intelligible if we take Yama, the son of Vivasvat, here called a king, as the type of mankind and if we try to understand how this type was borrowed from Yama, as the diurnal twin, who every day is born and dies, and may, in that sense, be called the first of those who were born and likewise the first of those who died. But if we took Yama here as a real king or as the first human being who lived and died, the nerve of the whole myth would be cut and we should ask in vain why he was called Vaivasvat the son of the bright sky, why he should have been born and why it should be said that he was the first to die..... Yama is himself called Death already in Rv. X-165-4 : तस्मै यमाय नमो अस्तु मृत्यवे ' May there be salutation to that Yama, the Death' ; and still more clearly in A. V. 6-28-3 यः प्रथमः प्रवत आससाद बहूभ्यः पंथां अनुपस्पशानः । यो स्येशे द्विपदो यश्चतुष्पदस् तस्मै यमाय नमा अस्तु मृत्यवे ॥ 'Let there be reverence to Yama, to Death, who first approached the precipice, finding out the path for many, who rules over bipeds and quadrupeds.' Could this be said of the first of mortal men ? In the Rigveda, Yama as the son of Vivasvat (X-14-5) and Varuna are both represented as drinking with the gods in the other world, sitting under a tree. Two dogs are also mentioned in their company. These are the same as the dogs of Saramâ, the Sârameyau, which the departed are told to avoid on their way to Yama's abode (X-14-10 and 11).....I pointed out that there was no Vedic authority for taking Yama as a human being. I ought no doubt to have said Rigvedic. Nor would it have been safe to trust to the Atharva veda in such a matter. If Yama had really been the Vedic Adam, is it likely that he should never have been mentioned as such in the Rigveda ?.....

" Yama was raised to the rank of a god..... Now I ask, is there any other case in the V eda, where a man, real or postulated, has been changed into a god ?

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There are many cases in which gods have sunk to the level of mortals but I know of none where a man has become a real deva.

"The next question is whether any man real or imaginary was ever in Rigvedic times honoured with sacrificial offerings (Rv. X-14-1 यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य). And if Yama had been originally a real man, would not his two dogs, also have to be taken as real dogs? But these messengers of Yama *who roam about among the people* who are supposed to be able to restore to man his vital breadth, are the children of Saramâ and no one has yet maintained that she also was originally a human being.....

"I can understand that Vedic interpreters should have admitted two Yamas, a Yama and Yamî, but if like Prof. Olenberg we admit but one original Yama, how could that being, if meant for the first man, be said to have given the horse which Trita harnessed and which Indra was the first to mount (I-163-2),.a horse which is identified with Aditya, the sun? How could he ha ve mentioned the same Yama... ...in Rv X-64-3 in the company of sun and moon, of Trita, Vâta (the wind), the dawn, Aktu (night) and the Ashvins, all mythological beings, among whom a mere mortal would seem to be entirely out of place?" (Science of Mythology pp. 568-576.)

Yama a human being according to Veda.

I regret I cannot agree with the elaborate arguments of Prof. Max Muller. The passage of the A.V. 18-3-13 quoted by him goes dead against his conclusions. यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्यानाम् "Who died the first of mortals" does not mean that he was the first man to die, but that he who was the first (=best) of men and who was immortal for a long time, ultimately died because of the wicked words he uttered. This statement is identical with that in the Vendidad II §2, according to which he was the first or the leader of mortals (𐬫𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀 . 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀) whom untruth made mortal (𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀 𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀) (Vendidad II §6).

In the tenth hymn of the last book of the Rigveda there is a delightful conversation between Yama and Yami. Yami proposes marriage with her brother Yama, who strongly opposes her desire. He says (Rv. X-10-12); न वा उ ते तन्वा तन्वं संपृच्यां पापमाहुः यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् "I will not unite my body with thine; they call it sin to embrace a sister." We can safely assert that Yama and Yami are here represented as mere mortals.

Prof. Roth was of opinion that Yami and Yami were the first human pair —the Vedic Adam and Eve. This view is not correct, as we have seen above.

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It is directly opposed to what we find at the end of the hymn under consideration. When Yama declines the immoral proposal of his sister, she taunts him by saying : अन्या त्वां परिष्वजाते " another woman would embrace thee" ; to this Yama replies अन्यः त्वां परिष्वजाते, तस्य त्वं मन इच्छ ॥ " another man would embrace thee, win thou his heart." These passages clearly show that there existed other persons also at the time.

Three-fold character of Yama.

It must be remembered that in the Rigveda, Yama appears in his three-fold character : (1) as a man, (2) as a constellation with his sister Yami and (3) as the god of death. We have nothing to do with his last character.

We have seen that Yama was a man ; but that is not enough for identifying him with the Yima of the Avesta. Fortunately however, we have in Rv. X 13-4 a passage which strongly corroborates the story of Yasna Ha 32 §8. The passage runs thus :—

देवेभ्यः कमवृणीत मृत्युं प्रजायै कममृतं नावृणीत ।
बृहस्पतिं यज्ञमकृण्वत ऋषिं प्रियं यमस्तन्वं प्रारिरेचीत् ॥

This strophe has been considered unintelligible by the scholars. Prof. Ludwig proposes to read the text in a different manner. Griffith says that he has mainly followed Dr. Ehni, but the exact meaning of the stanza is still doubtful to him.

I translate the stanza as follows :—" For the sake of the Devas, Yama chose death as his portion ; for the people he chose not deathlessness. They (=people) made the sacrificer-rishi Brihaspti (=the Lord). He delivered up (his) dear body. "

As I have shown elsewhere and as Prof. R. R. Bhagvat says in his " Key to interpret the Veda " (p. 14) the Devas, in earliest times, denoted " a division of man-kind " ; Cf. Rv. X-56-4,

The word यज्ञ usually means " worship or sacrifice," but sometimes also a " worshipper or sacrificer " as in Rv. III. 30. 15, III-32-12 (see Monier William's Dictionary). In Rv. I-164-50 यज्ञ means यज्ञिय =adorable.

Brihaspati was literally " the Lord of prayer." He was देवानां पिता " the father of the gods " (Rv. II-26 3.) He was the most gracious and highest god, who gave all the blessings (Rv. VII-97-3). He was the holy one of the households (यजसं पस्त्यानां). He gradually encroached on the jurisdiction of Indra.

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The commentators are puzzled by three nouns in the accusative case coming together, namely बृहस्पतिं, यज्ञ and ऋषिं. They could not understand how Yama, (the rishi and the worshipper) could have been made Bribaspati ; but the passage becomes quite clear by the light of the Iranian scriptures Jamshed was at first a pious king, and might well have been called a rishi and a worshipper by the Vedic people. In course of time, however, he became very proud. He called his people together and asked them to look upon him as god. This brought about his fall. Such is the story of the Shahnâmeh ; but the story of Yaçna (Ha 32 § 8) seems to be slightly different, because therein we have been told that "Jamshed *in order to please us men*, reviled the Lord of the earth." This passage makes us infer that Jamshed did not claim to be god, but rather his people resolved to look upon him as god and that he in order to please them accepted that dignity. This story is quite in keeping with that in the Rigveda. The people made the rishi Yama—who was a pious worshipper—Brihaspati, the mighty Lord, and in order to please his people (प्रजायै = *lit* for the sake of the people) he complied with their wishes, the result being that he, who was so far immortal, perished with a fall.

It was nothing wrong from the Vedic point of view, that a mere mortal like Yama should receive divine honours from the people but it was highly objectionable from the Zarathustrian standpoint that a man should be called god.

Prof. Max Muller asks if there is any other case of a man in the Veda who has been changed into a god. We regret that such a question should have been asked at all. The answer is in the affirmative, and as an instance we may cite the case of the Ribhus. These were originally the three sons of Sudhanvan, who is said to have been a descendant of Angiras. With reference to them, Prof. Wilson says : "Through their assiduous performance of good work, they obtained divinity and became entitled to receive praise and adoration.....They prove the admission, at an early date of the doctrine that men might become divinities."

It would not be right if we rest content with merely quoting the view of one Professor against that of another. Prof. Wilson's remarks may be illustrated by the following quotation :—

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अथेत वाजा अमृतस्य पंथां गणं देवानामृभवः सुहस्ताः
ये देवासो अभवता सुकृत्या श्येना इवेदधि दिवि निषेद ।
ते रत्नं धात शवसो नपातः सौधन्वना अभवतामृतासः ॥

(Rv. IV-35-3 and 8).

"Then deft-handed Ribhus gained the path of eternal life, to the gods, assembly. You, sons of Sudhanvan, sons of Strength, *who have become gods through good deeds,* and who have sat in the heaven like falcons, give us riches. You have become immortal."

Vivasvan, the father of Yama, was likewise deified and later on identified with the sun. As this is a long subject, we can not deal with it here.

Yama as a Starry object.

Let us now consider the second character, in which Yama is represented in the Vedas. In Rv. X-64-3 the poet sings forth to "the sun, the moon, the two moons (=the new moon and the full moon), to Yama in the sky (यमं दिवि) and the two Ashvins." Here, the fact that Yama is mentioned along with other objects in the sky, raises a strong probability, that he was also a heavenly object.

In Rv. X 17-1 and 2 we have a very important myth The two strophes are as under :—

त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतीदं विश्वं भुवनं समेति ।
यमस्य माता पर्युह्यमाना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥
अपागूहन्नमृतां मर्त्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णामददुर्विवस्वते ।
उतारिश्नावभरद्यत्तदासीद्जहादु द्वा मिथुना सरण्यूः ॥

"Tvashta gave his daughter in marriage; therefore the whole world assembled together. While being married, the mother of Yama, the wife of the great Vivasvan, perished. They concealed the immortal (lady, Saranyu) from the mortals. They made one of like nature and gave her to Vivasvan. And Saranyu bore the two Ashvins and when that happened (that is, when she died) she left behind two twinned pairs."

The two pairs of twins left behind by Saranyu were (1) Yama and Yami, and (2) the two Ashvins. Elsewhere I have tried to show that the Ashvins were the two chief stars of Aries.

What then is the meaning of this myth? सरण्यु it must be remembered means

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also "the spring," and विवस्वान् "the sun". The above myth signifies that the spring, the sun, the Ashvins and the twins (Yama and Yami) were at one time closely connected. Saranyu or spring married the sun, and after her marriage she died leaving behind as her children the two pairs of twins. The whole world assembled together to witness the marriage of Saranyu with the sun. Saranyu is spring or rather the commencement of spring, when the whole world rejoices. Saranyu is immortal अमृता because she appears every year among the mortals (मर्त्येषु). Though immortal she dies, because the season lasts only for a few months in the year. We have here a reference to the time when at the commencement of spring the sun was connected with the Ashvins or Aries—which constellation is near Gemini, the Yama and Yami of the passage before us. Thus this myth took its origin about 2500 B. C.

Yama's Horse.

Prof. MaxMuller asks : "How could Yama be said to have given the Horse which Trita harnessed and which Indra was the first to mount?" A whole hymn, namely Rv. I—163, is written to sing the glory of this Horse. This is not an ordinary horse. He has horns made of gold and feet made of iron (हिरण्यशृंगो अयः पादा). He moves on paths unsoiled by dust (अरेणुभिः पथिभिः) "What time, first springing into life, he neighed—proceeding from the sea or upper waters, limbs of the deer had he and eagle pinions". This description is enough for us to identify the Horse with the constellation Pegasus. This constellation is near Gemini (Yama and Yami). It is difficult to say what Trita was meant for. Could it be the constellation Perseus or Cepheus ? Whatever it is, it is not difficult to understand why Yama gave the Horse which Trita harnessed, if we look at a starry chart.

"After the Horse come the car, the bridgroom &c ; and the goat, who is his kin, is led before him" (Rv. I-163 8 and 12). The car and the goat, are the constellations Chariot and Aries.

In Rv. I-116-7 the Ashvins are said "to have poured forth from the hoofs of their strong Horse a hundred jars of sweet liquor." Plunket thinks that the original position of Pegasus was upright, not reversed.. As Pegasus is now represented in the heavens, his hoofs do not appear to touch the fountain or vase, but if the figure is reversed, the fore-foot of the Horse would be close to the water-jar of Aquarius. Plunket thinks that this legend of the

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Horse is identical with the legend of the fount of Hippocrene which dates from 3000 B. C.

Dogs of Yama.

In Rv. X-14-11 the poet mentions the two dogs of Yama, the watchers four-eyed, who look on men and guard the path-way. (यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ). The path-way is the path of the Pitris, the Milky Way, which was the Chinvat Bridge of the Indians. As Mr. Tilak says, the two dogs are the constellations Canis Major and Canis Minor, which are situated near the base of the Milky Way. In Atharva-veda VI-80-1 the दिव्यं श्वन् (Divine dog) is the Canis Major. (see Vedic Index of Names and Subjects by Macdonell and Keith Vol I. p. 365).

In Rv. X 14-12 the poet says यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनान् अनु. Prof. Max Muller renders the passage thus : "(These) messengers of Yama roam about among the people." I would translate it as follows : "(These) messengers of Yama move round the world." The meaning is quite clear, since the constellations seem to move round the earth looking on men and guarding the Milky Way.

Saramâ was the mother of the two dogs. The word सरमा has two meanings: (1) a bitch and (2) the name of one of the many daughters of Daksha, 27 of whom became the wives of the moon, thus forming the 27 lunar mansions. We thus see that Saramâ was also an asterism.

It is indeed interesting to compare the idea about the two dogs guarding the path of the Pitris with that about the two dogs guarding the Chinvat Bridge in Vendidad Ch. 13 § 9. Therein we are told that the soul of the man who kills dogs which protect animals, villages &c. is not befriended by any other soul after death, nor *by the two dogs that guard the Chivnat Bridge*—

(𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀–𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀–𐬵𐬀). In Vendidad Ch. 19 § 29 the Chinvat Bridge is called the *path of paths* made by Ahuramazda in ancient times

(𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀–𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 ..... 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀–𐬠𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀–𐬵𐬀)

Conclusion.

We thus conclude, that Yama appears as a human being in the Vedas just like Yima in the Avesta, and is identical with him, and further, that though he appears as a heavenly object in several places in the Vedas, we have no evidence to say the same about Yima.

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THE RATIONALE OF ZOROASTRIAN RITUALS.

By Ervad Phiroz Shapurji Masani, M. A., LL. B.

In the name of Holy Spitaman Zarathushtra —

Who according to Gatha Hâ 29 "alone heard intuitively the grand Precepts from Ahura Mazda" and came to this world to inform mankind of the great unseen Laws of Ahura Mazda.

The knowledge of all these laws of nature is covered by the 21 Nasks (or very big volumes), but the extant texts containing this knowledge amount to as much as about one Nask or so, and that too very imperfect. From this unfortunate and untoward fact we understand that the modern scholars of Zoroastrian religion have not in their possession even as much as $^1/_{21}$ st part of the original Zoroastrian lore.

Nevertheless if this meagre quantity of the extant literature that we at present possess be expounded in its original light and essential import by applying the genuine "Key to the Avesta," the entire Zoroastrian religion can be seen as in a nutshell, even from the existing fragments—the Yaçna, the Gathas, the Vendidad, the Yashts and the Khordeh Avesta. Many Avesta words in the extant literature are technical terms of deep underlying signification and of very great significance, and a great volume can be written in the present expository style on these words. The West has greatly helped in the Avestan studies by pointing out the philological system of studying languages. But philology alone, as I have to admit after a long study, is not the proper Key to the exposition of the Avesta teachings of Zarathushtra.

Every great religion of the world has its esoteric side, just as man has his invisible counterpart the soul, and even as this world has its unseen world also. The Zoroastrian Religion is the most esoteric inasmuch as it is very difficult to be understood by studying merely the exoteric meanings, by help of grammar, philology etc. The esoteric element of Zoroastrian lore bears the same ratio to the exoteric as 7:1 or as the soul to the body, or as the invisible spiritual existence to the visible world of matter. Hence, when the philological study of the

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Avesta is helped by the proper key to the esotericism of Zoroastrianism, genuine delight and ecstasy enter into the heart of such a student, for he meets with the direct exposition of the entire Laws of Infoldment of Spirit into matter (Daenâm Mazdayaçnim) and of Unfoldment of spirit from matter (Daenâm Zarathushtrim.)

What is "Khshnoom"?

This key to the understanding of the Avesta is the proper exposition thereof in the light of "Khshnoom." The word "Khshnoom" occurs in the Gathas Hâ 48 § 12 and Hâ 53 § 2, and in its various grammatical forms the word occurs in many texts in the Avesta. It implies the highest type of knowledge leading to ecstatic beatitude through touch with the genuine knowledge about Ahura Mazda (Av. root Khshnû=to rejoice; to know.) The word technically suggests therefore the idea of the "key to the Esoteric teachings of Zoroastrian Lore. Philology has its own proper function and utility, but it has its limits also.

A philologist cannot enter into the esoteric side of Zarathushtrianism. He cannot discuss the problems *re* the state of the soul after death, the existence of angels and archangels, the unseen world, the higher ritual etc. Thus it is that where philology is unable to explain—in fact where philology cannot proceed, "khshnoom" comes in and opens the Avesta lore. As for instance the word "Urvan" (Av. Root "Uru"=broad + "An"=to breathe) literally signifies something that breathes widely. "Khshnoom" explains that since it is the essential of the Soul to unfold itself continually from matter, the word "Urvan" has that derivation. Similarly the word "Rae" philologically means light, and the word "Raokhshni" has also the same meaning. "Khshnoom" gives the technical sense of "Rae" as the light received of genuine knowledge about the laws of Nature, whereas "Raokhshni" means ordinary light as that of the sun and the Moon. In the same way almost every word may be taken, and one can see thereafter very clearly how philology and "Khshnoom" must co-operate in order to put the genuine exposition of the Avesta before the public. The writer is an admirer of the Western system of the philological study of the Avesta, having himself studied the Avesta as one of his University languages. But after a study of full nine years he has reasons to believe and believe rightly that mere philology cannot put Zoroastrian lore in its original true light; that there must be some other key to elucidate the Avesta, which he has been fortunate

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to find very soon in the "Khshnoom" or "Zoroastrian method by original exposition of the Avesta, leading to beatific ecstasy."

Having given some preliminary ideas about the proper system of Avestan studies, I shall now show very summarily how "Khshnoom" explains the rationale of Zoroastrian rituals. Take for instance the grand and awe-inspiring obsequy, the Geh sârnâ (chanting the Gathas) near the corpse of a Zoroastrian, recited by two priests for nearly an hour. The recital consists of the 1st Gatha Ahunavaiti Yacna Hâs 28-34. Now philologically seen, this recital has no immediate connection whatsoever with the occasion of death. The entire translation informs us that the ideas propounded in these Gathas pertain to the spiritual beings of the unseen world. Besides, that there are some moral precepts inculcated therein. But "Khshnoom" explains clearly why such a recital is necessary.

The original Law of Staota (*i. e.*) colours produced by Sound-Vibrations.

The Avesta has a word "Staota" (lit. root stu = to praise) which philologically means "praise" or commendation. But the word "Staota" according to "Khshnoom" is a technical word of deep import. It conveys the meaning of "Colours produced by sound-vibrations. "Khshnoom" also teaches that the entire Avesta is based on the various Laws of Staota (Av. Staota Yaçna) *i. e.* the Laws of unseen harmonic colours and vibrations working on the Spiritual planes of Nature. In passages where philology is unable to translate, Staota-Yacna laws are very helpful in the rendering of such passages. The understanding of Staota-laws leads to a clear exposition of the entire Avesta.

The Khshnoom explanation of the efficacy of the Geh-sârnâ is based on these Staota-laws. The ceremony prevents the formation of ghosts after death. The finer shell that is formed of the ultimate vigorous thoughts of the dying man is very likely to entrap the soul within it thus forming a ghost. But this unseen shell formed by the thought-vibrations on death-bed of the dying man is broken up by the beautiful vibrations and colours produced by the chanting of the Gathas, and the shell being broken, the departed soul instead of waiting here as a ghost proceeds onward to its own destination in the unseen world. This explanation sounds entirely scientific if one really understands the state of the soul after death.

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The First Principles underlying Zoroastrian Ceremonials.

In the same way all the Zoroastrian liturgies—from the smallest, the Navjote (Initiation into Zoroastrianism) to the greatest, the Yzashne ceremony—are based on an entirely scientific explanation ofthe working of the Laws of Nature. Khshnoom (خشنوم) explains the foundamental laws of Zravâna (زروانه) *i.e.* motion, energy, conception of time produced by motion), Staota (ستوت) *i. e.* unseen colours produced by vibrations of speech or sound), Khâstra (خاستر) *i.e.* Thermo-magno-electric currents and forces), Kharénangh (خرنغ) *i. e.* human, vegetable, mineral and animal magnetism) etc, etc, on which are based all the Zoroastrian ceremonials. "Staota" is the funda mental law of the creation and very fine descriptions about "Staota" occur in the Avesta.

"May the Creator Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, victorious, and the furtherer of the world, remain nearer to us in the same way as he propagated the Staota Yacna."—Yaçna Hâ 55; 4.

"We become in unison with Staota Yacna, worthy of remembrance, efficient, worthy of learning and teaching, of reciting and of choosing; fit for study and invocation, and worthy of furthering the world afresh. We are in tune with the singing, reciting and chanting of Staota Yacna."—Hâ 55; 6.

"We attune ourselves with Ahunavar, with the most excellent Asha Vahishta, with Fshusho-Manthra Hâdokht, and we are *en rapport* with *Staota, the laws of original existence.*"—Hâ 59; 32.

According to this same law of Staota the Zoroastrian Word "Yatha Ahu Vairyo" is composed in perfect harmony with Ahunavar,—the musical divine note eternally going on in the highest heaven—the first vibration in Nature whence the entire creation is manifested. And from the one note "Yatha Ahu Vairyo" Zarathustra composed the entire Avesta—The Yaçna, the Vendidad, the Gathas &c. according to Staota-laws.

The Avesta as the only Master-Science

This fundamental law of Staota works very efficiently and incessantly in all the recitals of higher ceremonials, and the efficacy of the Avesta prayers can be explained only on this basic law. It is on account of the charming efficacy of the arrangement of the Avesta Mânthras that the Yathâ Ahu Vairyo is regarded in the Vendidad and the Ashi Svangh Yasht as the best instrument

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of Zoroaster for smiting the Evil Principle (Anghra Mainyu). It is for this efficacy of the Staota law that Holy Zoroaster, as said in the Fravardin Yasht, recited the "Naisimi Daevo" and the "Ashem Vohu" fomula in order to upset the Daevas or collection of harmful evil vibrations in the world. It is on account of the same efficient working of the Staota-law in the Avesta recital that numerous passages in the Gathas, the Yacna, the Vendidad, the Yashts, the Visparad, and the Nyaeshes, describe the charm and the victorious predominance of the *recital over any other sound*—"Mânthrahecha Paurvatâtem"—the Superiority of Manthra. References to the Srosh Yasht Hadokht 1. the Yzashne Hâ 58 and almost every Hâ of the Gathas especially Hâ 28§10 and Hâ 45§3 give emphatically a beautiful idea of the powerful influence of the Avesta recital both on the microcosm and the macrocosm. To those who understand the modern science of accoustics together with the mental science and the laws of thought it will be helpful to remind them that the laws of vibrations and unseen colours and forms—both of sound and thought—play a very remarkable part in the efficacy of Avesta prayers. In all the Zoroastrian ceremonials this law of vibration and Colours (the law of Staota) works fundamentally. The striking of the Havonim (metal tumbler) in the Yacna ceremony and the ring ing of the bell in the Atash-Behram (the highest fire-temple) five times a day—all this is based on the law of Staota.

In the same way subtle magnetic and electric forces (Av. Khâstra) play an important part in all Zoroastrian rituals. Even modern science admits that invisible subtle magnetic forces emanate from every mineral, vegetable, animal and human creation. The function of Zoroastrian ceremonials is twofold, and the rituals are accordingly divided into two classes—those for the living and those for the departed.

The ceremonies performed for the benefit of the living e.g. the Navjote, the Bareshnoom, or the Jashan ceremony, help to unfold the Soul and propagate prosperity in this world in accordance with the Law of Order Divine (Asha), by inviting the subtle spiritual forces in Nature to come down here and by being in tune with these. The Avesta word "*Yazamaide*" so very often met with in every prayer is very significant, and "Khshnoom" explains that the word according to the Staotic law refers to the idea of attuning, being at-one-ment, being *en-rapport* with every Yazadic force for whom the word is used, through the Man-

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thric Vibration. The word explains how the Soul can unfold itself from matter by being in tune with higher spiritual forces by means of absolute Holiness and Manthric Vibration, for the acceleration of this Staota or Manthric Vibration increases in proportion to the Holiness observed in every day life—the influence exerted by Holiness being the transmutation of the grosser nature (Khrafastri tevishi) into a finer nature (Gospandi tevishi) of the individual.

The Sacred Cotton Shirt (Av. "Vastra," ordinarily known as "Sudreh") and the sacred thread-girdle (Av. "Aiwiyaongh ana", generally called "Kusti") have their efficacy in keeping the personal magnetism (Av. "Kharenagh" commonly known as "Khoreh") of the wearer very fine and healthy by allowing the dark rays of light to enter by refraction through the cotton shirt, thus preventing the friction of the waste matter issuing from the human body and of the dark rays of the sun. If this friction is prevented the aura or "khoreh" (Av. Kharenangh) is kept in its original subtle pure state which helps greatly in the Unfoldment* or Progress (Av- Uru) of the Soul by furthering the latent powers of the Soul.

The sacred Kusti enables the tier of it to preserve to oneself the best vibrationary colours of the Avesta Manthra recited by one throughout the day, because this is the function of wool which has the essential quality of attracting vibrationary colours unto it and grabbing them.

The relation between the visible temporal world and the invisible spiritual planes is very well established by Zoroastrian ceremonials based on the great laws of nature. The fruits, flowers, water etc. taken in the Jashan ceremony are employed so as to receive the best electro-magnetic currents emanating from these. Water has those five hydro-electric forces (Av. Frâdho*) so often remembered in the Aban Yasht, and all these five forces have their own proper respective functions. Hence it is that only running water as that of wells and springs having its electric forces naturally active, is to be used in all the Zoroastrian rituals. In the Jashan ceremony the officiating priest—a practi-

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* See Aivisruthrem Gah—

"Urvatâm Urunem ashavanem ashahe ratun Yazamiale" i. e. we are at-one-ment with the holy law of Asha—The Broadening of the Soul].

* These five Frâdho are the followiug :—

Adu frâdho; Vânthvo-frâdho; Gaetho-frâdho, Khshaeto-frâdho; and Daughu fradho. Each of these has its own proper functions in the economy of nature.

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tioner of highest purity, mental and physical—accumulates all the thermo-electro-magnetic forces from all the things by means of the Avestic Manthra, and through the energy (Av, "Zravana" popularly known as "Bareh") of the fire placed before him he creates a very grand magnet as it were of highest spiritual currents. This accumulation of currents is sent through fire to the unseen world (a world of highly accelerated vibrations), and according to the laws of attraction the Spiritual forces from Yazads or angels rain down to meet that great magnet-of-force going above from the Jashan-ceremony performer. Thus an actual shower of higher spiritual forces is brought down by means of all such ceremonies intended to benefit the living.

Now the same scientific laws work in the ceremonials for helping the departed souls onward in their march in the unseen world. In the Yazashne ceremony, the things taken e.g. Haoma, Baresma, Jivam, Darûn, water, Havonim, Tashta etc.—have their deep meanings for which they are intended. We cannot enter here into the details as to how all these actually work, for that would require some volume-full space, and this "Khshnoom" exposition of the Avesta being a new light for the student of the Avesta only a faint glimpse of the working of Zoroastriam ritual summarily is what I intend in this paper- The officiator in the Yzashne ceremony collects all the finer electro-forces from the things employed therein by means of Avesta Manthra, and with the intense thought for the betterment of the departed soul in his mind he sends this accumulation by means of the energy of the fire Atash i Dadgah before him to the Atash-Adaran, fire of the second degree, and thence to the Atash-Behram, fire of the highest degree (the rates of acceleration of these three fires are rising in their scale), It is this Atash Behram which by being in touch with the rate of Yazad Srosh sends all the accumulated force of Zoroastrian rituals towards the stage of the departed soul in the unseen world, where the soul is helped in its progress through Srosh on account of the ceremony-force sent thither.

It must be admitted that this is only an attempt to superficially put before the thinking students and readers how Zoroastrian ceremonails are based on subtle scientific laws of nature. Philology cannot explain all this, for philology has its own proper function and utility, and where philology ends, khshnoom begins, in Avestan studies. Khshnoom teaches that Zoroastrian religion pro-

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pounds all the laws of higher Physics, Chemistry, Optics, Accoustics, Mecha nics, Electricity, Magnetism, Dynamics, Numbers, Logic, Astronomy, Astrology, Geomancy, Mathematics, Physiognomy, Phrenology, Palmistry, Chiromancy, Efficient Formulae, Vibrationary Colours etc etc—all the known and upto now unknown sciences of the universe. This is what "Khshnoom" implies. Just as grammar is necessary for helping one in the study of Avesta on the philological system, so are the First Principles of Khshnoom necessary for understanding the Avesta technicalities and the Zoroastrian religion as the Original Law of Nature. There are certain passages of Fshusho-Manthra (the higher kind of Avesta than the ordinary Manthra Spenta) in the Yacna, Gathas and the Vendidad and the Visparad which are incapable of a lucid translation, and which exhibit absurdities when so rendered philologically. Khshnoom clearly elucidates all these passages in which grammar is voluntarily disregarded in order to preserve the greater and higher laws of Staota. A new departure can be made in the Avestan studies by scholars if they care to know what "Khshnoom" is. They will then embellish their philological explanations with the help of Khshnoom imports. It will be seen by them after a proper study of the Khshnoom system that Khshnoom is the original pristine Key to the exposition of the Avesta, and greater light will be thrown on the Zoroastrian Religion if one patiently studies the Avesta in the light of the "Gathic Khshnoom"

It is as a result of both these studies philological and Khshnoomic—of the Avesta that I hail Zoroaster Prophet of Prophets as the the Master-Scientist before closing the subject, as under—

Holy Zoroaster as the only Master-Scientist.

Hail! O Prophet of Prophets, (Vakhshur-i-Vakhshuran) Mystic speaker (Ramz-go) Holy (Asho) Spitaman Zarathusht, Bringer of Light and Preceptor of Ashoi! You who informed us of the Great Law of Infoldment of the Spirit into Matter (Daén-i-Mazdayacni) and who taught us the wonderful Law of Unfoldment of the Spirit from Matter (Daen-i Zarthushtri); you who are ever with the one thought of doing the Will of Ahura Mazda, the one sublime thought of showing the Path of Ashoi, the way of Unfoldment to the Blessed Souls throughout all the planes (Minoi, Jirmani, Aravahi, Jasmani) of the creation of Ahura Mazda; you who taught us the three Grand Laws of achieving unfoldment of the Ravan, the Law of Ashoi (Purity Ideal—in all its

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perfection—physical, mental, moral and spiritual), the Law of Khoreh (the aura or subtle emanations), the Law of Keshash (obligations and adjustments with everything and invisible force in the universe); You who gave us Manthra (the well-thought word—the Avesta) as the one most powerful Agency whereby to achieve Ravan-Bokhtagih; You who explained to us the Essential, Fundamental Law of Staota (vibration and colour) underlying the entire visible and invisible creation—the Majestic Law of Staota on which you based the Yatha Ahu Vairyo, modifying the Yatha Ahu Vairyo into the Gathas, Vendidad, Yizashna etc. covering twenty-one Nasks instilling into all these Stotic Manthras (Vibrationary Words) your highest Powers of Humata, Ashoi, and Khoreh, so that Your blessed chanters of these Manthras that are based on the law of Staota may be also filled with Khshnoom of the Gathas (the ecstatic beatitude); You who taught us by means of these Manthras to be in tune, in unison, *en rapport* with Sraosha, the Yazads, the Amesha Spends, and Ahura Mazda, by establishing a channel of holiest and highly accelerated vibrations by means of Stotic Manthras of the Avesta; You who gave us the best agency, the most efficient instrument, the Atash Behram, which works as a carrier of thermo-magno-electro-vibratory forces of one's Avesta prayers, the innumerable efficient forces of Yazads and other ministers of grace; You who taught us all the grand rituals of Nirangdin, Vendidad, Yazashne, Baj, Afringan, Bareshnoom, Dokhma-Nashin etc—all these founded on the grand laws of Unfoldment of the Urvan, viz. the subtle laws of thermo-magno-electro-vibratory forces in the universe—You who taught us all these and many things more ad infinitum, how much are we indebted to You!

O beloved, Holy, Spitama Zarathushtra! how shall we show our sense of obligations to you who gave us the Science of Sciences, (Farhangân Farhang Manthra Spenta—the knowledge of knowledges Manthra Spenta!) You who possessed knowledge of all the planes of the universe; You who have the highest intelligence Asn-i-Vir; You who are gone to the advanced stage of souls of the highest Naba Nazdishtanam Fravashinam class of the four classes of souls—Ashonam, Ashaonam, Poryo Dakaeshnam, and Naba Nazdishtanam, you who are "Ururaost Asto" (gone to the highest stage of prophets); You whom Ahura Mazda gave "Hudemem Vakhedraya" "The certificate of communicating the Word"; You who "alone heard His canons (Aevo-Sasnao Gushata); You who

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are " Mazado Frasasta " taught by Mazda ; You who are " Hatam Hudastemem Raevastemem, Kharenanghastemen..... " The most knower of Good, the most possessor of Rae or brilliant lustre of spiritual knowledge, the most Possessor of Glorious Light among all the souls that are passing from Infoldment to Unfoldment ; "—You whose Soul is beyond comparison among the mortals ; You who are " superior to Yazads and equal to Ameshaspends ; "—we turn with hands and eyes uplifted towards you, the Ratu, the Representative, the Viceroy of Ahura Mazda ! Ashem Vohû !!!

Thanks to the Source whence I have received D. V, some light of Zarathushtrianism ! Amen !

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"THE ALLEGED REFERENCE TO GAUTAM BUDDHA IN THE AVESTA."

By Maneksha Naoroji Dustoor Jamasp Asana Esq., M. A.

My object in this short contribution is to explain the true signification of the word 'Gaotema occurring in yt. XIII 16, and also the idea underlying this passage, specially because attempts have been made by some to connect this term with the name of the author of the Buddhistic faith, while some, though not trying to establish such an identity regard this word as a proper noun pointing to some particular personage of former times.

This word reads differently in different manuscripts, as 'Gaotama,' 'Gaotema,' 'Gaotuma,' and 'Gaotoma.' I here follow Dr. Geldner's text in reading it "Gaotema" according to four Manuscripts. Gaotema is evidently an adjective of the superlative degree, the suffix tema being applied to the root Gu, or to the noun Ga va, as is often found in the Avestan text[1]. The root Gu expresses, among others, also the idea of 'to soil, to dirty,' its noun form being met with in the word 'Gûtha."[2] Hence, by this derivation, the word 'Gaotema' should mean 'filthiest, or most corrupt, or most causing corrupt,' according as Gu is intransitive or transitive, If we regard it as the superlative form from 'Gava,' we should remember that the word 'Gava' is used in the Avesta for the hands of evil persons, just as 'Zasta' is used for the hands of good persons, and that just as 'Zasta' is used secondarily to denote 'power' in the good sense, as in 'Zastâishtâ avanghâ, most powerful help; similarly 'Gava' would denote power in a bad sense, and thus 'Gaotema' would mean 'most wickedly powerful; In this way, we have established two meanings for 'Gaotema,' (1) most corrupt, or most rendering corrupt, and (2) most wickedely powerful. We shall show

(1) For a superlative suffix applied directly to the root, compare hastema (haz=to be strong+tema); Shâishta (shâ=to rejoice+ishta); Kevistema (Kevidh=kudh=to punish, or injure,+tema); Vacdishta (Vid=to known+ishta); thwakhshishta(thwaksh+to strive+ishta), etc.

For a superlative suffix applied to nouns, compare Zastâishta; (Zasta=hand, power+ishta); gaonotema (gaona=colour+tema); Zarathushtrôtema; Daevotemo; &c.

(2) See Vendidad VII. 25,& XIV, 6.

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below how these two meanings, apparently different, are almost identical in their import. In order now to see the context of this word with the rest of the sentence, let us quote the original text here:

" Yô nâidhyâonghô gaotemahe parô-yâo parshtôit avâiti. "

It will be seen here that 'Gaotemahe' comes as the epithet of 'Nâidhyaongho,' both being in the genitive form[1]. The word 'Naidhyanigh' is an adjective of the comparative degree (nad+yangh) used as a noun, from the root nâd or nad, which is the same as nath 'to cut.' This literal meaning, then, of the word 'Naidhyâongh,' *viz.*, one who is cutting very much' expresses the idea of a very harmful or tyrannical person.[2] Hence 'Naidbyaongho Gaotemahe,' means 'of the most corrupt (or corrupt making) tyrant,' or 'of the most wickedly powerful tyrant.[1] Wherein, it will be asked, lies the connection between corruption wicked conduct, and tyranny? This instance, however, is not a solitary one of the kind. (1) First, we find the same epithet 'most corrupt' applied to the Daevas (the wicked leaders of people) in y. 12,4, though here the word is not 'Gaotema' the superlative form from Gu, but 'Paoshishta,' the superlative form from Push (Pu) 'to be or to render impure.' (3) The Daevas, the wicked leaders or rulers of people, who in the Gathas are contrasted with Ahuras, the good leaders or rulers of people, are here called the most corrupt (or corrupt making) not on account of any physical impurity but on account of their very bad mode of governing the people under them, whereby those people were kept in a very wretched condition of life. (2) Secondly, we find this idea of corruption associated with wicked conduct and power, also in the Gathas. In y. 48,10, we read as follows:—... when will they

(1) Naidhyaongho can also be accusative plural.

(2) Some scholars have understood this term as being derived from a root meaning 'to be weak', which is at least very doubtful. Most probably they have been led to this attempt at derivation by the joint occurance of the word, Nâidhyâongh' and 'aojyâo' in y. 34, 8 and y. 57, 10. Aojyâo' does certainly mean 'very or more, powerful' but there is no reason why we should therefore regard 'Naidhyâongh' as its antonym meaning 'weaker' simply because they both happen to be in the comparative degree. In both these places we can very appropriately to the context translate the words "yatho aojyâo maidhyâonghem" by "just as a very or more powerful man (terrifies-34, 8: smites,-57,10) a very harmful or tyrannical one." Moreover, the word 'nadento' which is derived from the same root as 'Nâidhyaongh' and which occurs in y. 33, 4, can not be translated according to the context by deriving it from 'nad' to be weak, or to weaken.

(5) Hâtâm draojishtâish hâtâm paoshishtâish hâtâm avanghutemâish (the most vicious, or deceitful of beings, the most corrupt of beings, the worst of beings.)

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smite (*i. e.* destroy) the nuisance (or, corruption) of this Greatness, through (or, in) which harmful Greatness the karapans are growing-arrogant, and in association with the practical talent connected with which greatness are also the bad rulers of provinces (*i.e.* the bad rulers are also possessing such practical talent as is used for the furtherance of that bad greatness)!" Here we find the words "the nuisance of this Greatness" (Mûthrem ahyâ Magahyâ). The word maga, 'Greatness or authority' is used in the Gathas, to denote the soverign power possessed by the rulers of people, whether good or bad, either temperal or spiritual, aud those men who possess such a power are known in the Gathas under the name of Magavans. The authority alluded to here is that practised by the Karapans and bad rulers (dushe-khshathra), and it is called corrupt because the power of these Karapans and bad rulers is exercised in the performance of bad tyrannical actions according to the bad ideals which they adore whereby the people are made to live an ignoble condition of life. In this passage the idea of 'corruption' or 'nuisance' is expressed by 'mûthra' and not by 'Gûtha.' (3) Thirdly, the same connection is to be found in Y. 51, 12, where the word 'Zoishenu' (from Zi=Zish=to render impure or to injure)[1] meaning 'filthy, corrupt, injurious, Tyrannical', occurs as the epithet of "the injurers and persecutors" belonging to the Kavi party. (charatascha aoderesh châ Zoishenû). So much for the explanation of "Nâidhyaongho Gostemahe." Those who have seen in this passage a reference to some particular well-known person who flourished either prior to or contemporaneously with the time of Farvardin Yasht, have altogether lost sight of the fact that all the fifteen passages of Farvardin Yasht from the second to the sixteenth refer to conditions of things which exist in all times. For instance, when it is said that the waters are flowing, the trees are growing, the mothers are conceiving, the luminaries are revolving, through the glory and efficacious activity of the Fraveshis, reference is undoubtedly made to these conditions as they exist in all times, and not exclusively either to the past, or to the present, or to the future. What then, is the condition of things mentioned in the passage under question which is true for all times? Let us here put down the translation of the whole passage.

(1) It is from the same root 'zish' that Zoizhdishtâish applied to the Khrafstrâish, and Zizîyûshat applied to the kayadha are derived, the former meaning 'the filthiest noxious creatures', the latter 'most corrupt of tyrannical evil man' (oppressive man).

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"Through the glory and efficacious activity of the Fravashis is born a man, the councillor (or assembly-organiser) one whose speech is attended to in councils (or, assemblies), who is a lover of good practical-talent, who comes victorious[1] from the war of (*i. e.* with, or against)[2] the most corrupt (or, the most wickedly powerful) Tyrant." There are times when the tyranny of a tyrant reaches its zenith, and the existence of the society under the yoke of that tyrant becomes unendurable. In such a condition, there sometimes, if not always, arises a man, "the man of the hour," round whom on account of his sagacity, organising power and high position in society, legions of people gather together, and who by their help succeeds in overthrowing the power of the Tyrant, and establishes the society in a virtuous and prosperous condition of life. How do such great men arise: The passage just translated says it is "through the glory and efficacious-activity of the Fravashis." What, then, are the Fravashis? For an exhaustive exposition on this subject, I should refer the reader to my work on "The moral teachings of Zarathushtra." Suffice it here to say that the Fravashis are those forces that are born of the great and good activity of all classes of human beings, and which advance humanity towards a higher and still higher condition of existence All progress of mankind is due to these forces latent in humanity when developed. If society is to be made to progress towards a higher condition by being rescued from the bondage of a tyrant, that is the function of the progress-causing moral or spiritual forces established by Mazda, which therefore operate so as to bring about the birth of a great man who then becomes the immediate author as it were of that much progress. Such a sort of man arises in such a condition in all countries and in all times, provided the accumulated

(1) Paro-yâo is the nom. sing. form of the compound Paro-yâonh, which literally means 'of superior feats' which implies the idea of 'superior in power, overpowering or successful.' cf. avi-yâo and avi-a mo of yt. 8, 13, 14.

(2) Parshtoit is the ablative sing of parshti which is the abstract noun from pareth or paresh, 'to fight (see Ervad Kanga's Dict,) The literal translation of "parshtoit naidhyâongho gaotemahe" should be "from the war (or battle) of the most corrupt (or wickedly-powerful) tyrant." That the preposition 'of' here expresses the idea of 'with, or against,' is seen from a similar construction in yt. 9, 30, where we find the sentence 'yatha azâni peshana mairye he khyaonyche srejataspahe—"so that I may carry on the wars of (i. e, with, or against) the cruel khyaonian Arejataspa." (It should be noted that this prayer is made not by one of the generals of Arejitaspa himself but by an enemy of Arejataspa). Compare also 'meng peretha,' lit. 'my battles' i. e. battles against me (Y. 43, 2). Both the construction and idea of the words 'Parshtoit paro-yâo avâiti" are exactly the same as those of 'arezaeiby vavanvâo jasaiti' (15,7 = 'comes victorious from the battles.')

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moral and spiritual force of past and present activities of that country is sufficient for it. On the contrary, no such man can arise if the past and present generations of a country have not by their virtuous activity gathered a degree of moral force sufficient for the purpose. The Fravashis of the Persian nation of ancient times were efficacious enough to produce a Faridun who with the help of his hosts overthrew the terrible Zohâk. The Fravashis of Persia of to-day, on account of the disunion and lack of courage and virtuous activity of its past and present generations, have not yet gathered sufficient force to produce an indigenous Faridun who could overpower the foreign Zohâks. It was Oliver Cromwell's Ironsides, who dealt the fatal blow to the corruption and tyranny of Charles I. and sent him to the gallows. George Washington whose nobility of character and bravery of disposition gathered round him a large force, exterminated the whilom domination of Britain. It was Garibaldi who freed his country from the foreigner's yoke. Arabi Pasha succeeded in destroying the corrupt regime of his country, and nearly succeeded in establishing a noble form of government, had it not been for the rapacity of European powers accompanied with superior physical force.

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ANDARZÎHÂ-Î PÊSHÎNÎKÂN.[1]

By *Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar*, M.A.

The Admonitions of the Ancients.

I. (1) The wealth of health is good. (2) The progeny of righteousness is good. (3) The fraternity[2] of good fame is good. (4) The protector of duty is good. (5) The association[3] of a good wife is good. (6) A store of good deeds is good. (7) One's own soul led by the Gâthic lore is good. (8) In all duties and religious affairs, truth with perfect-mindedness is good. (9) In both worlds, fearlessness is good.

II. (1) Walk in the way of justice and religion. (2) Do not injure your parents. (3) Be in harmony (*hû-sâjakîh*)[4] with brothers, friends, kinsmen, relations and allies, and be a protector (*dâshtâr*) of women. (4) Try to acquire the wealth of meritorious actions. (5) Every day, make an estimate of yourself thus: "To-day what is the profit and what is the loss; what meritorious deeds (have I done) and what sins (have I committed.) To what length have I traversed the righteous path and (also) the unrighteous path;" because this world is like a fleeting abode (*aspanj*) of one day and thither (in the next world) one shall be for eternity, (6) and there the account of one's good and evil deeds will be made up.[5] (7) Because the righteous Srôsh takes hold of the hand of him whose good deeds are more than his sins and carries him to heaven. (8) The demon Vîzarîsh takes hold of the hand of him whose sins are more than his good deeds and drags him to hell; even if they (the souls of the wicked)

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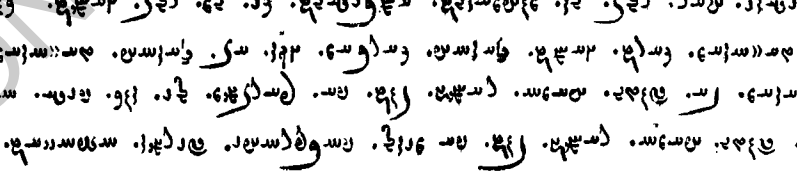
(1) For text, see pp. 39-40 of the Pahlavi Texts accompanying the *Ayîbâtkâr-i Zarirân*, edited by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp-Asana. (2) *brât*: lit., a brother. (3) *ham-bâz*: *lit.*, an associate. (4) Cf. P. سازگاری (5) Cf. the following from the prayer called بنام ایزد :—

[illegible]



(*Vide* p. 208 of the Pazend Texts, collected and collated by Ervad E. K. Antia, and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchāyet).

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weep, they (the demons) do not take pity on them and when they cry out, they do not listen to them. (9) The final trust (*avastân*)[1] is in one's own actions.

III. (1) He who has no wisdom is in distress. (2) He who has no wife is sorrowful. (3) He who has no progeny is without name and fame. (4) He who has no wealth is worthless. (5) He who has no relations[2] is impotent (*sûst*). (6) He who has no soul is worst of all.

IV. (1) Wisdom is peerless. (2) Jealousy is unspeakable.[3] (3) The world has (affords) no protection.[4] (4) Youth should have no pride.[5] (5) Wealth has no exaltation. (6) Life has no joy. (7) Old age has no cure. (8) Death has no remedy. (9) Women have no wisdom.[6] (10) The Lord (God) has no associate. (11) Worst of all is he with whom God is not pleased when he dies. (12) Any one with whom God is not pleased finds no room in the resplendent heaven.

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(1) P. وستا م. (2) The text gives سدیه (*i. e.*, a person) for خویه *khvésh*.

(3) *Lit.*, nameless (4) *Natrûnishn*. As this word is often interchanged with *katrûnishn*, the meaning would be: 'The world has no constancy or permanency' (5) Or, glorification (*nâzishna* P. نازش) (6) This is an idea foreign to the Avesta and the indigenous Pahlavi literature. Some Pazend prayers, which are otherwise replete with beautiful maxims of morality, contain a similar notion set forth in the disparagement of women. cf. *Nemáz-i Dádár Hormazd*:—

وسهسد. دوسد. مچ. وذ ..... مسکیه. وسیه. مچ. مسکیه. اسه. کسه.

"O Creator ! I am grateful unto you that I have been created a man and not a woman." (*Vide*, Pazend Texts, edited by Ervad E. K. Antia, p. 206). Cf. also *Benâm-i-Ized*:

دوسد. وسکسی. سک. وسهسکد. وادیه. سکوسکاذیه. وذ ..... مسیه. مسکو. اسه. کسه.

"I am grateful unto the good and bountiful Creator that I am a man and not a woman" (*ibid.* p. 208) As shown by Darmesteter in his pamphlet "A Jewish-Persian Prayer," such ideas are borrowed from the Jews by the Persians. The Minokhered which is, as acknowledged by scholars, influenced by foreign writings, contains the following statement:—

ع۶ سر یوا ۲وسوه ج ۶۶۶۵۱۲۱ ادسیر ۱ کوه۱ وا ۱ ۲۱۵۱۲سه ۱ ۱۱۱۵ ۲۱۱۲

"These three are not to be accepted as a witness:—a woman, a young serving-boy, and a man-slave." Ch 39§37; (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV p. 78).

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MADAM MATAN-Î SHAH VAHÂRÂM-Î VÂRJAVAND[1].

By Naib Dastur Minocher Jamaspji Jamasp Asa.

On the Advent of King Behrâm Varjâvand.

(1) When shall it be that a messenger (*paik*)[2] will arrive from (the country of) the Hindus[3] ? (This will happen) when the King Vahârâm[4] of the Kyânian family will appear ; when 1000 elephants shall have chiefs on their heads, i.e. the elephant drivers (*pîlpân*) ; when they shall hold upraised banners in the manner of kings and drive (the elephants) before the army, like commanders-in-chief. (At that time) should be appointed an intelligent man of smart senses (*tarjumân*),[5] who will go forth and speak to the Hindus about what we saw in the Arabian desert. They (the Arabs) weakened (*nizâr kart*)[6] the religion of one class of people (*guroh*)[7] [viz., the Zoroastrians] ; they killed our emperor, and those who were regarded as demons and fiends and who ate like dogs snatched away the bread from the Iranians (*aîr*). They deprived the kings of their sovereignty, not by skill nor (even) by manliness, but by tyranny (*afsûs*) and ridicule (*riyârîh*). They abducted women from men and took away by force their sweet possessions (*khvâstakîhâ*) and their orchards and gardens, levied on them the capitation-tax (*jazîtak*),[8] allotted it to chiefs of low origin (*lakhvâr asalîk*) and demanded heavy tribute (*sâj*).[9]

(2) See, what amount of mischief was done by that Drûj in this world that there is nothing more wicked than this tottering (*naût*)[10] world. From amongst us will appear King Vahârâm Varjâvand, of the family of the Kayâns, and we shall

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(1) For text, see pp. 160-161 of the Pahlavi Texts accompanying the Ayîbâtkâr-î *Zarîrân*, edited by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp-Asana. (2) P. پیک (3) Cf. Bahaman Yasht, Ch. III. § 14, where it is stated that Varjâvand will appear from Chinistân, and according to some, from among the Hindus. (4) King Vahârâm is no other than the future prophet, Saoshyant of the Avesta. His title is *Verethrajan* (Yt. XIII §128); hence called Vahârâm in Pahlavi. (5) A. ترجمان *lit.*, interpreters. (6) P. نزار thin, slender. (7) P. گروه. (8) P. جزیه (9) P. ساو (10) A. نود tottering; agitated.

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take revenge on the Arabs like Rudastaham[1] who revenged himself 1000 times on the world (of the wicked). We shall demolish their places of worship (*mazîtîhâ*) and shall establish the (sacred) Fires. We shall extirpate the idol-temples and make the world clear of them, so that the Drûj and his miscreations may be anihilated[2] from the world.

(1) Rustam, the celebrated Iranian hero. (2) *lit.*, go away unseen (*unbîn*).

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THE NAMES OF AHURA MAZDA.

By N. D. Khandalvala Esqr. B. A. L. L. B.

"God tastes an infinite joy
In infinite ways—one everlasting bliss
From whom all being emanates, all power
Proceeds ; in whom is life for evermore."

Browning.

In the Ormazda Yashta there are two sets of names given of the Supreme and these are spoken of as possessing a most mysterious potency, in warding off all kinds of evils and difficulties. Ahura mazda is himself represented as giving out these names in response to the questions of Spitma Zarathushtra.

"My first name is the I am (*Ahmi*), my second name is Lord of the multitudes (*vânthvyo*), my third name is the All-embracing (*avi-tanyo*), my fourth name is the best harmony (*asha-vahishta*), my fifth name is everything good Mazda-made and holy (*visp vohu mazdâdhâta asha chithrâ*), my sixth name is the Intellect (*khratush*), my seventh name is the one with intellect (*khratumâo*) my eighth name is Wisdom (*chishtish*), my ninth name is the one with Wisdom (*chistavâo*), my tenth name is increase (*spâno*), my eleventh name is the Increaser (*spanghuhâo*), my twelfth name is the Life-Giver (*Ahura*), my thirteenth name is the most beneficent (*sevishto*), my fourteenth name is the one without hate (*vidvayêshtvo*), my fifteenth name is the invincible one *avanemna*), my sixteenth name is the reckoner of actions (*hât marenish*), my seventeenth name is the all seeing (*vispa hishas*), my eighteenth name is the giver of bliss (*baeshajya*), my nineteenth name is the creator (*Dâto*), my twenteeth name is I am that I am the great Maker (*ahmi yat ahmi Mazdâo*),

Further on we read—

(21) I am the protector (*pâyushcha*), (22) the giver and nourisher (*dâtâcha th râtâcha*), (23) the knower the most increasing spirit, (*janâtâcha*

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matnyusha spentotemo), (24) the giver of weal (*baeshajya*, (25) the greatest of weal givers (*baeshajyotem*), (26) the fire guardian (*âthrava*), (27) the greatest fire-guardian (*âthravatem*), (28) I am the life giving Lord (*Ahura*), (29) I am the great maker and thinker (*Mazdâo*) (30) I am the Pure (*ashava*), (31) I am the most righteous (*ashavastem*) (32) I am the glorious (*Kharenangha*), (33) I am the most glorious *Kharenanghuhastem*), (34) I am the full seeing (*pouru darashta*), (35) I am the utmost seeing (*pouru drashtem*,) (36) I am the far seeing (*durye-drashta*), (37) I am the farthest seeing (*durye-drashtem*).

(38) I am the Watcher (*spashta*), (39) I am the pervading one (*vita* , (40) I am the bestower (*dâta*),(41) I am the protector (*pâta*),(42) I am the cherisher (*thrâta*) (43) I am the descerner (*jnâta*), (44) I am the most discerning (*janoishta*), (45) I am the evolver (*fshumâo*), (46) I am the word of increase (*fshusho-manthra*). (47) I am the ruler at will (*Ise-kshathro*),(48) I am the supreme ruler at will (*ise-kshatrotemo*), (49) I am the renowned king (*nâmo-kshathro*), (50) I am the most renowned king (*nâmo Kshathryo temo*).

(51) I am the non-deceiving (*adhavisha*), (52), I am the undeceivable one (*vidhavish*), (53) I am the uniformly protecting (*paiti-pâyush*), (54) I am the destroyer of evil (*tbaesho-taurvâo*), (55) I am the strong-subduer (*hathravan*), (56) I am the controller of all (*vispavan*), (57) I am the shaper of all (*vispa tasha*), (58) I am all bliss (*vispa-Khâthra*), (59) I am full of bliss (*pouru-Khâthra*), (60) I am Lord of bliss (*Khâthravâo*), (61) I am the well-doing (*verezi-Saoka*), (62) My name is the most well-doing (*verezi-savâo*), (63) I am the beneficent (*sevi*), (64) I am the powerful (*surâo*), (65) I am the most beneficent (*sevishta*), (66) I am the righteous (*asha*), (67) I am the Great one (*bereza*), (68) I am the ruler (*Kshathrya*), (69) I am the Greatest ruler (*kshathryotemo*), (70) I am the One having good Wisdom (*hudhânusha*), (71) I am the one having most beneficent Wisdom (*hudhânushtemo*), (72 I am the long-benefiting (*durye suka*). These are my names.

The Ormazd Yastht is relatively a later compilation than most of the other Yashts, and the Median priests who composed it do not seem to have kept in mind any logical sequence of ideas. The names are more or less a disconnected collection of appellations traditionally used. The second set of names is certainly a later addition than the first twenty names. Out of the fifty-two additional names mentioned in the second set, almost half the names, are, some of them, the same, and several others almost the same, as the corresponding names of the first set. As

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there are seventy two *hâs* of the Yasna, so these later additions, several of them with unnecessary superlatives, seem to have been interpolated to show a corresponding number of names of the Almighty. The beauty of simplicity and the natural flow of ideas never seems to have occurred to these compilers.

Behind all the forces of which, the world as we know it is a manifestation, there exists a Power which is the one and sole Reality. To convey even a faint idea of this-to us incomprehensible Power-human intuition has made attempts at various times and in different ages. Religious dogmatism and blind orthodoxy have however very much stood in the way of a dispassionate search and study of this sublime subject. The names of the Deity occuring in different faiths, expressed in different languages, are often looked upon as antagonistic, and each faith tries to claim a superiority for itself for the names of God which it uses, holding them as being more effcacious than those of others. Anthropomorphism or a representation of Deity with sublimated and extended human attributes naturally prevails to a great extent.

The first name '*frakshatya nâ n ahmi*,' has been thus translated by some 'my name is one of whom questions are asked'. Such a rendering makes no sense whatsover. Questions may be asked of any one, be he a wise man or a boor. It is the nature of the replies given and the knowledge and wisdom contained in them, that would show the greatness of the answerer. In the first name however the Lord God says that he is the great I am (*Ahmi*) the one and Sole Existence, from whom all other existences proceed. The second name '(*Vanthvyo*') is translated. 'giver of herds or protector of herds'. He is allegorically the great Shepherd the Lord of the hosts of Angels, of men and the rest of the creation. The third name '*avi tanyo*' has usually been explained as strong or powerful, but the late Ervad Kavasji Kanga has rightly translated it as all pervading. The life of God is immanent in all things and existences, and yet he also exists above and beyond his creation. The immanence and super-existence of God are the cardinal truths of Religion. The amshaspand '*Asha-hishta*' is said to have the same Will as Ahura mazda-Asha-Vahista is the best purity the highest Harmony. It is the rythmic Breath of the Deity whence wave after wave proceed to evolve the Universe, and Asha-Vahishta, is mentioned in the list as the fourth name of Ahura Mazda. The fifth name is given as 'all good things Mazda made of the seed of Asha (*Visha Vohu Mazda-dhata*

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asha-chithro). This is a complicated expression, and the last two compound words appear to be an interpolation and are unnecessary. All things proceed from Mazda and they are all good if we only had the power of comprehending the Universality of his scheme, and the interrelation of things. The sixth name is Intellect (*Khratush*), the seventh name is the one with Intellect (*Khratumâo*), the eighth is Wisdom (*Chistish*), the ninth is the one with Wisdom (*Chistvâo*), the tenth is Increase (Spâno) the eleventh is the Increaser (*Spanghuhâo*). In these three sets of names, the impersonal Intellect, Wisdom, and Force of Evolution, are rightly attributed to the Deity, and again in the counterparts he is spoken of as a Person possessing these, The twelfth name is given as '*Ahura*' it is nearly the same as the first one '*Ahmi*', Ahura is the Living one and also the Giver of Life. The thirteenth is the most Beneficent (*Sevishto*). Really speaking there need be no comparative nor superlative in the attributes for He is the one without an equal. But as there is a hierarchy or gradation of Spiritual Intelligences who in a lesser degree exercise the Divine Power, the Superlative expression seems to have been used. The fourteenth name is the one without hate (*Vidvaeshtvo*). Anger and hate have no place in the Divine system. God sees all with equal concern, and disregards no one. The fifteenth is the Invinceble one (*Avanemna*) for he is Omnipotent. The sixteenth name is the Reckoner of actions, (*hâth marenish*). This is an expression that gives the key to the principle of the Mazdian faith. All emotions ; thoughts, words and acts are recorded in pages of ether in the book of nature, and in the fulness of time each Ego receives exactly what he deserves. Opportunities are given life after life, to gather innumerable experiences through higher and higher bodily forms, to ascend the ladder of life. The Lord as *Hâthmarenish* is the source of the Law of Karma, the all embracing Law of physical, moral and intellectual compensation. The seventeenth is the All-seeing. It is a complement of the sixteenth. The Eye that sleepeth never. The eighteenth is the giver of Weal, (*baeshajya*), for He is Himself Bliss. The nineteenth name is the Creator and giver (*Dâto*), the twentieth is the Great Maker that I am. The 19th and 20th are nearly the same. The name Mazdâo implies both the Great Thinker as well as the Great Creator for thought and creation are indissolutly allied.

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Repetition of Ancient Words.

"And he who in this material world, O Spitma Zarathushtra, shall recite and pronounce these names of mine either by day or by night ;

"He who shall pronounce them rising or going to rest, when he ties and unties the sacred thread, or when he departs from his home, or town or country to go to another place.

"That person during that day or night shall not be hurt by the cruel minded druj aeshema. Neither spokes, nor slings, nor spears, nor swords nor battle-hammers wound him.

"Like as a thousand warriors protecting one man these names, shall guard him from the druja from the durvands of Gilan from the mischief-causing evil-doors and from Anghra Mainyu, the dravant that is full of death."

Such is the great virtue ascribed in the yasht to the mere recitation of the names of Ahura Mazda. We have regretfully to note, that throughout long centuries no attempt was made to separate the names, and put them in a suitable form, apart from the dialogues, statements, and miscellaneous matters which can by no possible means be considered as prayers. Everything written in the old language of Iran, whatever be its contents, has passed current as powerful spells to drive away devils, fiends and enemies. How long is this state of ignorance to last? We may repeat the names given in the Yasht with reverence, but certainly not the rest of the portions which are outside matter. When the Avesta speech was a living language the people understood the meanings contained in the names which touched both their heart and head ; but to-day the names are empty words conveying no sense to the mind nor warmth to the feeling of the reciter. Rather than put forth these names, at present, as death-dealing to the imaginary Angramainyu, and his bands of drujas and daevas, and as putting to flight enemies who are nowhere, the deep meaning conveyed in all these names must be made a means of moral and spiritual 'elevation by the help of

MEDITATION.

Which has been altogether neglected, and is hardly understood. Ordinarily the minds of men are ceaselessly busy with the petty things of the outward physical existence in which alone lies their delight. Pleasurable delusions

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there are in plenty, and new excitements are always sought after. The mind is also frightened and fettered by objects which it fears, or dislikes. Welcome and unwelcome images keep the mind agitated, and there is indifference towards leading a religious life. The teaching which would give a satisfactory account to the reason of the relation of God to the Universe, of God to man, of the Universe to man and of man to both is absent. Never even a quarter of an hour per day is devoted to calm down the mind, keep it under control and think deeply of that great Spirit from whom all things proceed. Each one of the names of Ahura Mazda may be taken singly for days together and meditated upon regularly with great profit. This practice would purify and strengthen the mind, curb rebellions desires and open the intuitional sight It would be the beginning of religious self instruction. The mere babling of these names scores of times, can have no effect. "Our human race may regard the Deity differently at different times but it is not to be supposed that God himself differs from age to age. It is we who differ and if we would learn His ways and scheme we must try to see these in action now."

*"At thwâ mengahi Pourvim mazdâ Yezim stoi mananghâ Vangheush patrem Mananghó hyat Thwâ hem-chashmaini hengrabem Haithim ashahyâ dâmim angheush Ahurem shaothnaeshú."**

Thus when I conceived Thee O Mazda in my intuition, have I thought Thee as the First the Adorable by the mind in the creation, father of Vohu Mano, true source of righteousness, Lord of the manifestations in the world.

Ahura Mazda is to be adored by the intelligent mind and not by the utterance of meaningless sounds. Each one must learn to meditate and to open up the soul to receive the beneficent light of Asha and of Vohu mano. Deep insight must be cultivated and awakened, and there must always be a receptiveness to truth and knowledge. All cannot think alike, each one must seek and open up the path of devotion for himself, but a great deal of help is always available for those who honestly try to look for it. The Life Eternal cannot be gained after death, unless it is entered upon here and now in this World. The ideas contained in the names of Ahura mazda can be thought of and meditated upon, in various ways and amplified to a great extent. We cannot ascribe to the Deity partiality, injustice, jealousy or cruelty. God possesses omniscience,

* Yasna 31-8.

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omnipresence, Omnipotence and Love. Power, Wisdom and Glory are all in Him in the fullest degree. We must constantly endeavour to know Him however hopelessly inadequate our human faculities may be to understand him in His fullness. Indifference and forgetfullness are the characteristics of this age but He must always be remembered, and sought after.

"Inflnite Ideality !
Immeasurable Reality !
Infinite Personality !
Hallowed be Thy Name !
"We feel we are nothing—for all is Thou and in Thee;
We feel we are something—*that* also has come from Thee;
We know we are nothing—but Thou wilt help us to be.
Hallowed be Thy Name !

Lord Tennyson.

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ANDARZ-Î DASTÔBARÂN VAL VÊH-DÎNÂN.[1]

By Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp-Âsa.

The admonitions of the High-priests to the Laity.

(1) Let it be made known to men of the good Religion that the High-priests have said thus: "Every day at day-break three *drûjas* (fiends) obstruct[2] (our way) and they are, as said in the Religion, (*a*) the demon of Impurity (*nasrûsht*), (*b*) Sloth and (*c*) Inconstancy to Religion. (2) If, before sunrise, one washes one's hands with *gômêz* (urine) of the bulls and with water, then the demon of Impurity is thereby annihilated, and this is so advantageous to one's soul that it is as it were, cleansed with the Bareshnûm.[3] (3) If one goes to the abode of the Fires and recites the Atash Nyâîsh,[4] then the demon of Idleness is thereby subdued. (4) If one recites the Khurshît Nyâish[5] through the strength of the angels, then the demon of Inconstancy to Religion is thereby slain."

(5) The High-priests have said: "There are three (persons) in the world for whom the daily food (*rûjîk*) is not allotted, they obtain it from the world by force and eat it, (but) a severe account is taken of them at the Future Existence (*tan-î paçîn*). (6) (They are), first, the man who talks whilst eating secondly, the slothful, and thirdly, the evil-eyed."

(7) Chattering whilst eating is so grievous (a sin) that when a man eats and chatters and chatters and eats, a thousaud fiends conceive and ten thousand demons are produced by the power of that (sin). The breath (*damishn*) of his mouth and the stench from it go to Garothmân before Auharmazd and the taste and relish of the food reach Aharman and the demons and Khordâd and Amerdâd[6] imprecate curses on the body of that man, saying, "Thou shouldst no more eat chatteringly before Khordâd and Amerdâd."

(8) Secondly, the High-priests have said: "A *marg-arjân*[7] man, whilst

1. For text, see pp. 121-127 of the Pahlavi Texts accompanying the *Ayîbâtkâr-î Zarîrân*, edited by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp-Asana. 2. *pêsh yâtûnêt*. P. پیش آمدن

3. The higher purificatory ceremony. 4. Obeisance unto Fire. 5. Obeisance unto the Sun.

6. Archangels presiding over water and plants. 7. *Lit.*, one worthy of death; one who has committed inexpiable sins.

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living, should have some kind of food allotted to him, but the slothful should not have any."

(9) The man with an evil eye is so terrible that the light of the sun and the moon thereby wanes, the flow of water becomes scarce and the growth of trees diminishes. (10) A malignant eye is that wherefrom injury arises to the happiness of others. (11) Regarding the malignancy[1] of (evil) eyes, it is thus manifest that it affects every person. The good (are acted upon) by their own person and things and the wicked by those of others.

(12) Question.—Who instilled life in the noxious creatures ?

(13) Answer.—Auharmazd. He produced it for this reason because Aharman produced (*gâsît*)[2] the bodies of the noxious creatures, and with eighteen asseverations (*patmân*), he cried out to Auharmazd thus : "Instil life in them, otherwise, I shall not ratify the treaty." (*pasht lâ khatîmûnam*).[3] (14) And Auharmazd instilled life (in the bodies) of the noxious creatures in order to be able to produce the Future Existence with great equity. (15) Whenever a man kills a noxious creature, he should speak out thus : " I strike, I kill it for the atonement of sins and for the meritoriousness of the love of (my) soul." (16) When the man speaks in this manner, the sins he has committed are uprooted in proportion to the quantity[4] and the value of the noxious creatures he kills and meritoriousness (also) arises in proportion to the amount[4] he kills. (17) In doing every duty and good work in whatever way, he should say this : " I do all this for the atonement of sins and for the meritoriousness of the love of (my) soul, so that the meritoriousness becomes two-fold.

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1 *Sûlak* : P. سولک blight. cf. Sur chashmîh (Patet Pashemâni, *Karda* 10). cf. Bund. Ch. XXVIII § 36 :— " The demon of the malignant eye (sûr-chashmîh) is he who will spoil anything which men see, when they do not say 'in the name of God'." (S.B.E. Vol. V, p. 112). Cf., also Bd. Ch. 28§33. Cf. also Av. وِیَ‌ـوِیدَ‌ـلَـ (evil eye), Yt. 3§§8,11,15 ; سَ‌ـیـوِیدَ‌ـلَـ (good eye), Yt. 13§29 ; سَ‌ـیـسـیـدَ‌ـ Vd. 20§3. The malignancy of the evil eye is called ۱۲۶۵۷۵۹ in Dinkard (Dastur Dr. Peshotan's Edition, Vol. IV, 157§15) : cf. P. چشم زدن to injure by the evil eye. Y. 30§10 is recited as an exorcism against the evil eye, and, in fact the Rivâyets and many MSS. quote this Gathic strophe as being efficacious for removing the effect of the evil eye.

2. Cf. P. کاستن to finish. 3. Cf. Bund. Ch. I §§ 17-19, where Aharman appoints a period of contest with Auharmazd for 9000 years.

4. *Chand* ; lit., how many.

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(18) Q.—Should the end of the tooth-pick *(avar-gîr*[1] *va dandân parish)* be rubbed with earth, or not ?

(19) A.—They should be (rubbed with earth) for the reason that when the good perform the Myazd ceremony through the power of the angels, men (participating in that ceremony) have with them the *avar-gîr*[2] and the tooth-pick in advance of their *frêh-bût*[3] meal, and Aharman and the demons and (his) miscreations sustain thereby grievous injury ; but if the ends of the *avar-gîr* and the tooth-pick are not rubbed with earth, then they become the tools and implements of Aharman and the demons:[4] hence they[5] should be made perfect by the (necessary) strength.[6]

(20) Q.—Is any one of Aurmazd's followers *(zak-î-Aûharmazd)* appointed over hell, who may inflict punishment on the souls of the wicked, or not ?

(21) A.—None of the followers of Auharmazd is sent inside hell, except the (piercing) gaze of the angels[7] Tishtar, Satvês, Vanand and Haptoîrang. (22) This, too, I say: Their gaze is so piercing that they look into the most stinking *(argandtûm)* hell just as a clear-sighted *(avîr-vînâk)* man, who, when he looks at a mirror, sees the whole body (reflected into it); even so, they (the stars) look most piercingly *(shapir avîrtar)*[8] (into hell). (23). But for their protection,[9] Aharman and his miscreations would have destroyed all the souls of the wicked in hell.

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1. Doubtful. The word may be read *avar-sar* and, in that case it may be an instrument for dressing the hair, but from the following section, we are not warranted in assuming this meaning. The word, perhaps, may be read *avar-gîr*: lit, that on which something is picked up; hence it may be the same as the following word *dandân parish*, P. دندان پریش a tooth-pick. cf. Patet Pashemani. *Karda* 5

2. *Vide* preceding note. 3. *Frêh-but* and *aîbî-bût* are two vices. In Dinkard III (Dastur Dr. Peshotan's edition, Vol. I, 45§3), *frêh-bût* is glossed *a-patmânih*, 'immoderation': hence *freh-bût khûrashnih* means 'eating beyond measure,' 'excessive eating. (See note p. 38, Vol. I of Dastur Peshotan's edition of the Dinkard). This meal is technically called *châshni*. It is the practice of the priests who have undergone the Bareshnum purification to thoroughly cleanse their mouth, either with a tooth-pick or in any other way, before saying grace after their meals.

4. The same is the case with hair unceremoniously dressed and nails unceremoniously pared off *Vide* Vend. 17. Cf also Sad-dar Nasr, Ch. 14. *Vide*, also, the article entitled 'Two Iranian Incantations for Burying Hair and Nails' in the Anthropological papers published by Shams-ul-Ulamâ Dr. Jivanji J. Mody.

5. *i. e.* the *avar-gir* and the tooth-pick. 6. The strength afforded them by rubbing them with earth over the ground. For the Mahomedan idea of 'the tooth-brush' borrowed from Parsism, See Prof. J. Goldziher's Paper on "The Influence of Parsism on Islam" translated by Mr. G. K. Nariman.

7. *i. e.*, the stars. 8. *lit.*. most fully. 9. Protection of the souls even of the wicked in hell.

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(24) This is also manifest that a wicked person should undergo many punishments (*pûhal*)[1] and retributions for every crime. (25) And when the necessity of punishment and retribution is done away with, and if they (*i. e.*, the angels) smite the souls of the wicked except with the horse-whip (*ashtar-î-sûsyâ*),[2] then instantly there will be Resurrection and the Future Existence. (26) Every day, they (the souls) hear three shouts from heaven and the words of the Archangels, saying, "Do not be afraid, for we shall restore your dead (bodies). In the (terrestrial) world, the good gave you advice so many times for your souls' affection and showed you the right way, but you did not accept it." (27) Three times every day, (the angel) Hôm whispers to him (the soul of the dead) thus: "I shall rejoice you. Do not be afraid, because I shall take away the inertness (*aosh*)[3] from your soul and (then) your soul will not be perishable as your body."

(28) Q.—Of the good deeds and of the atonement of sins, which are the most complete ?[4]

(29) A.—Killing the noxious creatures and lawfully tending the fire: because the noxious creatures all (spring) from the body of Aharman and by killing them (*ajash*) Aharman is distressed. (30) If the *ashô-dâd*[5] is given to the good the merit is not lessened, but its attainment is of two kinds: first, the commencement of the action, and secondly, the gift of the *ashô-dâd*, because the *ashô-dâd* will pass to the treasure of the Creator Auharmazd.

(31) Q.—Why do they not partake of the dead or putrid (*mûrtâr*) flesh (of animals) ?

(32) A.—Because the demons bring antagonism unto it for the injury which men would sustain (by eating such flesh). (33) When men eat it, antagonism rushes upon their bodies and they become ungrateful unto their bodies and souls and unto the Archangels; they are *meher-drûj* (promise breakers) and sinners.

(34) Q.—In a house when a person dies, why do they not eat fresh meat for three nights and what harm happens if they eat it ?

(35) A.—When the antagonism of *Nasrûsht*[6] comes on the dead who has passed away in that house, then every one who partakes of such meal will have his

1. *lit.*, the (Chinvat) bridge: the place of future retribution. 2. Av. *aspahê-ashtrya*.

3. *lit.*, death. 4. *an-apûrîk*: *lit.*, not incomplete. In Shâyast lâ Shâyast, Ch. 8 §. 1 (*Vide* S. B. E. Vol. V. p. 301) the same word is written *avaspôrîk* which Dr. West also translates by 'completion'

5. One of the merits so often recommended in the Avesta: *lit*, pious alms, or, alms given to the pious.

6. The demon of Impurity or Decomposition.

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body preyed upon by Nasrûsht, the antagonist of him who has passed away. For that reason, destruction (*aosh*) is most certain[1] and death comes in more forcefully and quickly. For such a man to give up his life becomes most distressful and much harm happens to him in the rending away of his life.[2]

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1. *Pasakhtar*, for *pasâkhttar*: lit., more completed, 2. The meaning is, that it is impossible for him to give up the ghost more peaceably and quietly as he has eaten fresh meat.

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MANI'S ASCETICISM

FROM

THE ZOROASTRIAN POINT OF VIEW

By

Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla Esq.

Mani, the arch-heretic of the Sasanian period.

This remarkable man was born in the reign of Artaban, the last of the Parthian kings. He received his first revelation at the age of thirteen.[1] He claimed to be a prophet, the very seal or the last messenger of God.[2] He began his propaganda under Ardashir, but worked with greater vigour under Shapur I who embraced his faith.[3] Manichaeism flourished with varied success side by side with the state religion until the time when Bahram I ascended the throne. The teachings of Mani acquired a strong hold over the minds of many, and threatened to be a strong rival of the ancient faith. The national spirit rebelled against the encroachment of the new cult, and the king strove to extinguish the heresy with a firm hand. He confronted Mani with his Dastur, who threw him a challenge that both of them should pour molten lead on their bellies, and whosoever came out unhurt should be declared to be in the right. This, Mani did not accept. Consequently in A.D. 276-7 he was flayed to death and his body was thrown to the dogs[4]. With the removal of Mani from the field of activity, the Manichean propaganda entered upon its dissolution in Iran, but the seed of the new faith he had sown did not remain unfruitful. Despite the heavy slaughter of the Manicheans, the new cult spread from its home of origin to the far East to China, and penetrated

1 al-Biruni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. Schau. p. 190, London, 1879.

2 *ib.* pp. 189, 190; Mirkhond, translated in Sacy, *Memoires sur Diverses Antiquites de la Perse*, p. 294, Paris, 1793.

3 *ib.* pp. 289,290,294; al-Ya'qubi, quoted by Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 156, New York, 1902.

4 al-Biruni, p. 191; al-Ya'qubi, Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1. 157; Mirkhond, p. 296. Tabari, translated by Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 47, Leyden, 1879.

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into the West in the fourth century, where for centuries it contested supremacy with Christianity, as Persian Mithraism had done before it.

The Pahlavi writers vehemently attack Mani and his followers. He is dubbed a druj[1], of evil origin[2], and his followers are called deceivers, empty-skulled, practising witchcraft and deceitfulness, teaching folly in secret societies[3], deluding the less informed and unintelligent and capturing the men of little knowledge in their esoteric circle.

Mani's eclectic system.

He bases his new religion on the materials drawn from Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Syrian Gnosticism. The new religion differs in the cardinal principles from Zoroastrianism. Some of the more prominent features of Manichaeism, which are alien to the spirit of Zoroastrianism, and with which we are specially concerned are: asceticism, self-mortification, celibacy, fasting, and vow of poverty. We shall examine them one by one from the point of view of Zoroastrianism, and determine the basic difference between the theories of life of both.

Mani holds matter to be the root of evil, hence self-mortification of body, a virtue in his system.

Body composed of matter, is, according to this thinker, inherently evil. On this ground he denies the final resurrection[5]. Manichaeism brands all bodily desires as evil and legislates for their stifling and killing. Since all evil has its root in body, salvation is possible only by the extirpation of bodily desires. Mani's system of religion becomes quietist, ascetic, and inculcates passive virtues. He teaches to abhor all bodily pleasures and abandon them. He strives to extinguish the fire of the bodily desires. The devout begins by abstaining from comforts and amusements. Yet temptations assail him on all sides, so long as he lives in the midst of earthly attachments. He finds that as the centipede does not lose much if its one leg is broken; so he is not safe when he succeeds in eradicating one desire, for another takes its place and haunts him in the quiet moments, even when the ardent longing of com-

1 Dk. tr. Sanjana, Vol. 5 pp. 315-317.
2 *ib.* Vol. 4. p. 211.
3 Sg. 10. 59, 60.
4 *ib.* 75-77.
5 Sg. 16. 50.

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muning with the divine consumes him. He is still pierced by passion and desire of wife and child, home and hearth. He feels that he cannot liberate himself from the unbearable yoke of the strong passions, unless he flees from the hubbub of the world, to some solitary place where the joys and sorrows of the world would not reach him. Life, he thinks, is a fleeting illusion. It cannot give him enduring calm. He, therefore breaks up family ties, and shuns society. He becomes a hermit and lives a life of complete quiescence. He courts negation.

One of the essentials of the ascetic virtues is the mortification of the body. As the source of all evil passions and desires the body is to be despised, and the least of its comforts should be totally neglected. This exaggerated notion of attenuating the body and reducing it to a skeleton for the benefit of the spirit has prevailed all throughout the world among the ascetics both in the West and the East. Tens of thousands of devout souls have meekly submitted themselves to the inhuman tortures of maiming their bodies, cutting their flesh, periodically extricating a sound tooth, fastening rope round their waists so as to cut the flesh and let it putrify until it caused worms to grow thereon, sleeping on beds of hard stones, iron spikes, standing in certain postures until the legs withered, crawling on hands and knees, moving about with a layer of dirt and filth over the body, never washing it for years, eating grass or herbs and the foulest of food, and various other indescribable modes of austerities that the human mind could ingeniously devise.

Zoroastrianism stands for controlling and regulating bodily desires, but not for suppressing and killing them.

The antithesis of body and soul, flesh and spirit is not unknown to the Pahlavi writers. But the body in itself is not evil. According to Zoroastrianism, matter is not inherently evil, and life in the flesh is not necessarily death in the spirit. Zarathushtra legislates for the material as well as the spiritual side of our nature. A healthy body alone can nurture a healthly mind, and it is through the agency of these two prime factors that the spirit can work out her destiny. Man can act righteousness and assail wickedness with a sound body. The faithful craves for a long life in the body in this world, before he is allotted an eternal life of spirit in heaven. Bodily life in this world is sacred, it is a pledge, Ormazd has confided this most precious of his gifts to man that he might associate with his heavenly Father

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in securing the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and thus ushering the divine kingdom of Righteousness in the world. The soul rules over the body as a householder rules over a family or a rider rides his horse.[1] It is the stubborn slave of the soul, and with the exercise of self control it is to be converted into an obedient servant, always ready to carry out the mandates of its master.[2] The body is an indispensable vehicle of the soul and the saintly soul drives in it on the path of Righteousness. It is only in the case of the unholy ones in whom the flesh gains victory over the spirit, that it becomes a heavy burden, its wheels refuse to move and stick into the quagmire of sin. But then the fault lies with the driver. It is only when the individual lives solely for the body, feasts his lusty eyes on the vices of the flesh, and is a willing slave to the bodily passions, that the body turns out to be the grave of the soul.[3] Whoso lives in this world for the body alone and is immersed in bodily pleasures loses in spirit in the next world, but whoso works for the soul, makes the spiritual existence more his own.[4] Just as a person going without shoes on a road infested with serpents and scorpions is constantly on guard lest the noxious creatures bite him, so man should always beware of his bodily passions.[5] The great Sasanian pontiff Adarbad said that whenever any harm befell his body, he took consolation that it did not affect his soul, which was of greater significance.[6] Whoso lives in this world with a view to the betterment of his soul, reaps the future reward; but who so lives exclusively for the body, sees his body ultimately crumbling into dust with no hopes for the welfare of the spiritual existence.[7] The wicked conducts his soul after the bodily desires, but the righteous one should regulate his body in conformity with the higher desires of the soul.[8] Body is the halter to the soul, and the faithful one is reminded that he should so act in the world that neither the soul nor the body suffers for the other;

1 Dk. Vol. 6, pp. 353,380,381.
2 *ib.* Vol. 1. p. 56.
3 *ib.* Vol. 8. p. 469.
4 *ib.* Vol. 12, Book, 6. A. 2, p. 33.
5 *ib.* Bk. 6. 3, 47, pp. 49,50.
6 *ib.* 6. A. 5, pp. 35,36.
7 (SlS. 20. 10.)
8 Dk. Vol. 12. Bk. 6. 285, p. 8.

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but if that is not possible, he should prefer the soul to the body and be prepared to sacrifice it for the good of the soul.[1] The soul profits when the bodily pleasures are foregone.[2] The man who is prepared to dedicate his body for the sake of his soul or religion, practises true generosity.[3] Though the body is the bane of the spirit, it is not branded inherently evil. Man may work with the body, yet he may live for the soul. Discipline rather than austerity is the Zoroastrian watchward. Self-mortification does not form part of the Zoroastrian theology. With due self-control the devout has to conquer the flesh in order to be victor in spirit. He has to subdue his bodily nature, but not to suppress it. The body is not to be reduced to a skeleton. Zoroastrianism demands a sound and a strong body to enable man to effectively combat the hydra of evil in this world. Uncleanliness of body is one of the ascetic virtues. It is repugnant to the spirit of Zoroastrianism, which stands for bodily purity. Purity of body contributes to purity of spirit. Bodily uncleanliness means spiritual polution, and wantonly weakening the body is a sin. Monastic life is unknown to the Zoroastrians of all periods. Christianity had entered Iran under the Parthian rule, and monasteries of both the sexes flourished in the Assyrian Church during the Sasanian period. Far from exerting any influence upon the Zoroastrians, they were looked upon with great aversion by them.

Celibacy. A virtue with Mani, a vice with Zoroaster.

Manichaeism extols celibacy as the greatest virtue. For those initiated in the higher orders Mani advocates celibacy. When the ardent longing for the love of God swallows up all other desires and becomes the controlling factor of the devout, he is enjoined to take a vow of continence. He should not enter into matrimonial alliance if he desires to serve God whole heartedly. Marriage is declared incompatible with sanctity. It is impure, defiling. Mani forbids sexual intercourse as the worst type of uncleanliness.[4] Virginity is the highest form of life. Body being the formation of Ahriman; the propagation of lineage, and the breeding of families is evil.[5] Marriage prolongs the life of mankind, and so retards the union of the human species with God.

1 *ib.* Vol. 10. Bk. 6. 25, p. 8.
2 *ib.* Vol. 11. Bk. 6. 89, p. 2.
3 *ib.* Bk. 6. 91, p. 5.
4 al-Biruni, p. 190.
5 Sg. 16. 40,41.

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All this is in direct antagonism to the teachings of Zoroaster. In no period of the history of his religion, was continence ever held a virtue. Those practising it, were not considered more holy and held in higher reverence, as among the Manicheans; but their action was strongly reprehended. Even the priests were not to be celebates. For it is the cardinal point of the faith of every true Zoroastrian that he shall marry and rear a family.[1] Ormazd prefers the man who lives a life of marital happiness to one who lives in continence.[2] Who does not marry and propagate lineage thus hinders the work of Renovation, and is wicked.[3] Marriage is a duty. It is a religious duty to the Church, a civic duty to the State. Hence both the Church and the State encouraged married life in Iran. It is considered a highly meritorious form of charity to help a poor man to marry.[4] Herodotus remarks that the Persian Kings gave prizes to those who were blessed with many children.[5] The Zoroastrian works of all periods exhort the faithful to enter into matrimony. Mar Shiman the chief bi hop of the Christian settlers in Iran, was accused by the Mobads before Shahpur II, that he and his clergy were teaching men to refrain from marriage and the procreation of children.[6] King Yazdagard saw great danger to the state in the spread of such doctrines among the masses. If they caught the contagion, the world would soon come to an end.[7] Such strong feelings against any form of celibacy prevailed at all times in Persia. In Mani's system stringency is generally relaxed in case of the masses. They are tolerated to marry as a source of relief to their unrestrained sexual appetites. It is a necessary evil in their case. But it was incumbent upon the clergy and the other righteous persons who aimed at higher life, that they should be celebates. Zoroastrianism legislates for the clergy and the laity alike. In Mani's system marriage is a vice for the priest, a reluctant concession to the layman. It is neither the one nor the other according to the religion of Zoroaster. It is a positive virtue for both. Sacerdotal piety does not tend to celibacy in Iran. It

1 Dk. Vol. 9. pp. 609,634,637,639; Gs. 123,155.
2 Vd. 4. 47.
3 Dk. Vol. 11. Bk. 6. 92, pp. 6,7.
4 Vd. 4. 44.
5 (l. 136.)
6 Wigram. *History of the Assyrian Church*, p. 64, London, 1910.
7 Elisaeus, quoted by Darmesteter in S. B. E. 4, 46. n. 5.

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is disapproved for all and under all circumstances. In no stage of the individual's moral and spiritual development, is marriage ever considered as incompatible with saintliness.

Mani advocates the abstinence from food as a means of expiation for sin.[1] Nearly a quarter of the year was set apart by him as the period of fast. If there is one thing more than another which Zoroaster teaches, it is that man shall never serve Ormazd by fasting and austerities; but by prayers and work. Far from recommending these ascetic practices as virtues, he prohibits them as sins. Fasting formed no part of the religion of ancient Iran at any period of her history. It is strongly reprobated in the works of all periods. Fasting is a sin, and the only fast that the faithful are exhorted to keep is the fast from sin.[2] The willing abstinence from food is a deliberate disregard of the bounty of Ormazd. In his exaggerated idea of the need of fasting, the ascetic weakens his body, and practically starves himself to death by a rigorous system of fasts. Zoroastrianism enjoins that man should take sufficient food to keep his body strong and active, and not make it languid by withholding the due share of food from it. With a feeble body he would not work strenuously for the furtherance of the world of righteousness, and carry on a vigorous warfare against the world of wickedness. And this is the chief object of man's life on earth according to the Zoroastrian belief.

Fasting recommended by Manichaeism, condemned by Zoroastrianism.

The saint in Mani's system holds earthly things as so many distractions. The things of sense are impure. He tries to avoid them, and gradually gives them up one by one. He makes a vow of poverty. Wealth is looked upon as a source of temptation. Material commodities are regarded as satisfying the lower nature of man. The accumulation of property beyond that which would enable him to purchase food for one day or clothings for one year, is forbidden.[3] The true hermit renounces all personal effort, does not think of providing for the morrow, and with passive resignation looks to God for what he may send to him.

Mani's doctrine of poverty in the light of Zoroastrianism.

1 al-Biruni, p. 190.

2 Sd. 83. 1-6.

3 al-Biruni, p. 190.

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All ascetic orders where the vow of poverty is over-emphasized, give rise to mendicants and beggars living upon the alms of others. Among other evils mendicancy brings a drain on the resources of a society. It is not a consecrated Zoroastrainism. It is unknown in any period of the religious histroy of Iran. It is not a sin to acquire riches and accumulate property. The sin originates with the improper use of one's possessions, and the faithful are expressly warned not to lust for and indulge exclusively in the accumulation of the material wealth at the expense of the spiritual.[1] This reprimand serves as a corrective to the unbridled desire to covet earthly riches.[2] Wealth of the spirit is undoubtedly superior to that of the body. As regards the use of the wealth of this world, man should work with the hope that he was going to live the life of a thousand years in this world, and that what he failed to do to-day he could easily perform the next day. But when it comes to the question of the spiritual riches he should act with the fear that perhaps he might live in this world only a day more and that if he postponed to-day's good work till to-morrow, death might overtake him and prevent him from accomplishing it.[3] One should choose rather to be poor for the spirit than to be rich without it. Losing the spirit for the sake of earthly riches is wrong. But accumulating earthly riches with upright means and expending them for the welfare of the spirit is meritorious. Srosh helps the man who has riches and plenty, and who far from yielding to temptation makes good use of his fortune.[4] Wealth helps a righteous man to perform meritorious deeds,[5] whereas grinding poverty at times occasions wickedness.[6] If a man craves for a vast fortune with a firm resolve to spend it for charitable purposes, his desire is laudable.[7] It is praiseworthy that man should spend his earthly riches for his spiritual welfare.[8] Wealth is given to man that he may not squander it on himself, but help the poor and the needy and assuage the wrongs of suffering humanity.[9] When misused, wealth becomes

1 Dk. Vol. 11. Bk. 6. 149, 150, p. 49; Vol. 3, p. 129; Vol. 5. pp. 314, 315.
2 *ib.* Vol. 13. Bk. 6. E. 16. pp. 4, 5.
3 *ib.* Vol. 11 Bk. 6. 151, p. 49.
4 *ib.* Vol. 11. Bk. 6. 90, pp. 4, 5.
5 *ib.* Vol. 4. p. 192.
6 *ib.* Vol. 12. Bk. 6. 283, p. 8.
7 *ib.* Bk. 6. 310, pp. 25, 26.
8 *ib.* Vol. 6. p. 418.
9 *ib.* Vol. 3. p. 142; Andarz-i Atarpat, 46.

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a halter to the body, and the wise one should sacrifice it for the good of his soul.[1] Man should not be intoxicated with pride when he is in the plenitude of his riches and is at the height of fortune, and hate the poor ; for his fortune might leave him at any moment and place him in the class of the paupers.[2] He is reminded that howsoever rich he grows, his wealth could never exceed that of Jamshid. And yet the great king found his wealth deserting him when his end approached.[3] The kingdoms of the kings with all their fabulous fortunes are not everlasting.[4] One should not be confident of his fortune. It is but vanity. It is as fleeting and transient as a dream.[5] It changes its masters like a bird that flies from one-tree to another only to leave in turn for still another one.[6] At death wealth and property do not accompany the owner but go into others' possessions.[7] None could be proud of his possessions and count upon them as exclusively their own ;for at the time of death even the palaces and treasures are of no avail, and the owner does not take them with him on his journey heavenward.[8] A wealthy man rolling in riches is healthy in the morning, becomes ill at noon, and quietly passes from this world before night ; and his fortune does not help him to avert this calamity.[9] Wealth and rank are the accidents of life, they do not constitute the real greatness of man. Righteousness alone is the true riches and man cannot get it in the next world on loan.[10]

Zoroastrian ideal of saintliness.

The ideal of life that Zoroaster puts forth, is not to be reached by ecstasy and meditation in the solitary jungle, but is to be worked out in struggle and suffering in this world. The regeneration of society is to be brought about from within by the conscious effort of man. Each and every individual member of the great family of humanity is to

1 Dk. Vol. 10. Bk. 6. 26. pp. 8, 9.
2 Andarz-i Atarpat, 56.
3 Dk. Vol. 11 Bk. 6 152, pp. 49, 50.
4 Gs. 1.
5 *ib*. 58.
6 Andarz-i Atarpat, 88.
7 *ib*. 145.
8 Gs. 169.
9 Dk. Vol. 11. Bk. 6. 200. pp. 71, 72.
10 Andarz-i Khusru-i Kavatan, 5.

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provide the practical panacea for the amelioration of the existing condition of society. He is incessantly to carry on the work of redemption of the world in pursuance of the divine will. It is for this purpose that man, the climax and crown of creation is created by Ormazd.

The prophet of Iran does not advocate the cloistered virtues of the hermit who flees from the temptations of the world, and secure in the place of his retirement is sunk in deep meditation, and is absorbed in brooding over the abstruse problems of life, being quite oblivious of the varied experiences of society. For true virtue lies not in mere meditation, that blights all spontaneity of action. Constant struggle with the world to fight his way to victory, rather than the flight from the world to be liberated, is the Zoroastrian ideal. Self-development is a manly virtue, self-effacement is weakness, The practical genius of Iran never embraced an inactive life of the monastery.

The Zoroastrian saint is more a saint in action than in thought. He lives in society, ministers to the wants and grievances of the less fortunate of mankind. He does not assume the tonsure, don the ash coloured robes, and besmear his face. He does not sacrifice for the self, he sacrifices for others. The ascetic selfishly seeking his personal salvation, engrossed in the good of his petty self, who has not contributed his mite to the general uplifting of humanity, the regeneration of society, and the redemption of the universe, is not so much the beloved of Ormazd, as the active saint of the town who lives in the world of joy and sorrow, does not sever himself from the world of activity, develops social and domestic virtues, profits by the variegated experiences of life, strengthens character, does not merely contemplate but acts Righteousness and rests not with dispelling thoughts of Wickedness from his mind, but grapples Wickedness in deeds in the world. The devotee does not withdraw from the company of men for the seeking of the blessed company of Ormazd. Saintly life can be led even in the midst of the busy world. The best service of God is to be rendered by the active service to God's creation. The legitimate joys of this world are not to be stifled. Life is pleasant and enjoyable. Living in the midst of the world's joys and sorrows enables one to touch the various chords of human life and thus life becomes a more full, a more complete one.

It is not a sound system of philosophy that attaches all possible interest to the next world only, derides this, and remains out of touch with real life. It

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must first concern itself with the immediate issues of life. It cannot ignore them. Wrong is done by carrying away completely man's interest in this world to the world to come. It systematically increases human weakness. When every hope is exclusively centered in the other world, the situation becomes unfavourable to any very great material and economical development. It discourages social advancement. Religion should foster civic virtues in man. Besides making him holy and righteous, religion should aim at making him patriotic and heroic. Zoroaster the realist, practical commonsense thinker does not encourage exaggerated unworldliness. Earthly life has a greater value and a deeper significance than the ascetic would believe. The ideal of human perfection never verged on asceticism in the religion of Iran. Asceticism with its weariness of the earthly life saps civic virtues. Lethargy and inactivity consequent on such a belief are the bane of a society and Zoroaster legislates against them.

To be up and doing is the philosophy of man's life. Active work, hard labour, strenuous efforts are virtues. No kind of stigma is attached to labour, on the contrary labour of every description is sanctified. Agriculture is announced as the most laudable form of work. He who sows the fields that lie fallow, tills his farms, prunes his vineyards, ploughs the furrows, pastures his flocks, extirpates the noxious creatures that infest the earth, return barren deserts into fertile fields, makes the dry tracts fresh and verdant, and marshy lands dry sinks wells, reclaims desolate lands, makes waste lands fit for human habitation, toils to earn an honest living himself and those dependent on him, and loves labour and work, furthers the cause of Righteousness. Every work tends to the formation of the kingdom of Righteousness and deals a blow to the kingdom of Wickedness. It increases the joy of the angels and cripples the power of the demons. Zoroastrianism is active, practical and militant. Exertion and not inertion is its watchward. Spiritual virility and not spiritual inaction is its ideal.

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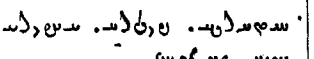
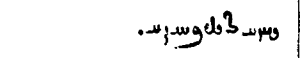
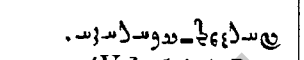
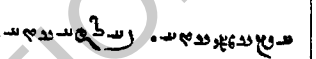
SYMBOLISM OF THE VARIOUS ARTICLES USED IN THE HIGHER LITURGICAL SERVICES OF THE ZOROASTRIANS

AND

THE ENUMERATION OF THE THIRTY-THREE RATUS MENTIONED IN YAÇNA I § 10.

By Ervad Naushirvan Barzoji Desai, Esq.

The following symbolical representation of the various implements, used in the higher liturgical services like the Yaçna and the Vendidâd, is found in an old Gujarati Manuscript in the library of the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp-Asana. I hope it will interest scholars in general and those interested in ritual in particular.

No.	Avesta name of the apparatus.	Signification.	Symbolical representation.
1		Fire.	Symbolically represents the existence of God, of the soul and of *Khratu* (wisdom).
1		Atash-dân *i. e*, fire-vase, called *Afargânîu.*	The fire-vase represents the earthly tenement and the fire in the fire-vase represents the soul in the body.
2	 (Vd. 14 § 7.)	A pair of tongs and the ladle.	These are instruments wherewith to place fuel and frankincense on the fire and to protect it. As the visible fire is thus protected, the latent heat within us, *viz*, the soul should be properly taken care of.
2		Fuel & frakincense.	These are the means of the purification of the air surrounding us wherewith microbes and germs lurking therein are removed. Fuel and frankincense

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No.	Avesta name of the Apparatus.	Signification.	Symbolical representation.
			are placed three times on the fire to remind one of the three fundamental principles of the Zoroastrian religion, *viz.*, *humata*, *hûkhta*, and *hvarshta* (good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.)
2	*or*	The tub of water (*Kundi*), also called *âvand* and water.	These represent the ocean.
1	(Vd. 14 §8)	The *barsam-chîn*, i.e., the knife for cutting the Barsom.	This symbolically represents the ploughshare and the poniard for destroying the Daevas.
3		The Barsom of the Urvarām with two tâê (twigs). One, called the *frâgâm*, is placed on the feet of the Mâhrû, and the other, called *Jivâm tâê* or *zohar tâê* is used for pouring the *jivâm* on the Barsom.	Barsoms are of various kinds: (1) the Barsom of 35 *tâê* (twigs), 33 of which are bound with the *aiwyâonhana* (fibres of the date-tree), and these 33 *tâê* represent the 33 angels and archangels. The two remaining *tâê* of this Barsom are kept separate and they are called respectively the *frâgâm* and the *jivâm tâê*. These represent the earth and the sky. The whole Barsom of 35 tâê represents last month Aspandâramad which consist of 35 (?) days. (2) There is a Barsom of 21 *tâê* representing the 21 nasks (books) of the Zoroastrians, (3) the Barsom of 12 *tâê* representing the 12 months of the year and the 12 Zodiacal signs, (4) the Barsom of 9 *tâê* representing the 9 heavens, (5) the Barsom of 7 *tâê* representing the 7 planets the 7 archangels and the 7 regions of the earth, (6) the Barsom

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No.	Avesta name of the Apparatus.	Signification.	Symbolical representation.
			of 5 *tâê* representing the 5 *gâhs* (periods) of the day and the five angels presiding over them.
1		The fibres of the date-tree used for binding the Barsom.	The Barsom is tied with two knots like the *Kusti*. These knots represent the barrier against the influx of evil in this world.
2		The *tashta* or saucers for holding the *zaothra*, i.e., libation.	These saucers represent the revolution of the earth and the sky.
2		The *haoma* and the *zaothra* cups with the *tashta* for covering the Haoma.	The 4 cups represent the four elements, the four cardinal points and the four principal stars stationed on the four sides of the sky.
3		The hair of the white Bull, called *varasio*, with the ring of *varesa* (hair) and the cup for holding the *varesa*.	The hair (*varesa*) of the Varasio, i.e., the White Bull represents the duration of this world for 9000 years. The *Varasio* also represents the completely white body of the *khar-î talâtâ*, the three-legged ass mentioned in the Bundehesh). The ring of the *varesa* (hair) represents the wheel of fortune.
1		The filter for straining the Haoma.	This saucer has nine holes, and they represent the 9 heavens, the 9 ? and the 9 mouths of the *khar-i-talâtâ* (the three-legged ass).
1		The mortar and pestle for pounding the Haoma.	The sound produced by striking the mortar with the pestle represents the cry of the *khar-i talâtâ* (the three-legged ass) on hearing which the Daevas and Drujas tremble and disappear.

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No.	Avesta name of the Apparatus,	Signification.	Symbolical representation.
2	(Vd. 14 § 8)	The Mâh-rû i.e., the crescent shaped stand for placing the Barsom.	The Mâh-rû is three-footed and this represents the three legs of the *khar-i talâtâ* (the three-legged ass). The curve at the top of the Mâh-rû represents the crescent moon and it also symbolises the ear of the *khar-i talâtâ*.
1		The cup for holding the *Zaothra*.	
2		The jivâm-dân, i.e., the cup and the goblet for holding the *jivâm*.	
1		The *Jivâm*, i.e., milk.	This represents the growth and development of the living beings of this earth with milk and water.
1		The juice of *haoma* prepared for ceremonial purposes.	This represents the thorough filtration and purification of the bodies of wicked men at the time of the resurrection.
1		The saucer for placing the *haoma* and the *urvarām*.	This saucer represents the sun.
1		The Haomas.	This represents the angel presiding over the Haoma plant which removes all kinds of diseases.
1		The pomegranate tree.	This *urvara* (tree) is the health-bestowing means whereby the bodies of the dead will be restored at the resurrection.
2	and ;	The Darun, i.e., the sacred cake, and	The round sacred cake is the symbolical representation

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No.	Avesta name of the Apparatus.	Signinfication,	Symbolical representation.
		the saucer for holding it.	of the round world The circumference of the sacred cake represents the Alburz Mount about which the heavens with the constellations revolve. The nine + cuts (in three rows of three each) on the Darun represents the whole population of the world.
1		Clarified butter.	The *gôshôdô* (clarified butter) placed on the Darun, i.e., the sacred cake represents Mount Chikât Dâiti at the Chinvat Bridge.

In the MS. referred to above, the thirty-three *(thryascha thrisāscha)* Ratus mentioned in Yaçna I § 10 are thus enumerated :—

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(32)
(33)

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It may be remarked here that this enumeration is simply artificial, because, count the Ratus how we may, we do not get at the proper number. The Vedas also make mention of 33 divinities appearing at a sacrifice. Anquetil Du Perron, and, after him, Harlez, make up the number 33 by counting 26 ceremonial vessels and 7 things required for the ceremony, *viz.*, Hôm, parâ-hôm, darun, urvarãm, flowers, fuel and frankincense, and meat. This is again, an arbitrary enumeration. According to the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 7 § 17 (S. B. E. Vol. XXXVII, p. 18), the Pâjag Nask contained particulars about these 33 spiritual and wordly Ratus, but no specific enumeration is found in the summary of this Nask, as given in the Dinkard. The late Mr. K. R. Cama counted the 33 Ratus thus :— 12 Ratus mentioned in Yaçna I upto § 8, *viz.*, the five Gâhs with their five *hamkârs* and 2 mâhyas (fortnights), in all 12, and 21 Ratus mentioned in Visperad I *viz.*, 6 Gâhâmbars and the Rats presiding over the following prayers, *viz.*, the Staota Yaçna, Ahuna Vairya, Asha Vahishta, Yenhê Hâtãm, Ahunvad Gatha, Yaçna Hâptanhâiti, Ushtavaiti Gâthâ, Spentomad Gâthâ, Vohukhshathra Gatha, Vahishtoishti Gatha, Dahma Afriti, Airyema Ishyô, Fshushô Mãthrô, Hâdokht, and Ahuiri Frashni, in all 21. The reason assigned for this enumeration is that in the ceremonial recitation of the Vendidâd, Yaçna I is first recited upto § 8 and then the whole of Visperad I is recited [*vide* the Gujarati translation of the Yaçna (p. 13 note by the late K. E. Kanga.]

The latest attempt at the enumeration of the 33 Ratus is thus made by Ervad S. D. Bharucha in his pamphlet on "the Avestan Calendar ":—

9. Ayaras, as mentioned in Yaçna I §§ 1-2 (1 Dathûshô = Ahura Mazda, 2 Behman, 3 Ardibehesht, 4 Shehrivar, 5 Spendârmad, 6 Khordâd, 7 Amerdâd, 8 Geush-tashan—Geush-urvan, 9 Adar.
5. Asnyas, as mentioned in Y. I §§ 3-7
3. Mâhyas, as mentioned in Y. I § 8.
6. Yâiryas, as mentioned in Y. I § 9.
10. Saredhas, in all 33.

The Saredhas are not specifically mentioned in Y. I, but, according to Ervad S. D. Bharucha, Saredha is Sk. *shrâdha (lit.*, belonging to the cold season) ; hence Saredha are the 10 Farwardegân days falling at the end of the cold season.

Any how, a satisfactory solution of this question is still wanting.

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COLLATION NOTES

FROM

DENKART, BOOK VI.

By

Heinrich F. J. Junker, Ph. D.

In the Introduction to the tenth volume of his *Dēnkart* edition, Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana gives a note on p. ix, which runs as follows: 'For a description of this Codex (K43) and for its collation with my MS. I am deeply indebted to the late Dr. E. W. West.' While preparing a description of the MS. K43 for my Catalogue of the Middle-Iranian Mss. of the University Library of Kopenhagen I took the opportunity to re-collate Dastūr Darab Peshotan Sanjana's (*sive* West's) collection of the sixth book of Dēnkart as far as it stands in volume x of the Sanjana edition.—

In the following lines I give the results of my endeavours, so that every reader may form an opinion of his own. But nevertheless I am convinced that every one will highly regret, that there is, up to now, nowhere a trustworthy facsimile edition of the Dēnkart. As to this, also Mr. Madan's new edition is of but little help. It is here the proper place to say again that of unique Mss., only facsimile editions are of some worth. The mere fact of Mr. Madan's *Dēnkart* edition, at any rate, is a certificate of poverty.

I. THERE IS A FINAL *N*-STROKE IN MANY WORDS OF THE EDITION, NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE MS. K43.

Page:	Line:	Word:	Page:	Line:	Word:
1	2	4	*2*	5	2; 5; 6
	3	6		6	5
	5	3; 5		8	4
2	2	3		11	4
	4	1		12	5
	3	last		13	1; 6

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Page :	Line :	Word :
3	3	last
	9	1; 2; 4; 5
	10	5;6 ; 10
	11	two last words
4	1	5
	2	4
	3	3 ; 5
	6	9
	9	1
	11	1
5	1	last
	2	last
	3	first
	10	first
	11	first
	14	last
	15	3
	18	1; 5
6	2	6; 10
	3	7
	6	4
	7	7; 8
	8	7
	10	last
	12	2
8	2	3; 4
	3	2
9	3	3
	6	1; 3
	10	2
	11	last
10	2	5
	3	2; 4; 7
10	4	first
	5	2
	8	first
11	4	first
	5	last
	10	7
	11	6
	12	2
	14	7
	18	2
12	4	3
	5	2; 4
	6	3
	7	last
	8	6
	9	2; 3
	12	7
	13	2
13	7	4
	8	1; 7
	9	7
	10	3
	12	6
	13	5
14	2	4
	8	5
15	2	4
	5	2
	7	2; 9
	8	8
	11	3
	12	2
	14	first

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Page :	Line :	Word :
15	16	4
	17	7
16	2	2
	5	1;2; 3
	6	4;5; 6
	7	6
	11	3
	12	7
	14	1
	15	4; 7
	17	1; 2; 5
	19	first
17	8	4
	11	8
18	1	last
	2	7
	16	4
19	5	4; 5
	10	4
	16	6
20	2	6
	7	3
	9	6
	10	7
	16	first
21	8	last
	9	2
	12	6
22	1	6
	2	2
	6	last
	9	4
	10	8
22	15	4
23	1	3
	2	8
	3	4
	6	8
	7	first
	10	2
	13	1; 4
	14	5
24	1	2
	4	first
	5	5
	7	3
	12	6
	13	6
	15	first
	17	7
25	4	6
	6	4;5; last
	11	3
	12	1;3;7
	13	8
26	5	6
	7	2
	8	4
	10	5
	11	1; 4
	12	6
	14	3
27	2	2
	3	first
	4	first
	7	4; 7

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Page :	Line :	Word :	Page :	Line :	Word :
27	10	7	*31*	1	6
	17	7		5	3
28	2	last		11	4; 5
	5	3; 6		12	4
	12	2		13	3
	15	2; 3		14	3
	17	1;2; last		15	4;6
29	4	2	*32*	2	2
	6	3		12	last
	7	first		13	3
	9	5; 9		15	first
	10	3		16	5
	11	8	*33*	4	1;3;4
	14	7 ; 9		6	4
	15	4 ; 5		7	4;6
	17	first		10	2;3
30	2	4		12	6
	3	2; 5		14	2
	5	8; 9		15	9
	6	5		16	3
	12	6		19	4;5
	15	2			

II. THE MS. K43 HAS AN *N*-STROKE MORE 1) IN THE BECINNING (b), 2) AT THE END (e) OF A WORD:

Page :	Line :	Word :	Page :	Line :	Word :
1	3	last^{e}	*4*	5	6^{e}
2	4	first^{b}		11	6^{b}
	5	first^{b}	*5*	3	3^{b}
	6	6^{b}		6	2^{e}
	8	5^{b}		7	5^{e}
	9	4^{b} 8^{b}	*6*	8	2^{e}
	10	7^{b}	*7*	4	first^{b}
3	2	3^{e}	*8*	1	2^{b}

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Page :	Line :	Word :
9	8	3[e] 9[e]
	14	2[e] 4[b]
10	2	6[b] 7[e]
11	7	3[b]
	10	2[e]
	16	first[b] 3[e]
13	8	7[b]
	10	first[e]
	12	last[b]
14	4	6[b]
15	17	first[e] 3[e]
	18	2[b]
16	4	8[b] 9[b]
	5	4[b]
	6	first[b] 2[b]
	7	first[b] 6[b]
	8	2[b] 3[b]
	11	7[b] 8[b]
	12	last[e]
	13	2[b]
	19	5[b]
17	1	8[b] 9[b]
18	3	8[b]
	4	3[b]
	17	2[e]
20	17	5[b]
21	5	2[e]
24	5	6[b]
25	4	5[e]
	9	last[e]
	14	last[b]
26	4	6[e]
28	9	5[e]
	12	4[e]
	13	4[e]
	15	2[b]
29	4	3[b]
	8	9[e]
	12	7[e]
	14	2[e]
	15	first[b]
30	3	3[e]
	7	first[b]
	14	5[e] 8[e]
	15	first[e] 4[e]
31	3	4[e]
	5	first[e]
	7	3[b] 4[e]
	14	4[e]
32	6	4[e]
	11	2[e]
	17	first[e]
33	2	7[e]
	7	first[e]

III. FALSE STATEMENTS ABOUT K43.

Page :	Line :	Word :
1	4	7 : om.
	2	3 : ꤰꤢꤢꤵ–ꤵ

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Page :	Line :	Word :
2	4/5	7/1 : [illegible]
	8	1 : [illegible]
3	1	7 : [illegible]
	3	2 : [illegible]
	9	5 : [illegible]
4	3	2/3 : [illegible]
	11	1 : [illegible]
		6 : [illegible]
		8 : [illegible]
5	11	5 : [illegible]
	17	1 : [illegible]°
6	8	7 : om.
	12	2 : [illegible]
9	1	6 : *not* om. in K43.
	2	2 : [illegible]
		11 : om.
	8	9 : [illegible]
	14	2 : [illegible]
10	7	1 : [illegible]
	14	2 : [illegible]
11	6	1 : om.
		2 : [illegible]
	11	11 : [illegible]
12	11	5 : om.
13	4	6 : [illegible]
15	2	3 : [illegible]
	8	8 : [illegible]
	18	2 : [illegible]
16	10	2 : adds [illegible]
		6/8 : [illegible] ; om. of the note !
	15	7 : om.

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Page	Line :	Word :
16	17	2 : om.
17	13	3 : [illegible]
18	9	5/6 : [illegible] in K43
19	5	5 : om.
		6 : [illegible]
20	17	4 : thus in K43 ; not [illegible]
		5 : [illegible]
21	5	4 : [illegible]
22	4	1 : [illegible]
	11	6 : [illegible]
23	7	2 : [illegible]
	10	1 : [illegible]
25	11	1 : [illegible]
		7 : [illegible]
	14	last : [illegible]
26	10	4 : [illegible]
	15	1 : [illegible]
27	14	2 : [illegible] in K43
28	7	4 : [illegible]
		[illegible]
	14	last : [illegible]
30	3	2 : om.
	7	3 : K43 has [illegible] not [illegible]
32	2	5 : om.
	4	7 : om.
33	4 :	4 : [illegible]
	7 :	first . [illegible] not [illegible]
	13 :	2 : [illegible] not [illegible]
	16 :	4 : om.

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IV. ADDITIONAL VARIANTS FROM K43:

Page :	Line :	Word :
1	1	first : [illegible]
	2	2 : om.
2	9	5 : [illegible]
3	1	2 : [illegible]
	11	2 : [illegible]
4	11	4 : [illegible]
5	3	2 : adds [illegible]
	6	9 : adds [illegible]
	17	4 : [illegible]
6	7	4 : adds [illegible]
	10	5 : [illegible]
7	2	first : adds [illegible]
9	1	7 : [illegible]
	4	2 : [illegible]
		7 : adds [illegible]
	6	4 : [illegible]
10	4	7 : [illegible]
	6	1 : do.
11	7	3 : [illegible]
	8	8 : [illegible]
	17	6 : [illegible]
12	1	6 : [illegible]
	16	1 : [illegible]
13	7	5 : [illegible]
	9	2 : om.
	16	5 : [illegible]
14	9	first : [illegible]
18	4	3 : [illegible]
	10	2 : om.
	11	2 : om.
	18	4 : adds once more [illegible]

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Page :	Line :	Word :
19	17	1 : [illegible]
20	2	1 : [illegible]
21	11	6 : om.
	15	8 : [illegible]
22	1	6 : [illegible]
24	4	2 : adds [illegible] (twice)
	6	2 : [illegible]
	9	last : [illegible]
25	1	4 : [illegible]
26	1	5 : om.
	14	5 : [illegible]
27	3	5 : [illegible]
	9	7 : [illegible]
	13	1 : [illegible]
28	10	5 : [illegible]
	14	7 : [illegible]
	15	last : om.
	16	8 : adds [illegible] (twice)
29	3	4 : [illegible]
	4	5 : [illegible]
	10	first : [illegible]
	17	5 : [illegible]
30	2	7 : [illegible]
	14	3 : [illegible]
32	3	last : om. ; [illegible] twice in K43
	6	last : om.
	12	2 : om.
	14	2 : adds [illegible]
33	6	first : [illegible]
	14	first : [illegible]

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Page :	Line :	Word :
33	16	3 : inserts after [illegible] [illegible]
	18	4 : [illegible]

V.—In MANY places a dot is set between two words as sign of separation, mentioned e.g. by SANJANA p. 20, note 3.

VI.—The signs of interpunctuation are very often other than to be found in SANJANA's edition and they are placed sometimes otherwise than SANJANA does.

GIESSEN, UNIVERSITY, 1913

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THE IDENTITY OF SOME HEAVENLY BODIES MENTIONED IN THE OLD IRANIAN WRITINGS.

BY

Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat Esqr. I. C. S. (Retd.)

1. The chief object of this paper is to identify the heavenly bodies called in the Bundahiś Tiśtar, Haptokring, Vanand, Satavês, Mas-i-Miyan-i-Asmân (the great one of the middle of the sky), Gochihar, and Mûśpar, and to state in each case the reasons for the identification. Even in the cases in which the identity has been generally acknowledged *e.g.* of Tiśtar with Sirius, it is occasionally doubted, and hence a clear statement of the reasons in each case is necessary. Besides dealing with the main question of identification I will draw attention to some connected facts which seem to be of general interest. The conclusion I come to is that most probably Tiśtar is Sirius, Haptokring the Great Bear, Vanand Vega, Gochihar the nodes of the moon, and Mûśpar a comet, and probably the Great one is Arcturus and Sataves Canopus.

2. Before dealing with each body separately I will refer to two passages in which they have been dealt with together, as these passages are of great importance for the purpose of identification. The first is Bundahiś II. 7 translated by West :[1] "As it is said that Tiśtar is the chieftain of the east, Sataves the chieftain of the west, Vanand the chieftain of the south, and Haptokring the chieftain of the north." There is little doubt that in this passage in the Indian copy of the Bundahiś used by West for his translation the words "west" and "south" have by accident or mistake changed places, and that Sataves should be the chief of the south, and Vanand of the west. I proceed to state the reasons for this statement.

(*a*) Other passages in the Bundahiś itself as well as in other works connect Sataves with the south. Thus Bd. XIII. 12 runs: "The

1. Throughout this paper except when otherwise stated I cite the translations from Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East, using the same abbreviations.

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control also of the gulf of Sataves is attached to the constellation Sataves, in whose protection are the seas of the *southern* quarter, just as those of the northern side are in the protection of Haptokring". Zâd sparam (VI. 14) says: "The wide-formed ocean stands out on the *south* side as to Alburz, and the Puitik stands contiguous to it, and amidst it is the gulf of Sataves, whose connection is with Sataves which is the *southern* quarter." The Pahlavi Vendidad (V. 57) as translated by West in the note to Bd. XIII. 9 runs, "In purification the impurities flow, in the purity of water from the sea Pûtîk into the wide-formed ocean; at the *southernmost* side the water stands back in mist and the blue body of Sataves stands back around it".

(*b*) I have given below (Para 8 (b) and (c)) reasons for identifying Vanand with Vega quite independent of Vanand's being chieftain of any particular quarter. Vega was never to the south of the celestial equator, but as I show below (Para 8 (a)) it can well be regarded as chieftain of the western quarter when Sirius is of the eastern.

(c) The Iranian Bundahiś (Page 27) gives the passage as corrected above. Hence West has himself corrected the mistake in the note at Page 161 of the 5th Volume of his Pahlavi Texts. Unfortunately many scholars have been misled by the mistake in the Indian copy of the Bundahiś, although Darmesteter has all along stuck to the truth. (See his notes as respects Satavaesa and Vanant under Paras 9 and 12 of the Tiśtar Yasht).

3. The second passage to which I would draw attention is the statement in the Shâyast lâ-shâyast XIV-6 as regards the time of transition from the Ushahina Gah to the Hâvani. The passage runs, "4. This is how it is when the period of the day (Gâs) is retained and how it should be when one may relinquish it; that is when even one of the stars created by Auharmazd is apparent, it is retained, and when not, it is relinquished. 5. It is Vand-Auharmazd who said that when, besides Tiśtar, Vanand, or Sataves, one of the zodiacal stars is apparent, it is retained, and when not, it is relinquished.

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6. There have been some who said that when, besides one of those three, three zodiacal stars are apparent, it is retained, and when not it is relinquished."

(*a*) The first inference from this passage is that the three stars Tiśtar, Vanand, and Sataves were wellknown in Sassanian times, their appearance being noted when regulating the Gahs *i.e.*, divisions of the day for ceremonial purposes.

(*b*) The second inference is that these three stars are not in the Zodiac. They are contrasted with the zodiacal. If they had been zodiacal the word "other" would have been used after the word "one" in Section 5, and after the word "three" in Section 6.

(*c*) The third inference is that these three are brighter than any or at least most of the zodiacal stars, for the language of Sections 5 and 6 implies that they remain visible even when by the increase of twilight none of the zodiacal stars remains so.

Thess inferences support and are supported by the other evidence about the identity of these three stars, for Sirius, Canopus, and Vega with which I identify Tiśtar, Sataves, and Vanand respectively are not zodiacal, and are the three brightest stars in the sky. They are respectively 9·1, 6·3, and 2·3 times as bright as a standard star of the first magnitude.[1]

TISTAR.

4. Tiśtar (Avesta Tiśtrya) is most probably Sirius for the following reasons.

(*a*) In Iranian writings Tiśtar is the chief of all the stars, and that is probably because it is the brightest. In the Tiśtar Yasht (Yt. VIII 44) Tiśtar is called "the lord and overseer above all stars" like Zoroaster among men. Its primacy among the stars would also seem to be implied by its being the only star named in the Yasna (I. 11, II. 11, III. 13, IV. 16, VII. 13, XVI. 4, XXVII.

1. I give the brightness of the stars according to the English Nautical Almanac of 1910 which has taken the magnitudes from Newcomb's catalogue. The respective magnitudes of Sirius, Canopus, and Vega are —1.4, —1, and ·1. The amount of brightness as compared with a standard star of the first magnitude is 2·.512 raised to $(1-m)$ where "m" is the magnitude. Aldebaran is very nearly a standard star of the first magnitude.

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2), in the Vendidad (XIX. 37), and in the Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I. 32). This primacy may also be inferred from the fact that it is the only star which gives its name to a month, as well as to a day of the month. The Mino Khirad says (XLXIX. 5), " Of the stars which are in the sky the first star is Tiśtar, which is said to be great and good, more valuable and glorious." One may presume in the absence of evidence to the contrary that the primacy of Tiśtar is due to its greater brilliance, and the same seems implied in the epithet "more glorious" of the Mino-Khirad If Tiśtar is ths brightest star in the sky, it can be no other than Sirius.

(*b*) Another strong proof of the identity is afforded by the statement of Plutarch in his description of the doctrines of Zoroaster and the Magi (Isîs and Osiris XLVII King's translation) " and one star he (Ormazd) appointed before all for guard and look-out, namely Sirius." Plutarch does not mention Tiśtar by name but there can be little doubt he refers to it, his language being almost identical with that of Section 44 of the Tiśtar yasht " whom Ahura Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars". The identification by Plutarch could not have been a mere guess. He is a careful writer, and seems to have had a good knowledge of Zoroastrian doctrines as his other statements show, and the traditional knowledge of the identity of Tiśtar had not been lost in his time in the latter part of the first century after Christ as it is now. The star was known even in Sassanian times (See Para 3 (*a*) above).

(*c*) The star Tiśtar is connected by the Iranians with the constellation Cancer. The Bundahiś (VII 1 & 2) says, " The second conflict was waged with the water because as the star Tiśtar was in Cancer, the water which is in the subdivision they call Avrak was pouring on the same day when the destroyer rushed in, and came again into notice for mischief in the direction of the west. 2. For every single month is the owner of one constella-

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tion; the month Tir is the fourth month, and Cancer is the fourth constellation from Aries, so it is the owner of Cancer into which Tiśtar sprang." Zâd-sparam describing the same event (VI. I) says "together with him (Ahriman) rushed in on the horse Cancer, he who is the most watery Tiśtar". At first sight one may understand these passages to mean that Tiśtar is one of the stars constituting the constellation Cancer, and hence infer that it cannot be Sirius for Sirius is not one of those stars. But such an interpretation would probably not be correct. None of the stars constituting the constellation Cancer is even of the third magnitude *i.e.* none possesses even a sixth of the brightness of a standard star of the first magnitude. It is very unlikely that a faint star of this kind would be chosen as the chief of the stars, and the inference would be entirely opposed to the passage of the Shayast la-shayast quoted above (Para 3) as to the great brightness of Tiśtar, and the other evidence identifying Tiśtar with Sirius. The true meaning of the passages seems to be that suggested by West in his note to the passage in the Bundahiś, *viz.* that Tiśtar rises with the stars of the constellation Cancer. A star so rising has its "apparent longitude"[1] in Cancer, and so by a loose but common usage[2] it is said to be in Cancer. Sirius rises with Cancer throughout Persia, and therefore it may well be Tiśtar.

1. I borrow the term "apparent longitude" from Burgess and Whitney's commentary on Sûr ya Siddhânta VII 7-12. The "longitude" of a heavenly body is measured by the arc of the ecliptic intercepted between the first point of Aries, and another point where the ecliptic is cut by a great circle passing through the body. The longitude is "true or ordinary" when the great circle passing through the body is perpendicular to the ecliptic, "apparent" when it is perpendicular to the prime vertical, and "polar" when it is perpendicular to the equator.

It is to be noted that the Cancer in this case is the constellation, not the sign. The two nearly coincided about 500 A. D., and I find on calculation that in that year Sirius rose with the 13th degree of Cancer in Latitude 25° N. and with the 26th degree of Cancer in Latitude 40° N.

2. When we say that the moon is in 10° of Leo, we mean that its longitude is measured up to that point of the ecliptic; the moon itself may be 5° to the north or south of the ecliptic at that time. The same kind of language is used even when the latitude is very large, and the body may therefore not be even in the constellation. Thus in Súrya Siddhânta VII 10 Canopus is said to be at the end of Gemini, and Sirius to be situated in the 20th degree of Gemini, when what is meant is that their respective polar longitudes are such

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(*d*) Another circumstance which seems to identify Tiśtar with Sirius is that the time of its heliacal rising was watched by the old Iranians to enable them to prognosticate the character of the succeeding year, exactly as that of Sirius was by other nations of antiquity. This custom has been referred to at some length by Alberuni in connection with the dog-days in his Chronology of Ancient Nations (Sachau's English Translation Pages 259-261). He says "People maintain that these days are to the year what the critical days are to acute diseases, when their criteria appear, in consequence of which people conceive either hope or fear as to the end in which they will issue.....Practical observers have produced many contrivances for the purpose of prognosticating the character of the year by the help of these days.....These dog-days are the time of the rising of Sirius." He has described several of these contrivances some depending on meterological phenomena during the dog-days and some on phenomena of other kinds. As respects one of these methods he says the Egyptians practised it; with respect to the others he does not specify the nation but one would infer from the trend of his writing that the practice was general among Syrians and Greeks, and probably Persians and Arabs. Lewis in his History of Ancient Astronomy (Page 311) quotes Cicero (De Divinatione I. 57) as stating "that the Ceans according to Heraclides Ponticus used to observe the rising of the Dog-star and to predict from its comparative splendour or dimness whether the year would be healthy or pestilential." There seems little doubt that a similar custom is described in Section 36 of the Tiśtar Yasht in the words "whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year, by the chiefs of deep understanding..... ; they watch him as he comes up to the country for a bad year, or for a good year (thinking to themselves) 'How shall the Aryan countries be fertile ?'" It is true that the risings of other stars were also used for prognostication, these indications being called Episemasia in Greek, and Anwâ] in

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Arabic. But these indications were for short periods, not for the whole year as in the case of Tiśtar and Sirius. Hence probably the two are identical.

HAPTOKRING.

6. Haptokring (Avesta Haptoiringa) is most probably the constellation of the Great Bear for the following reasons.

(*a*) This group is mentioned in the Tiśtar (Yt. VIII. 12), Rashnu (Yt. XII. 28). and Farvardin Yashts (Yt. XIII. 60), and the two Sîrozas (Si. I. 13 and Si. II 13), and in all these passages the word "stars" in the plural is used for it. In the Sîrozas moreover the stars are said to be seven in number. The Bundahiś makes the constellation chieftain of the northern stars (II. 7), and northern seas (XIII 12). The Mino-Khirad seems to imply its northern position by stating it circles round hell (XLIX. 17), as according to Persian ideas hell is in the north[1]. As the Great Bear is the most prominent constellation of seven stars in the north, we presume that Haptokring is that constellation.

(*b*) The presumption is strengthened by the fact that the name Haptoiringa is a compound of which the first part means seven and is similar in this respect to the names of the Great Bear used by the Romans and Hindus. The Romans called it Septemtriones[2] (the seven plough-oxen according to Varro), and the Hindus Saptarshi (Plural Saptarshayas, the seven sages), and in both cases the plural form was used as in the Avesta.

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1. Angra Mainyu comes from the regions of the north (Vend. XIX. 1); the Druj Nasu rushes upon the dead body from the region of the north (Vend VII. 2), and is directed to go to and perish in the region of the north (Vend VIII. 21, Yt. XIII. 17); the wind that blows from the region of the north is evil (Yt. III 9, 12, 16); a foul wind blows from the region of the north on the soul at the end of the third night after death (Yt. XXII. 25). This Iranian idea of hell being at or near the north pole is in strange contrast to the Indian which places the abode of the gods the golden Meru or Sumeru at the north pole and that of the Asuras at the south pole (Surya Siddhânta XII. 34 and 35).

2. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities Article Astronomia. I refer in this paper to this article in connection with several heavenly bodies, and the references will be found under the respective sub-heads in the article such as the Great Bear, the Bull and Pleiades, Bootes and Arcturus

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(*c*) The identity is put beyond reasonable doubt by the modern Persian name for the Great Bear, Haptorang or Haft-aurang, which is apparently the original Haptoiringa with slight phonetic changes.

7. It has been suggested that Hapto-iringa might be the Pleiades. It is true that the Greeks as well as Ancient Hindus[1] regarded the Pleiades as a constellation of seven stars. But it could hardly have been regarded as a northern constellation considering that even now when passing the meridian it is to the south throughout Persia, and in former times it was much more to the south and through a great part of its course. Its northernmost star Tagyete has at present a northern declination of a little less than $24\frac{1}{4}°$ whereas the southernmost part of Persia has a latitude of a little over 25° N. In 500 A.D. Tagyete's declination was $18\frac{1}{2}°$, in 500 B C. about $13\frac{3}{4}°$, and in 1500 B.C. about $8\frac{1}{2}°$ N.

VANAND.

8. Vanand (Avesta Vanant) is most probably Vega in the Lyre for the following reasons.

(*a*) The Bundahiś in the passage quoted above (Para 2) states it is the chief of the Western stars and Tiśtar of the eastern. A very natural explanation of this doctrine is that Vanand is the brightest star shining in the western sky at the same time that Tiśtar is the brightest star shining in the eastern. This condition is satisfied by the pair Vega and Sirius. Vega is the third brightest star in the sky the first being Sirius and the second Canopus which on account of its great southern declination is out of the question in this case. Vega is a little over 22° from the point exactly opposite Sirius and so they seem to balance each other when each is a few degrees above the horizon one over the eastern and the other over the western. This position they assume every day and it is visible every clear night for over five months after the heliacal rising of Sirius which takes place through the greater part of the

1. Although in recent times the Hindus have regarded Krittikâ as a constellation of six stars, the ancient Hindus regarded it as of seven, the names given in the Taittiriya Brâhmana (III. 1, 4, 1) being respectively Ambâ, Dulâ, Nitatni, Abhrayantî, Meghayantî, Varshayantî, and Chupunîkâ.

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northern hemisphere on different dates in July and August according to latitude. Any one who has seen Sirius and Vega in this position will easily realise why one is called chief of the eastern stars and the other of the western. It was this sight that first led me to identify the western chief with Vega. Later I found the same identification in Geiger's Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians, but he has called the star Sataves being misled by the error in the Indian copy of the Bundahiś referred to above(Para 2) I give a table at the end showing for different epochs and for the limiting latitudes of Persia 25° and 40°, the distance of Sirius from the east point when rising, the distance of Vega from the west and its altitude at the same time, and the interval of time between the rising of Sirius and the setting of Vega. This will show that the phenomenon in question was as prominent in ancient Persia as it is now.

(*b*) Vanand is given by Alberuni in his Chronology of Ancient Nations (Sachau's English Translation Page 228) as the name of the twentieth lunar asterism of the Sogdians. As pointed out by Sachau the names of some of these asterism resemble the Hindu[1], and so probably the asterisms are the same as the Hindu. The first in Alberuni's list is Parwiz *i.e.* the Pleiades or Hindu Krittikâ. The twentieth from Krittikâ is Abhijit, that is Vega. Hence Vanand is very probably Vega.

(*c*) The Iranian word Vanant, and Indian Abhijit have the same meaning *viz.*, "overpowering or conquering." Further, the influence attributed to Vanant by the Iranians is very similar to that attributed to Abhijit by the Indians. The Vanant Yasht (Yt. XX. 1) invokes Vanant as "the strong and healing, in order to withstand the accursed and most foul Khrafstras (noxious creatures)

1. Two asterisms can be identified besides the three identified by Sachau with Maghâ, Revati, and Proshthapadâ. The twenty-second in the list called Sadmasij in the Khorasmian, and Shadmashir in the Sogdian seems to be the Hindu Śátabhishaj. The twenty-third whose Sogdian name can be pronounced Shawisht seems te be tne Hindu Sravishthâ. *It is true that Sravishtha ought to precede Satabhishaj, the former being* 22nd from Krittikâ and the latter 23rd ; the transposition in Alberuni's list seems to be due to accident or mistake. There is a similar mistake as respects Revand which is properly 26th in the Sogdian list, but wrongly 27th in the Khorasmian.

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of the most abominable Angra Mainu (Satan)." The S'ikand Gumânik Vijâr (IV. 34) calls Vanand the smiter of the noxious creatures. The Mino Khirad (XLIX 12-14) says, "The star Vanand is entrusted with the passes and gates of Alburz, so that the demons and witches and fiends may turn from those gates and passes, that it may not be possible for them to cut off and break up the road and passage of the sun and moon and stars." On the other side the Indian Taittirîya Brâhmana says (I. 5. 2-3 and 4) "There is a Nakshatra Abhijit by name, above the Âshâdhâs, below S'ronâ. The gods and Asuras were fighting; the gods conquered under that Nakshatra. Because they conquered therefore it is Abhijit the conqueror. Him of whom one wishes that he should conquer an invincible enemy one ought to stir up to fight under the Nakshatra Abhijit. He conquers even the invincible and as if he (the enemy) were defeated by his own fault." The translation is Max Müller's from the preface to the fourth volume of the Rig Veda. I would not have it inferred from this passage that the star Vega played some part in the contest between the ancestors of the Iranians and Indians represented by the Asuras and Devas respectively, for later in the same chapter the author of the Brâhmana has tried to derive the names of many other Nakshatras in the same way from supposed incidents in the same contest. But the passage shows the nature of the influence Abhijit was supposed by the Indians to exercise. It is possible that the star was noticed, named, and attributed a certain influence when the ancestors of the Iranians and Indians were united, but it is also possible that the knowledge was conveyed from one to the other at a later stage. More evidence is necessary to decide this question.

9. West has identified the western chief with Antares in accordance with the theory that it is a bright star that sets in the evening at the period of the year when Sirius rises in the morning. I can not agree with him for the following reasons.

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(*a*) This theory seems less natural than the one put forward above, *viz.* that the two chiefs are visible *at the same time* one in the east and the other in the west, and that also irrespective of the period of the year. When Antares and Sirius are both above the horizon in the northern hemisphere the former will be seen in the east and the latter in the west so that the positions are reversed.

(*b*) Antares is much less bright than Vega. Its magnitude is only 1·3, that is its brightness is three-fourths that of a standard star of the first magnitude whereas Vega is two and a quarter times as bright.

(*c*) There are other facts stated above (Para 8 (*b*), (*c*)) which prove Vanand to be Vega, not Antares.

(*d*) Antares is a zodiacal star being in the constellation Scorpio, and so its identification with Vanand would be opposed to the passage of the Shâyast-la-shâyast quoted above (Para 3 (*b*))

GOCHIHAR

10. Gochihar is most probably the imaginary dragon whose head and tail are respectively the ascending and descending node of the moon for the following reasons.

(*a*) In European astrology the two nodes of the moon are spoken of as the head and tail of a dragon. They are similarly spoken of in Arab astrology as the head (Râs), and tail (Zanab) of a dragon (Tinnîn) (Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon s. v. Tinnîn). There is an old theory in Hindu astrology to the same effect (Varâhamihira's Bṛihat-Sanhitâ V·3), although the favourite doctrine at present is that the ascending node Râhu is the head of a demon, and the descending node Ketu is his headless trunk. Besides attributing to these two points this peculiar form, all these systems also agree in treating them as celestial bodies influencing terrestrial affairs jointly with the sun, moon, and five planets. Now in Bundahiś V. 1 Gochihar is enumerated with the five planets and comets as one of the evil celestial bodies, and in Bd. XXVIII. 44 and 45, the head and tail of Gochihar are enumerated with the sun, moon

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five planets, and comets as constituting the ten bodies which influence all terrestrial phenomena. Considering the similarity of the different astrological systems in other respects and the peculiar description of a body with a head and tail, it is very reasonable to infer that Gochihar must be the same as the dragon of the other systems.

(*b*) But further the Bundahiś itself in another passage (XXX. 31) calls Gochihar a Mâr *i. e.* a serpent or dragon. It is true that in the text West translates this passage as "Gochihar burns the serpent," but in the note he gives the alternative translation "Gochihar the serpent burns in the molten metal," and there seems little doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation for there is no other serpent spoken of before in this passage. It may be noted that in the same chapter, which deals with the final destruction of evil things and the renovation of the world, Gochihar is specially connected with the moon, and is described as falling from a moon-beam or possibly from the sphere of, or from under the moon (XXX. 18). This connection is natural if it represents the nodes of the moon.

(*c*) That the Persians of Sassanian times held the same belief as the Europeans, Hindus, and Arabs as to the nodes of the moon being the head and tail of a peculiar body is shown by Chapter LXIX of the Dâdistân-i-Dînîk. Therein the eclipses of the sun and the moon are said to be caused by a body whose head and tail intercept the sun's and moon's light. If the name of the body had been given as Gochihar in this passage no doubt would have been left as to the meaning of that word. Unfortunately the name has been corrupted and given differently in different manuscipts, and although West's emendation of it to Gochihar seems quite justifiable no strong inference can be drawn from this emendation. But whatsoever the name in the Dâdistân-i-Dînîk may be, there seems no reasonable doubt that the body is the same as that named Gochihar in the Bundahiś. Besides the positive arguments based on identity of form and influence, there is the strong negative

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argument that such a body as that described in the Dâdistan-i-Dînîk and in the other systems of astrology would in all probability have been mentioned in a book like the Bundahiś and there is no other such body if it be not Gochihar.

(*d*) The Sikand Gumânik Vijâr (IV. 46) after enumerating the planets and before referring to the comets says, "And these two fiends that are greatly powerful who are opponents of the planetary sun and moon move below the splendour of those two luminaries." There can be little doubt from the order of the enumeration which is the same as that of Bd. V. 1 and XXVIII. 44 that the head and tail of Gochihar are referred to here. This reference to them as special opponents of the sun and moon, and as moving below the sun and moon serves to identify them with the head and tail similarly described in the above passage from the Dâdistân-i-Dînîk.

(*e*) In modern Persian the two nodes of the moon are called Gavzihr, which the Arabs have changed to Javzihr (Farhang-i-Jehangiri s. v. Gavzihr and Lane's Lexicon s. v. Tinnîn). It seems very probable that Gavzihr is merely an altered form of Gochihar.

11. I can find no passage in the Iranian books which would justify the identification of Gochihar with a shooting star or meteor. Gochihar is a permanent body only destroyed at the resurrection (Bd. XXX. 31). The fall spoken of in Bd. XXX. 18 is the single fall just before this destruction, not the repeated fall of a large number of bodies from time to time during the existence of the present order of things. Meteors seem to be referred to in Iranian writings, but in different language. The Pairikas (fairies or witches) in the shape of worm stars (Stâro Keremâo) flying between the earth and sky of the Tiśtar Yasht (Yt. VIII. 8)seem to be meteors. The Dâdistân-i-Dînîk seems to refer to them (XXXVII. 55) as "the witches of nature for gloomy places, whose vesture is the radiance of the lights, that fall."

12. There appears to be no word in the Avesta language conveying the same idea as the Pahlavi Gochihar. No doubt the word is the same as the Avesta Gaochithra with slight phonetic changes. But in the Avesta Gaochithra is only an adjective qualifying the moon and means "having the seed of

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the cow," just as the words Afschithra, Zemas-chithra, Urvaraochithra qualify different stars and mean respectively "having the seed of the waters, earth, or plants." Nowhere does it mean the dragon with the head and tail constituting the moon's nodes. The reason seems to be that no such object was known in Avesta times. The idea that eclipses are caused by the interference of a dragon is a very old one, but the idea that they are caused by its head and tail, *i.e.* two points 180° apart can only have arisen after there were definite ideas as to the nature of the orbits of the sun and moon and their points of intersection. The dragon myth seems to have been modified in accordance with the new knowledge. Probably the later Persians borrowed the idea of the modified dragon and gave it the name Gaochithra as that name had something to do with the moon. It may be noted that they have called the sphere of the moon by the same name, the modern Persian Gavzihr meaning the sphere as well as the dragon.

13. It has been suggested that the Pahlavi word under discussion may not be Gochihar, but may be read as Durchihar, or Gurchihar, or Gurjdâr, or Gurjchihar (see West's note to Bd. V. 1). The identity of the body will not be affected by such altered reading, as most of the reasons given above are not based on the form of the word, but on the description of the body. It seems however unlikely that the reading is other than Gochihar, for the modern Persian Gavzihr and Arab Javzihr are more akin to that reading than to the other variants.

MÛS'PAR

14. Muśpar means most probably a comet for the following reasons.

(*a*) Muśpar is described in the Bundahiś as a moving celestial body with a tail, evil in nature (Bd. V. 1, and XXVIII 44), and specially under the control of the sun (Bd. V. 2). The S'ikand Gümanîk Vijâr (IV 47 49) seems to refer to Mûśpar from the order in which the body is enumerated after the planets and Gochihar as in the Bundahiś, and the description is similar but the tail is not referred to. The only moving celestial body with a tail known to us besides the imaginary dragon identified with Gochihar is a comet, and comets are usually believed to forebode evil.

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(*b*) There is no other reference to a comet in the Bundahiś. and one expects reference to such a well-known object in such a book.

15. Mûśparîk is written in place of Mûśpar in the Iranian copy (T. D.) of the Bundahiś, and therefore it has been identified with the Mûś Pairîka of an Avesta passage which occurs twice in the Yasna (Y. XVI 8 and LXVIII. 8). Hence West concludes (Note to Bd. V. 1) that the Avesta passage refers to a comet. This interpretation fits with the context. It is natural that sacrifice should protect against the evil supposed to arise from comets just as it protects against other evils enumerated in the passage. It is in accord with Avesta ideas to call a comet a mouse-witch (the literal meaning of Mûś Pairîka), as to call a meteor a worm-witch (Yt VIII. 8). A comet with a thick body and a thin tail suggests a mouse, just as a thin streak of light constituting the visible part of a meteor's path suggests a worm.

THE GREAT ONE OF THE MIDDLE OF THE SKY.

16. The star called Mas-i-Miyân-i-Âsmân is probably Arcturus for the following reasons.

(*a*) It must be a bright star as it is called a "great one", Mas in the Bundahiś (II. 8 and V. 1), and Meh in the S'ikand Gûmânîk Vijâr (IV 29,31), and is in both books classed with the four great stars and given lordship over one of the five planets, *viz.* Saturn. The qualifications "of the middle of the sky" in the Bundahiś, and "supreme or highest" (Bâlistî) in the S'ikand Gûmânîk Vijâr lead to the inference that it must pass near the zenith which would be in Persia between 25° and 40° north of the equator. Two very bright stars, the brightest in the northern hemisphere after Vega *viz.* Arcturus and Capella satisfied this condition for many centuries before and after Sassanian times. Their northern declinations at different periods, allowing for precession and proper motion are as under, *viz* :—

	1910 A.D.	500 A.D.	500 B.C.
Arcturus	19°-39′	27°-28′	33°-14′
Capella	45°-54′	42°-46′	38°-57′

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They are very nearly equal in brightness. At present the British Nautical Almanac following Newcomb gives their magnitudes as ·3 and ·2 making Capella slightly brighter, but before 1903 following other photometric works it used to give the magnitude of Arcturus as 0·0 making it brighter than Capella. As remarked by Sir Robert Ball in his Story of the Heavens (Edition of 1897 P. 371) "Different eyes will frequently form various estimates of the relative brilliance of stars which approach each other in brightness," and (P. 379) "It seems an open question whether among the stars visible in these latitudes Arcturus is not to be placed next to Sirius in point of brightness, the other two candidates for the place being Vega and Capella." Hence no choice can be made on the score of brightness. But it seems probable that Arcturus was the star meant by the Iranian writers. Most of the leading towns of the Persian empire in Achæminian and Sassanian times such as Persepolis Pasargadæ, Susa, Istakhr, Ctesiphon, lie between latitudes 30° and 33° N., and Arcturus passed nearer to their zeniths than Capella. I refer particularly to Achæmenian and Sassanian times because this star is not mentioned in the Avesta, and was therefore probably first taken notice of by the Persians in those times.

(*b*) Another reason for preferring Arcturus is that it seems to have been considered a more important star by the ancients than Capella, perhaps because it appeared to them brighter or steadier. It is mentioned both by Homer and Hesiod whereas Capella is not and it occupied a prominent place in the calendars of Greece and Rome. The Hindus have made Arcturus one of their leading Nakshatras under the name of Svâti, although it lies away from the Zodiac, and it figures largely in their astrology and legends whereas Capella does not.

(*c*) An additional reason for the preference is the Arab name for Arcturus *viz.* Simâk. The Arabs call two stars by this name

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viz. Arcturus and Spica using qualifying adjectives for distinction which are not necessary for our present purpose. Simâk comes from the root Samaka "it became high or elevated," and usually means a "thing with which another *e.g.* a roof is raised" (Lane's Lexicon) *i.e.* a prop. One can easily understand how Arcturus and Spica being seen in Arabia on two sides of the zenith were considered the two props of heaven. The reason for the Persian name "of the middle of heaven" seems the same as for the Arab "prop of heaven," *viz.* that the star passes near the zenith. Alberuni says in his Chronology of Ancient nations (Sachau p. 347), "According to Sibawaihi Simâk is called so on account of its rising high." Further the word Simâk is used as meaning the zenith in the idiomatic Persian expression "Az Samak tâ Simâk" *i.e.* "from the bottom of the abyss (literally the mythical fish Samak) to the pinnacle of heaven." In this sense the Arab name Simâk becomes identical with the Persian Miyân-i-Âsmân. It is possible that the knowledge of the star as well as its name passed to both Arabs and Persians from Chaldæa near whose zenith Arcturus passed for many centuries.[1] Chaldæa was under the sway of both Achæmenians and Sassanians and the latter had their working capital Ctesiphon there.

17. West has identified "the great one" with Regulus putting a peculiar interpretation on the last part of Bundahiś II. 8 which he himself regards as doubtful. I cannot agree with him for the following reasons.

1. Arcturus is also called by the Arabs Hâris-us-samâ, "guardian of the sky", which is not dissimilar to the Iranian appelation. Both may be derived from the Chaldean Sib-zianna, which according to Smith and Sayce denotes Arcturus and means "shepherd of the flock of heaven" or "shepherd of the life of heaven" (Olcott's Star Lore of All Ages Page 78). In Thompson's Reports of the Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon (Vol. II No. 86) I find the same term translated as "just shepherd of heaven." Whether the term which is thus translated as "flock", "life," or "just" can also be translated as "middle, centre, or height", which would make the whole exactly equivalent to the Iranian term I leave to Chaldean scholars to decide. I may note that although in the place just cited Thompson gives reasons for holding that Sib-zianna cannot ordinarily signify Arcturus, he states it may probably have done so in the list of Pair-stars. He thinks ordinarily it may signify the constellation Libra. Can it be that the Chaldeans used this term in the same way as the Hindus use the term Svati, viz. to signify the star Arcturus, as well as a lunar asterism of which it is the principal star but which also includes a portion of the constellation Libra from its seventh to its twentieth degree ?

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(*a*) The passage has been variously interpreted and no safe inference can be drawn from it. A star could hardly have been picked out as a leading one because it was more in the daylight, *i.e.* less visible, than other stars.

(*b*) The magnitude of Regulus is only 1·3, that is, its brightness is only three-fourths that of a standard star of the first magnitude, whereas both Capella and Arcturus are twice as bright.

(*c*) Regulus does not pass near enough to the zenith of Persia. Its present declination is only 12°—24′N ; in 500 A.D. it was about 18°—28′, and in 500 B.C. 21°—37′. In its most northerly position about 2300 B.C. it was less than 24° north of the equator.

SATAVÊS.

18. Satavês [Avesta Satavaêsa) is probably Canopus for the following reasons.

(*a*) Satavês is the chief of the southern stars (see para 2 above). It must be a remarkably bright star, for not only is it called as usual Raêvâo Kharenanguhâo bright and glorious (Tiśtar Yt. VIII. 32), but also Sûra powerful (Sîrozas I. 13 and II. 13, Tiśtar Yt. VIII. 62), Srîra beautiful (Tiśtar Yt. VIII 9, and Farvardin Yt. XIII. 44), and Bânvâo Raokhshnemâo radiant, full of light (Farvardin Yt. XIII. 44). Canopus answers to this description being in the south and exceeding in brightness all the stars in the sky save Sirius. It is more than six times as bright as a standard star of the first magnitude. It has attracted the attention and even the worship of many nations. It was known to and worshipped by the Egyptians from whom probably the Greeks derived their name (Canopus) for it. The Arabs have known it under the name Suhail and have several sayings and myths connected with it (Lane's Lexicon S.V. Suhail). It has given its name to the famous Persian book Anwār-i-Suhaili (Lights of Canopus). The Hindus have known and worshipped it under the name of Agastya; particular ceremonies have to be performed at its heliacal rising from which prognostications of

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various kinds are made. (Bṛihat-Sanhitâ, Chapter XII). There are constant allusions to it, its supposed influence, and its mythology in Hindu literature (Kâlidâsa's Raghu-vanśa IV. 21 and 44, VI 61. XIII 36. etc.)

(*b*) The Tiśtar Yasht makes Satavês the companion of Tiśtar in the production of the annual rains.[1] If Tiśtar is Sirius his companion Sataves is probably Canopus. Sirius and Canopus are near in longitude and right ascension and come to the meridian within a short interval of each other. It is natural therefore that these two very bright stars should be regarded as companions. The Arabs have expressed the same idea by calling Sirius one of the two sisters of Canopus (Akhtâ Suhail. Lane's Lexicon S. V. Suhail), the other sister being the bright star Procyon which shortly precedes Sirius in northern latitudes.

(*c*) The succession of events described in Sections 13 to 34 of the Tiśtar Yasht would seem to show that the heliacal rising of Sataves took place between one and two months after that of Tiśtar. For the first ten nights (probably after his heliacal rising) Tiśtar appears in the form of a man (Section 13 to 15), for the next ten nights of a bull (Sec 16), for a third period of ten nights of a horse (Sec 18) ; he then goes to the sea Vouru kasha, meets Apaosha there and fights him for three days (Sec. 20-22); Tistar is at first beaten and runs away; but on Ormuzd giving him help he goes back to the Vouru-kasha (Sec. 23-26) ; he fights and conquers Apaosha, comes out and rejoices (Sec 27-29); he returns to the Vouru-kasha, makes it boil (Sec. 30-31); thereafter (Adhât) Satavaesa rises, vapours begin to form on the Us-Hindu mountain (Sec. 32), and rain

1. As remarked by Darmesteter the Tistar Yasht does not describe a cosmogonic phenomenon which occurred only once, but an annual one. Men, animals, waters etcetera are described as longing periodically for the rising of Tistar as the rain-bringer (Sections 5, 41, 42, 48); his favour from time to time depends on the worship offered to him (Secs. 15, 17, 19); whether the *year* will be a good or bad one (Huyâirya or Duzyâirya) is judged from the phenomena connected with his rising (Sec. 36); it is the bad *year* that Tistar keeps off (Sec. 51); it is the good *year* that Tistar and Sataves bring by their rains (Secs. 9 & 40).

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comes and is distributed (Secs. 33 and 34). Thus thirty-three days are clearly accounted for in Sections 13, 16, 18 and 22, and presumably the other events take some more days although not many. Now Canopus is the principal bright southern star which rises between one and two months after Sirius, the interval varying according to latitude and epoch as the table at the end will show. Hence one may well conclude that Satavês is Canopus.

(*d*) According to the Hindus Agastya *i.e.* Canopus has a purifying influence on water, and a similar influence would seem to be attributed to Satavês in Iranian writings. This influence of Agastya is frequently alluded to in Sanskrit literature (see Kalidâsa's Raghu-Vanśa IV. 21 and XIII. 36 and Mallinatha's commentary thereon, and the Râjatarangini, III. 325, II. 140 etcetera). I will quote here on this point Kern's translation of stanzas 7 and 12 of Chapter XII of the Bṛihat-Sanhitâ.

"7. At the rise of Agastya the waters, which (during the rains) have grown soiled through contact with mud, become clear spontaneously like the heart of the virtuous. 12. The water which has been poured out at Indra's command by the snakes, whose bodies are wrapt in the clouds, and thus has been stained by burning poison, becomes pure at the appearance of Agaśtya." On the other side the Irañians attribute the purification of the waters of the sea Pûtîk before they go into the Vouru-kasha to an influence proceeding from the gulf of Satavês which is under the control of the constellation Satavês. The Bundahiś (XIII. 10 and 12) says "10. Thick and salt the stench wishes to go from the sea Pûtîk to the wide-formed ocean; with a mighty high wind therefrom, the Gulf of Satavês drives away whatever is stench, and whatever is pure and clean goes into the wide-formed ocean and the source Aredvisûr. . . . .

12. The control also of the Gulf of Satavês is attached to the constellation Satavês." Zâd-sparam (VI. 18) says "And Sataves itself is a gulf and side (arm) of the wide-formed ocean, for it

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drives back the impurity and turbidness which come from the salt sea, when they are continually going into the wide-formed occean, with a mighty high wind, while that which is clean through purity goes into the Aredvisûr sources of the wide-formed ocean." The rather obscure statement of the Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad V. 57 quoted above (Para 2 (*a*)) would seem to point to the same idea. Again the revolution of Satavês is above the mountain Hûgar (Avesta Hukairya), and water gets purified in a lake on the top of that mountain. Bundahiś XXIV 17 runs, " Hugar the lofty, on which the water of Arêdvisur flows and leaps, is the chief of summits, since it is that above which is the revolution of the constellation Satavês." Bundahiś XIII 3 says " At the south of Mount Alburz a hundred thousand golden channels are there formed, and that water goes with warmth and clearness through the channels on to Hûgar the lofty; on the summit of that mountain is a lake; into that lake it flows, becomes quite purified, and comes back through a different golden channel. " I do not desire to attach undue importance to this resemblance. Although the influences of Agastya and Satavês seem similar, they are not exactly the same. No Avesta passage can be found referring to this influence. It seems just possible that the idea was borrowed in Sassanian times.

19. West has sought to identify the chief of the southern stars with Fomalhault, but this seems unlikely.

(*a*) The magnitude of Fomalhault is only 1·3 *i.e.* its brightness is only three-fourths that of a standard star of the first magnitude. A person who saw both Canopus and Fomalhault was much more likely to select the former as a chief considering that it is more than eight times as bright as the latter.

(*b*) Fomalhault rises heliacally about four months before Sirius, whereas the Tiśtar Yasht seems to show (Para 18 (c) above) that Sataves rises heliacally between one and two months after Sirius.

20. Sachau (Page 228) identifies Magan Sadwes the 17th Sogdian asterism

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of Alberuni with Satavaesa. Very probably the name Sadwes is another form of Satavaesa, but I do not think the stars are the same. The former seems to be another star called by the same name as the latter with the qualification Magan, just as in European astronomy two constellations have the name bear, two the name dog, more than two the name serpent. Similarly the Arabs have two Shiarâ, two Simâk, more than two Suhail.

(*a*) The Sogdian Magan Sadwes from its number in the list seems identical with the Hindu Mûla, the Arab Shaula, or the Scorpion's sting the chief star of which is Lambda Scorpionis. The magnitude of this star is only 1·8, and Canopus is twelve times as bright. A person who saw them both would naturally select Canopus as the chief. No doubt Canopus is not visible in the latitude of Sogdiana, but as I shall presently show the Avesta people who saw and named Satavaesa inhabited some regions from which Canopus was visible.

(*b*) Lambda Scorpionis rises heliacally five months after Sirius, whereas according to the Tistar Yasht Satavaesa would seem to rise between one and two months after Tistar (See Para 18 (c) above).

(*c*) Lambda Scorpionis is a zodiacal star, and is less bright than several other zodiacal stars. Its identification with Satavaesa would on both these grounds be inconsistent with the passage of the Shâyast la-shâyast quoted above (Para 3 (*b*) & (*c*)).

21. The identification of Sataves with Canopus has been objected to on the ground that Canopus is not visible in the northern parts of Persia and Central Asia. No doubt Canopus is not at present visible north of Latitude 37°-20′, and was not visible north of Latitude 37° about 500 B.C., or 36° about 1500 B.C. But I do not think this a grave objection Persia extends upto 25° North Latitude, and Canopus has been visible through a great part of it. An object need not be visible throughout a country to be taken notice of by its people. The knowledge of terrestrial objects such as mountains, rivers, cities etcetera is not confined to the region in which they are visible, and a different rule cannot apply to a celestial object. The difficulty would be real if it be assumed that when Satavês was noticed and named the Iranian people were in a region whence they could not see Canopus. But I see no reason for such an assumption. The Yasna, Vendidad, and Yashts

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clearly show acquaintance with regions in which Canopus was visible some degrees above the horizon as a brilliant star.[1] I will first show this with respect to Seistan which lies between Latitudes 30° and 32°, and from which therefore Canopus was visible. I will next try to show that the Iranians of Avesta times were acquainted with the great sea to the south of Persia, that it is the Pâîtika adjoining the Vourukasha of the Avesta texts, and that therefore they had come as far south as 25° N. Latitude.

SEISTAN.

22. Seistan was one of the most important centres of Zoroastrianism from the prophet's own time until long after the fall of the Sassanian monarchy. As to the Zoroastrian remains that are to be found in it at present including those of the famous fire-temple of Mino Karko mentioned towards the end of the Atash Nyâyish I would refer to Tate's recent book on the country. As to what was thought of it in Sassanian times I would refer to J. J. Modi's edition and translation of the short Pahlavi treatise "The Wonder and Greatness of Seistan." A great many of the statements in this work are confirmed by the Bundahis' and Avesta texts, which leave little doubt that Seistan was one of the most important parts of the Iranian country, if not the centre, when Zoroaster lived, and that its claim "that King Vishtâsp promulgated the religion on lake Frazdân, at first in Seistan, and then in other cities" is very probably true.

The eleventh of the good lands described in Chapter I of the Vendidâd is the Haetumant, the name of which survives in the modern Helmand the principal river of Seistan. It is to be noted that the country is in this passage (Vend. I·14) called Raevantem Kharen anguhantem 'bright and glorious," words usually applied to objects of worship in the Avesta, and not applied to any of the other countries described in this chapter. More striking is the fact that it is the only country invoked in the invocation taught by Ahuramazda to Zarthuśtra in Sections 35 to 42 of Chapter XIX of the Vendidâd. In this passage all objects which were

1. No doubt a star near the horizon is dim. But even in the not very clear atmosphere of Bombay I have seen Canopus as a bright star at an altitude of 5°, exceed Aldebaran in brilliance at an attitude of 6°, and exceed all other stars save Sirius in brilliance at an altitude of 8°. Hence it must have appeared brighter than Fomalhault or Lambda Scorpionis even from Seistan and incomparably brighter from the sea-coast.

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considered worthy or the worthiest of their kind seem to have been invoked, and after the seven climes the only country mentioned is the "bright and glorious Haetumant" (Section 39). One cannot but infer from this that in the opinion of the writer this was the principal country of the world.

An examination of the objects enumerated for worship in the first eight chapters of the Yasna leads to a similar result. The only geographical name included in this list is that of the mountain Ushidarena in connection with the Kayanian glory. (I. 14, II. 14, III. 16, IV. 19, VI. 13, VII. 16). This is the same as the Aush-dâstâr (Hosh-dâstar) mountain of the Pahlavi writers, and that mountain is in Seistan according to the Bundahiś (XII. 15) as well as the "Wonder of Seistan" (Section 2). It is also called Ushidhâo in the Hormuzd Yasht (I. 31), and Zamyad Yasht (XIX. 2). The Zamyâd Yasht (XIX. 66) locates it in the same country as the Haetumant (Helmund) and the lake Kânsava *i.e.* in Seistan. Thus the Yasna also shows the great importance attached to Seistan its mountain Ushidhâo being considered the seat of the Kayanian glory and the only geographical place fit for worship.

The Avesta lake (or sea) Kânsava is the Kyānsih of the Pahlavi writers, and both the Bundahis (XIII. 16) and the Wonder of Seistan (Section 2) place it in Seistan. The same inference arises from the Zamyâd Yasht (XIX. 66) which places it contiguous to the river Haetumant (Helmand). It is the modern Hâmûn The Bundahiś (XXI. 7) states that the home of the Kayâni race is there and the Yasna and Zamyâd Yasht point to the same conclusion by connecting the Ushidhâo mountain with the glory of the Kayanians. Any one who knows the Iranian traditions will understand the great significance of this fact. It was the Kayanis who ruled the Iranian people when Zoroaster flourished, and it was the Kayâni Vishtâsp who spread his religion. This renders it highly probable that it was from Seistan the religion was promulgated as asserted in the Wonder of Seistân. The Kayanis appear throughout the Avesta texts, and one of them Kavi Vîśtâspa even in the Gathâs (XXVIII. 8, XLVI. 14, LI. 16, LIII. 2).

The Avesta puts the coming of the great saviour Soshyâns in the same region. The Zamyâd Yasht (XIX. 92) says that Astvat-ereta will arise from the Kânsava lake. Astvat-ereta is the Soshyâns (Yt. XIII. 129). The Vendidad XIX. 5) makes the same statement. Unless Seistan was considered an extremely

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important country the high honour of producing the redeemer would hardly have been awarded to it.

PÛITIKA AND VOURU-KASHA.

23. I will now try to show that the Iranians of Avesta times were acquainted with the great sea to the south of Persia consisting of the Arabian sea and Persian Gulf, that it is the Pûitika of the Avesta, adjoining and having to its south the Vouru-Kasha, a great body of water imagined as extending to the confines of the earth with arms dividing the seven regions (Karshvare). The Vouru-Kasha is often asserted to be the Caspian but I submit without sufficient grounds. It is sometimes asserted to be a celestial sea, and if that means a sea in the sky and not on the earth, I submit that idea is also without justification. It will hardly be disputed that the Sassanian conception of the Pûitika and Vouru-kasha[1] is that set forth above.

(*a*) The description of the seas in Chapter XIII of the Bundahiś and Chapter VI of Zad-sparam leaves little doubt on this point. Both these authorities distinctly assert that the Vouru-kasha is in the southern direction. " The wide-formed occan keeps one-third of this earth on the south side of the border of Alburz" says the Bundahiś (XIII 1). " The wide-formed ocean stands forth on the south side as to Alburz" says Zad-sparam (VI. 16). Of course the Alburz in this case is the mythical Alburz supposed to surround the earth, and not the mountain now called so. According to both these authorities the Pûitika is close to the shore and adjoins the Vouru-kasha with an arm of the latter called the lake or gulf (Var) of Sataves between. I have cited above (Para 2(a)) several passages showing that the region of Sataves is the southern. It must therefore be the southern sea to different parts of which the three names are given. The Caspian cannot answer to the description, for it is not a southern sea with respect to Persia.

1 The Avesta Pûitika is called Pûtîk or Pûitîk in Pahlavi. The Avesta Vouru-kasha is usually called Farâho-kant or Farakhu-kard which West has translated " wide-formed," but in the Minokhirad it is called Varkash (Mkh. XLIV 14, LXII. 26, 28.)

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(*b*) The Caspian[1] is referred to in both these books under the name Kamrud (Bd. XIII. 7 and 14), or Kamîrîd (Zs. VI. 14), as a body of water entirely different from the Pûitika, Gulf of Sataves, and Vouru-kasha. It is enumerated as one of the three principal seas distinct from the wide formed occan, the other two being the Pûitika and Sahi-bûn, and it is contrasted with the Pûitika which is said to be the largest of the three (Bd. XIII.7 and 8). There is no sea contiguous to Persia and larger than the Caspian save the sea to the south.

(*c*) According to both the Bundahis (Bd. XIII 11-14) and Zâdsparam (Zs VI. 15), the Pûitika has daily tides depending on the moon. There are no tides in the Caspian, hence it cannot be the Pûitika. There are daily tides in both parts of the southern sea the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, and it is the only sea contiguous to Persia which has tides. The Bundahis' itself notices the fact that no other sea save the Pûitika has tides (XIII. 14). Hence the Pûitika must be the southern sea.

24. The Avesta conception must have been the same as the Sassanian for the following reasons.

(*a*) The ordinary presumption is that the same names were applied to the same objects by the Sassanians as by the Avesta people. The presumption may be rebutted, but it must be by good evidence, e.g. by showing that the Avesta texts in which the Pûitika and Vouru-kasha are mentioned are inconsistent with the meanings assigned to these terms by the Sassanians. I cannot find any such text. The Pûitika is mentioned only on one occasion in the Avesta, viz., Vendidad V 19—20, and then the meaning exactly fits the context. In fact if the continuous boiling of the Pûitika referred to in Vend. V. 19 be the agitation due to the daily tides, as the Bundahiś would seem to understand it and not without reason, the passage would be conclusive. There are no tides in the Caspian but there are in the southern sea. But I

1 The Caspian is also called the sea of Vêrgân in the Bundahis (XX 24). This is another form of the classical sea of Hyrcania, and the more modern sea of Gurgân.

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would not lay undue stress on this argument. It is sufficient for the present to state that the passage is in no way inconsistent with the suggested meaning. The Vouru-kasha is mentioned many times in the Avesta,[1] and from most of the references no inference can be drawn as to its position or indentity save that it is the largest body of water known, and that it is on the earth. But I can find no passage from which it can be inferred that it is the Caspian, or that it is not what the Sassanians understood it to be.

(*b*) On the contrary the statements of the Tiśtar Yasht strongly support the Sassanian meaning and are inconsistent with the Caspian theory. The star Tiśtar is described therein as rising from and going down into the Vouru-kasha, and the star Satavaêsa as rising from it. Tistar is most probably Sirius, a star which is and always has been to the south of the equator. Satavaêsa is also a southern star as shown above (Para 2), even if it be not Canopus. To a person on the southern coast of Persia these stars would appear to rise and set in the southern sea, and as the limits of this sea were unknown in those times, the illusion that they actually rose from and went down into this sea would be natural to such a man. The case would be quite different as respects the Caspian. Persons living on its southern shores would not see either of these stars rising from or setting in it; the stars would be in the south and the sea in the north. Persons living on its eastern shore might see them setting in it but not rising, and similarly persons living on its western shore might see them rising from it but not setting in it. It would be only persons living on its northern shore who would see them both rising and setting in it. But the Iranians of Avesta times were not confined to the northern shore of the Caspian, if any of them lived there at all,

1 The Vouru-kasha is mentioned in Vendidad V. 15, 17, 19, 23, XIX 35, XXI 4, 8, 12, Yasna XLII 4, LXV 3, 4, LXVIII 6, Visparad VII 4, Âbân Yasht V. 3, 4, 38, 42, 116, Tir Yasht VIII 6, 9, 20, 23, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 40, 46, 47, Rashnu Yasht XII 16, 17, Farvardin Yasht XIII, 6, 7, 59, 65, Zamyâd Yasht XIX 51, 56 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.

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and there could have been no illusion for them that Sirius actually rose from or sank in the Caspian.

The rain is also described in this Yasht as coming from the Vouru-kasha and from the direction of these stars who send it or push it forward. Thus the Vouru-kasha must be in the same direction as these stars i.e. the south.

If the Vouru-kasha meant the southern sea to the author of the Tištar Yasht, why should it have meant anything different to the authors of the other texts ? There is no reason to suppose that this Yasht is more recent than any of the other Avesta texts in which the Vouru-kasha is referred to.

(*c*) Besides the Sassanian tradition, and the statements of the Tištar Yasht there are other facts which render it probable that the Avesta people knew the southern sea. We have the explicit testimony of Herodotus (VII. 80) that the Achæmenian monarchs ruled over the islands in this sea which he calls the Erythraean, that they drew soldiers for their armies from them, and used them as penal settlements for persons banished. There is no reason to suppose that this knowledge was recent.

E. Meyer in his history of Persia in the Encyclopædia Britannica (11th Edition) says :—" In the cuneiform letters from Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt (1400 B. C.) we find among the princelings of Syria and Palestine names like Artamanya, Arzawiya Shuwardata, a name terminating in-warzana etcet ; while the Kings of Mitanni on the Euphrates are Artatama, Shutarna, Artashumara, and Dushratta—names too numerous and too genuinely Iranian to allow of the hypothesis of coincidence". If Iranians had travelled so far as Syria and Palestine by 1400 B. C., the nation could hardly have been ignorant of the southern sea much nearer home.

The Avesta texts show acquaintance with Babylon on one side (Aban Yasht V. 29), and India on the other (Vend. I. 19). It is hard to believe that people who had this knowledge were unacquainted with the coasts of Fars, Kirman, and Makran and the sea adjoining.

Tradition points the same way. Firdousi represents Kaikhosru as conquering Makran, coming to the sea, and crossing it in pursuit of Afrâsyâb who had retired to Kangdez.

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25. I will finally deal with the principal arguments advanced in favour of the Caspian theory that I have come across.

(*a*) One is that the Vouru-kasha was the largest body of water known to the Iranians in Avesta times, and as the Arabian sea was unknown to them it must have been the Caspian. No doubt the Vouru-kasha is described in the Avesta (Vend. V. 23) as larger than any other body of water. But for the second premise of this reasoning, viz., that the Arabian sea was unknown to the Avesta people I can see no proof. It may be that the joint Aryans lived in the north and did not know the southern sea. It may also be that those of the Iranian branch even for some time after their separation from the parent stock did not know the southern sea. But the question really is whether they did not know it when they applied the names Pûitika and Vouru-kasha to certain objects, or rather when the texts in which those names occur were composed. I have not seen any evidence of such want of knowledge.

(*b*) Another reason assigned for the identification is etymological. It has been suggested that the word Caspian is equivalent to Kash Pahan "having wide shores," and therefore means the same as Vouru-kasha. But the termination "an" in Caspian is a late European addition. The original Greek word is Kaspia (Thalassa), and Latin Caspium (Mare). The tribes on its borders were called in Greek Kaspioi and in Latin Caspii and the mountains on its borders Kaspia (Ore) and Caspii (Montes). The root-word seems to be Kaspi, and one cannot get Kash Pahan out of that.

(*c*) Another argument is based on a statement in the Zamyâd Yasht (XIX 56), that when Frangrasyan tried to sieze the Kayanian glory in the sea Vouru-kasha an arm of that sea was produced, "namely, that lake that is called lake Husravah." It has been argued that lake Husravah is lake Van in Armenia, and that as the great sea nearest to that lake is the Caspian, the Caspian must be the Vouru-kasha. This would be a strong argument if

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Lake Van were an arm of the Caspian or connected with it. But I find on reference to a map that they are separated by about 300 miles of land with high mountains intervening. Further I find that the Black Sea is nearer to Lake Van than the Caspian by about a hundred miles, so that if the reasoning were correct the Vouru-kasha would have to be identified with the Black sea. The fact is that the Zamyâd Yasht describes a miracle, and the miracle might as well have happened in connection with a sea far as near, the Persian Gulf 750 miles away, as the Caspian 300 miles away.

LOCALITY OF THE TIŚTAR RAINS.

26. There are very good reasons for believing that the locality of the rains referred to in the Tiśtar Yasht is the modern Baluchistan, the Gadrosia of Greek and Roman writers. As stated above, the Yasht points to the time of the heliacal rising[1] of Sirius and Canopus, that is, the summer, as the period of those rains, and the southern sea as the place from which they came. Modern Persia would seem to receive most of its rain in the winter,[2] and there is no evidence that it was ever otherwise. India, no doubt, receives its rain from the south and during summer, and a portion of the Punjab and Sind formed part of the Achæmenian empire, but there is no evidence at present that there was ever a large population of Avesta people there. Southern Baluchistan satisfies all three conditions: (1) it has its principal rains in the summer, (2) it receives them from the southern sea, (3) and it has been the abode of Avesta people. There is testimony both ancient and modern on these

1. The great longing to see Tiśtar, and the repeated question "When shall the bright and glorious Tiśtrya rise for us?" point to a period of entire disappearance, *i.e.* the period between heliacal setting and rising. Such language could hardly have been used if the star had been visible during any part of the night. The rains come after the rising.

2. Books on Persia usually assert this. As one of the latest authorities I would refer to Sir A. Houtum-Schindler's article on Persia in the Encyclopædia Britannica (11th Edition, Volume 21, p. 190). He says "Good harvests depend on the rainfall from October to April, and on an amount of snow sufficient to cover the crops during frosts." Still I am not quite sure that this would apply to every part of Persia. It seems possible that the state of affairs in Persian Makran is similar to that in Baluchi Makran described in para 27. A detailed survey, like that of Baluchistan made within the last quarter of a century, is necessary to bring out the true facts.

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points. The principal part of the latter consisting of the Gazetteers of the different districts of Baluchistan published by Government[1] I have only recently come across, in fact after the preceding part of this paper was in print. These Gazetteers show not only, that the coast districts of Makrân and Las Bela, and the low-lying plain of Kachhi receive the principal part of their rains and flood-water in the summer, but also that the population regulate their agricultural operations at the time by the heliacal risings of four stars or stellar groups, two of which are the very stars Sirius and Canopus identified above with Tiśtar and Sataves, the principal stars of the Tiśtar Yasht. I will quote this evidence at some length and discuss it where necessary.

27. In this paragraph I will deal with the evidence as to the period and direction of the rains.

Strabo (Bk. XV, Cap. 2, Sec. 3) referring to the march of Alexander says :—"The summer was purposely chosen for leaving India, for, at that season it rains in Gedrosia, and the rivers and wells are filled, but in winter they fail. The rain falls in the higher parts to the north, and near the mountains ; when the rivers swell, the plains near the sea are watered, and the wells are also filled."

Arrian (Anabasis VI 25) describing a sudden flood in a brook[2] which did great damage to Alexander's army during the same march says :—"Another calamity also befell the army which greatly distressed men, horses, and beasts of burden; for the country of the Gadrosians is supplied with rain by the periodical winds just as that of the Indians is."

The Makrân Gazetter says (page 32) with reference to the winds :—"The south-west monsoon sets in between the 6th of June and the 10th of July and is accompanied or preceded by wind and a heavy swell from the south-west, or west-south-west. The strength of the wind which continues up to the end of

1. Out of the district Gazetteers referred to in this paper those of Makrân, Bolân, and Quetta-Pishin have been edited by Mr. R. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S., and it appears from the prefaces of the others that he also commenced those and collected most of the materials which are quoted in this paper. The Gazetteers of Khârân, Las Bela, Sarawân, Kachhi, and Jhalawân have been edited by Major C. H Minchin, and those of Châgai and Sibi by Major A. McConaghy.

2. "After heavy rains the rivers become raging torrents" says the Imperial Gazetteer of India in the article on Baluchistan. The Tistar Yasht seems to describe the same as "streams stronger or bigger than horses." (paras 5 and 42.)

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August or sometimes to the middle of September gradually moderates." Referring to the rain-fall in general (page 31) it says :—" The rain-fall is very scanty and uncertain, with long periods of drought, at times extending to two or three years Rain-fall records have not been kept for Makran, but at the outside the average amount received does not exceed a few inches. Most is received in the mountains where flashes of lightning occasionally warn the inhabitants of the plains that floods may be expected in the rivers. The rain generally falls either in the winter fram November to March, when it comes from the north-west, or during summer in July and August when it comes from the south-west or south-east. Rain at the former time is known as the Bahârgâh, and at the latter as Bashshâm. The winter rain-fall is lighter on the whole, but is more abundant in the west than in the east which receives its most copious supply from the heavier storms of the summer." Referring to the rain-fall in connection with agriculture it says (page 142) :—" The Bashshâm or summer rains between the middle of May and the middle of September are far more copious than the winter storms, and not only the cultivation of the autumn but also that of spring is made possible by its means. ' Summer is the husband, and winter the wife,' ' Summer earns, and winter eats,' are current proverbs which indicate the importance attached to the summer rains.....A copious winter-fall can never compensate for a short amount in summer..... Preceding and succeeding the Bashshâm period the cultivator expects a first and a final shower known as Tarâpi or Garrâp. These showers are also called Sar Bashshâm or the beginning of Bashshâm, and Gud Bashshâm or the end of Bashshâm. The former fall between the 15th of March and the 15th of May, and the latter between the 15th of September and the end of October. They are very sudden and limited in extent, the sun frequently shining in one place while heavy rain is falling a short distance away."

The Las Bela Gazetteer describing the rainfall generally (page 18) says :—" The rain-fall is capricious and uncertain. Most of it is received in the summer during June, July, and August, but a little rain falls also in the winter during January and February. The latter is called Vândo by the natives, and the local proverb that the Vândo rainfall leaves one side of a tree dry conveys an idea of the moisture that it affords." Referring to the rainfall in connection with agriculture it says (page 75) :—" As in Makrân

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rain falls in January, February and March, and again in June, July and August. The average annual rainfall amounts to about 7 inches. Most of it is received during the summer months and on it the success of the autumn crop depends. The winter rainfall confines itself mostly to the Ormâra Niâbat and does not extend eastwards. The rainfall is as a rule insufficient for agriculture which is to some extent supplemented by irrigation from permanent streams, but it depends largely on the flood water of streams and rivers.....The chief floods are brought down by the summer rainfall; and July and August, the hottest months of the year, are those in which the Lâsi cultivator looks anxiously for the water which will provide him with subsistence for the following year.....(page 78) July is the busiest month for the cultivator and a local saying runs that if a man's mother die in that month he has no time to bury her. The July floods bring the moisture on which all the cultivator's hopes are fixed, and if they fail the husbandman's outlook is dark." The language of the Kachhi Gazetteer (pages 61-62) is very similar. The facts as to the rainfall throughout Baluchistan are thus summed up in the article on that country in the last edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India (page 273) :—" Baluchistan lies outside the monsoon area and its rainfall is exceedingly irregular and scanty.[1] The plains and lower highlands receive their largest rainfall in the summer, and the upper highlands in the winter from the shallow storms advancing from the Persian plateau. In the former area the wettest month is July, in the latter February." According to the same authority (page 226): " The lower highlands include the slopes of the Sulaimân range on the east,

1. It must not be inferred from the constant reference to the scanty and uncertain rain-fall of Baluchistan that it is a desert. Parts of it are so, but parts are fairly well-cultivated. The regular systems of agriculture and other facts stated in the Gazetteers and partly quoted in this paper will prove this. In this connection I would also refer to the writings of Sir T. H. Holdich, such as " Notes on Ancient and Mediaeval Makrân in the Geographical Journal of 1896 page 387 " " Chapters 8 and 9 of the Indian Borderland," " Article on Baluchistan in the Encyclepaedia Britannica 11th Edition ", et cetera.

The same authorities will show that the country was more flourishing in former times including those of the Arabs as well as Zoroastrians as the numerous Gabrbands prove. The decline has been due to the act of man, strife and warfare, as well as to the act of nature, climatic changes and desiccation. In this connection I would sp ccially refer to the article in the Enc. Bri. just cited, as well as to the remarks of the geologist Mr. Vredenberg quoted in the Khârân Gazetteer (Pages 51-52).

It could never have been a very fertile country, but the language of the Tistar Yasht does not point to such a country. Drought (Duzyâirya) is constantly expected and feared there.

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the Pab and Kirthar ranges on the south, and the ranges of Makrân, Khârân, and Châgai on the west. The plains of Baluchistan include the peculiar strips of country known as Kachhi and Las Bela, and the valley of the Dasht river."

28. In this paragraph I will first quote the statements of the Gazetteers as to the regulation of agriculture by the risings of the stars, and will then explain and comment on those statements.

The Kachhi Gazetteer (page 65) states :—"The stars by which the cultivator is guided are Katti, known to the Brahuis as Paur (Pleiades), whose appearance in the early morning in June heralds the period when floods may be expected; Treru or Trangar (Cassiopeia) which appears about the 27th of Sânwar (July) and bids the cultivator hasten his preparations for Sânwari sowings; Ludho known to the Brahuis as Ludav, appearing about the 15th of Bhâdra (August) a signal to the cultivators that the season of Juâr sowing is over; and Sohel (Canopus) with its forerunner or witness (Shâhid or Agawân) which warns the cultivator that the end of summer is near, and that his buffaloes will shortly cease to soil in the water. Thus Katti and Treru govern the Juar cultivation, the principal Sânwari crop, whilst Ludho and Sohel are the stars which guide the cultivator in all matters relating to the wheat, the principal crop of the Sarav harvest. Sohel is believed generally to bring three showers of rain in its train. These showers are known as Lassi, *i.e.*, a shower which covers a Las or tract. The cultivators believe them to be universal on the whole of the earth."

The Las Bela Gazetteer (pages 77-78) gives a very similar account in almost the same language.

The Makrân Gazetteer (page 142) states :—"The beginning of the Bashshâm season is heralded to the cultivator by the rising of the Pleiades, called Paur, in the early morning. Rain is to be expected within five days, and if it does not come, he must wait twenty-five days for the appearance of Cassiopeia, called Tîrband, in the east a little below the Pleiades. If rain still holds off, the next star he looks for is Zâl, and if his hopes are once more shattered he must expect and prepare for a year of drought." It states at page 144 :—"The ordinary season for Karrai sowings of the Kharif crop is between the end of February and of March, but the principal autumn crop of Sohro (Andropogon Sorghum) is largely sown in dry crop lands, and here sowings may take place at any time between the close of February and the end of July, whenever rain falls.

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The harvest is gathered from 90 to 100 days after sowing, and the latest sowings are reaped at the end of October, at the rising of Sohel which heralds the closing of the Er-aht harvest."

I would first remark that the names of the stars in the Kachhi and Las Bela Gazetters are Indian in origin because the majority of the cultivators in those districts talk dialects of an Indian language, Sindhi. On the other hand those in the Makrân Gazetter are Iranian, as the majority of the cultivators there take Baluchi, an Iranian language. But there is little doubt that the stars referred to in both cases are the same. What follows will show this, but there is also the strong presumption that cultivators in neighbouring districts who carry on cultivation in the same season under the same conditions and who freely intermix are not likely to adopt different stars for their guidance.

Katti the first group is the Sanskrit Krittikâ rightly identified with the Pleiades. The Baluchi and Brahui Paur is the same group, which is called in Persian Parv or Parvîn. I find that this group rises heliacally in Baluchistan on the 6th or 7th of June allowing 15° for the arc of vision, as the stars are not bright.

The second group called Treru or Trangar in Kachhi and Las Bela and Tîrband in Makran cannot be Cassiopeia, but is most probably the row of three stars forming the belt of Orion. Both the position and the names show this. Cassiopeia is to the north and west of and rises long before the Pleiades. Orion rises after the Pleiades and appears a little below that group. Treru is translated in Shirt's Sindhi Dictionary as "A name given to three stars in a straight line." It is in Sanskrit the three-pointed arrow (Tri-Kândâ Ishu), shot by the hunter Sirius (Vyâdha or Lubdhaka),[1] at the stag Orion (Mriga). Tîrband is in Persian a girdle used by couriers, and I presume it has the same meaning in Baluchi; thus it is the same name as the European belt, or Arab Nitâk used

1. While the Hindus regard Sirius as an archer, in the Avestâ Tiśtar is compared on account of his swiftness to the arrow (Tighri) shot by the famous archer Erekhsha (Tiśtar Yt. VIII 6 and 37). In late Parsi writings Tiśtar is often referred to as Tiśtar Tîr (*i.e.* the arrow), but very often simply as Tîr. That this substitution of Tîr for Tiśtar is not recent is shown by the legend Teiro on Indo-Scythian coins of the first century after Christ (Stein's paper on them in the Indian Antiquary of April 1898), the name Teiri of the fourth Cappadocian month, and the name Tiridates of a Parthian king in the third century before Christ. As to whether the connection of Sirius with an arrow in both the Iranian and Indian traditions is a mere coincidence, or due to communication is a question that cannot be decided at present.

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for these stars. I find that these three stars (Delta, Epsilon, and Zeta Orionis) rise heliacally in latitude 25° N. from the 10th to the 13th of July allowing 12° for the arc of vision, and about three days later in latitude 30° N. Thus the period given in the Makrân Gazetteer about a month after the rising of the Pleiades seems near the truth. The date 27th July given in the Las Bela and Kachhi Gazetteers seems too late by about a fortnight; possibly the mistake has arisen from the shifting character of the Hindu lunar months.

The third star Ludho is clearly the Sanskrit Lubdhaka the hunter, that is Sirius. There seems little doubt from the order in which it occurs that the Makrâni Zâl is the same star, although I cannot connect this name, which is that of the father of the famous hero Rustam, with any known name of Sirius. I find that Sirius rises heliacally about 31st July in latitude 25° N, and about 4 days later in latitude 30° N, allowing 10° for the arc of vision owing to the great brightness of the star. The date 15th August given in the Las Bela and Kachhi Gazetteers seems too late by about a fortnight as in the preceding case and possibly for the same reason. The Makrân Gazetteer in giving the end of July as the latest time for sowing the Sohro crops implies that that is the date of the rising of Zâl; it thereby gives nearly the true date for the rising of Sirius and furnishes additional proof of the identity of Zâl with Sirius.

The fourth Sohel[1] is rightly identified with Canopus the name being only a variant of the Arab Suhail. The same star is called also Aith in the Las Bela Gazetteer, and that is evidently derived from Agastya the Indian name for Canopus. I find that it rises heliacally on 23rd August in latitude 25° N., and on 3rd September in latitude 30° N., allowing 10° for the arc of vision. There seems to be some mistake in the Makrân Gazetteer in connecting the end of October with its rising. The Jhalawân Gazetteer (page 83) correctly

1. I cannot identify the forerunner or witness of Sohel. It is probably some minor star rising shortly before Canopus. It seems desirable that some one who can identify the stars should have them pointed out to him by experienced cultivators of the different localities. That would put the question of identity beyond all doubt. It seems also desirable to collect all the star-lore that these primitive peoples still possess, the names of the stars and names and forms of stellar groups with synonyms, the way in which they are observed, from particular spots or by particular persons, or otherwise, the ceremonies if any performed in connection with them, legends, poems, proverbs, maxims and all other facts relating to them. Such a collection may throw considerable light on the original astronomical knowledge of the Iranians and Indians and their connection, and may lead to the solution of questions not directly connected with astronomy.

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puts its rising in September. This seems to be the principal star of Baluchistan. It gives its name to the autumn season consisting of September and October (The Sarawân Gazetteer page 21, Jhalawâr page 32, Châgai page 121, Quetta-Pishin page 28). It also gives its name to one of the nine periods of forty days each (Chilla) into which agriculturists and flock-owners divide the year (The Sarawân Gazetteer page 81, Jhalawân page 127, Châgai page 121). The Brahuis give the name Sohel to the month corresponding to the Hindu Aśvin (Quetta-Pishin G. page 166). The Marris call the autumn crop Soheli (Sibi G. page 88). Human beings are also called Sohel (Makrân G. page 132).

It will thus be apparent that two[1] out of the four celestial objects whose heliacal risings are observed by the cultivators of Baluchistan in connection with their principal rains in summer are Sirius and Canopus, identified above with Tiśtar and Sataves the principal stars of the Tiśtar Yasht.

It must be noted that the heliacal risings of these stars did not occur in former times at exactly the same periods in the seasonal year that they do now. The table at the end will show that on the coast in latitude 25° N. in 501 B.C. Sirius rose on 9th July and Canopus on 12th August, and in 1501 B.C. Sirius rose on 30th June and Canopus on 9th August. I cannot venture at present to suggest the time of the composition of the Tiśtar Yasht, but very probably the observations of the stars and rains on which it is based were made long before 500 B.C. Thus the rising of Canopus must have taken place then while the rains were in full force, or had just begun in a year of late fall as described in the Tiśtar Yasht. This will explain why Canopus was then considered the universal rain bringer, " who makes the waters flow down to the seven Karshvares (regions) of the earth" (Yt. VIII 9), why Tiśtar is not even mentioned in the Farvardin Yasht and Canopus alone is described as " he to whom the

1. It is possible that all the four celestial objects are mentioned in the Tistar Yasht. It has been suggested by Lagarde, Weber, and other scholars, that the word Paoiryaeinyas in Para 12 of the Yasht refers to the Pleiades from the similarity of the name to the Persian Parv or Parvin. The local usage of observing this group as well as the local name for it Paur make this suggestion very probable. It seems very likely that the word for the Pleiades is Paoirya, and that the derivative means "the showers of the Pleiades", just as the similar derivative Tistryaeinyas used in the same para means "the showers of Tistrya." The preceding word Upa-paoirya means literally " the one next to the Paoirya", and may well mean the constellation following the Pleiades, and hence, presuming the usage of observation was the same then as now, the belt of Orion. In ancient times the Pleiades rose long before June, but there fall showers between 15th March and 15th May called in Makrân Sar Bashshâm, and to these the name " showers of the Pleiades" might well have been applied.

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waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters and the plants grow up, fair, radiant, and full of light, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the four kinds of animals, and to help the faithful." (Yt. XIII, 44.) The belief of the present day cultivator "that the showers of Canopus are universal on the whole of the earth" seems to be a tradition from the past. For the same reason Sirius must then have been nearly the first harbinger of rain as described in the Tiśtar Yasht, and not the last as conceived now.

29. I will now state shortly the reasons for the assertion that Baluchistan was once inhabited by Avesta people. It formed a part of the Achaemenian empire, and at least a large portion of it including Makrân formed part of the Sassanian empire. That Zoroastrians lived there once and even to the tenth century after Christ we have the statements of Mahomedan writers like Firdausi[1] and Ibn Hâukal. We have also proof of this in the existence of numerous Gabrbands or dams of the Zoroastrians built to dam up water as well as soil throughout Baluchistan. In spite of the immigration of many foreign races at various times there is still "scattered through the whole country, and almost everywhere recognisable the underlying Persian population (Tâjik)"[2]. The Baluchi language is Iranian, and according to the opinion of Dr. Andreas cited by Major Mockler in his Baluchi grammar it is a sister language of the Pahlavi.[3] Under the circumstances there is very good reason to believe the

1. Dr. J. J. Modi published in 1904 a paper on Makran in English in "East and West," and he has since published the same in Gujerati in the second volume of his Dnyân Prasâra'ś papers. In this paper he has cited the Greek accounts of Alexander's march, Tabari, Ibn Haukal, all the passages of Firdausi at length, and some facts regarding the local traditions supplied to him by Maulvi Abdul Rab who acted as an assistant to the editor of the Gazetteer. If we are to accept the Maulvi's interpretation of the word Kishtîgar in Firdausi as agriculturist Kaikhosru also introduced agriculture into Makran. Mohl as well as Persian dictionaries translate the word as 'boat-builder' the word for a cultivator being Kishtkâr. Dr, Jivanji quotes an account of Bahman's death from the Bahman-nâma similar to that of the Baluchi legend. In that Barzen is called Âdar-Burzin son of Frâmarz son of Rustom.

2. This quotation is from the article on Baluchistan in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Ed). I have not referred to the Pishin valley and its connection with Keresâspa, as that is outside the range of the summer rains and may be regarded as a part of Afghanistan.

3. I will cite here a few words picked up from the Gazetteers which show the close connection of the Baluchi with Pahlavi and Zoroastrianism.

(a) The Avesta word Suirya occurring with the word Khshafnya in Para 18 of the Ataś Nyâyiś which is the same as Yasna LXII. 7 has been something of a puzzle. It is the subject of a note by Darmesteter

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tradition both literary and local connecting the country with the Kayanis. Firdausi relates that Kai Kaus toured through Makrân, and Kai Khusro conquered it and stayed in it for a year. As to the local tradition I will quote the words of the Makrân Gazetteer (Page 34). "On leaving, he (Kai Khusro) appointed one Ashkash as governor, and it may have been the latter who named the two Kârezas in Turbat, still known as the Kâusi and Khusravi, after his royal patrons. Another hero of the Shahnâma, round whose name local tradition is woven, is that of Bahman, son of Asfandiâr, there being both a Bahmani Damb, or mound, in Turbat, and a Bahmani Kârez. According to the local story, Bahman's death occurred in the Apsar jungle near Turbat, where he was swallowed by a dragon in the presence of Rustom's grandson, Barzen, who, to fulfil a vow which he had been forced to take when captured by Bahman, never to draw the sword in the latter's presence, refused to move a finger to help the enemy of his family, but cut the dragon down when Bahman had been swallowed, exclaiming: 'I have killed Bahman to avenge my grandfather's death, and I have killed the dragon to avenge that of Bahman.' Barzen's words now form the burden of a Baluchi song, and the story illustrates the familiarity of the people with Iranian names and legends." In other parts of Baluchistan also

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in his Etudes Iraniennes (II. 161). It has been translated into Pahlavi as Sûr, Khshafnya being translated as Shâm. In modern Persian the latter means the night meal, but the former means a banquet on a special occasion. But the context makes it more probable that the former means "the morning meal" and so scholars have adopted the meaning. The Baluchi word for the morning meal confirms this interpretation. The Châgai Gazetteer (Page 80) says "The majority of the people have only two daily meals one in the morning at about 11 a.m., and the other at sunset. The former is called Swâra or Nim Roch, and the latter Shâm." Swâra is clearly the Avesta Sûirya. The same word occurs in the other Gazetteers in the same connection under slightly different forms as Sowâra, Swârag, Sawâra, Subârag etcetera.

(*b*) The Makrân Gazetteer (page 31) gives Âmen as the local name for summer, and Zimistân for winter. The former word has been a puzzle to the editor who thinks it has a curious resemblance to the Jewish Amen (page 173). As a matter of fact, it is Hâmin the ordinary word for summer both in Avesta and Pahlavi. It does not appear in modern Persian dictionaries, but is familiar to Parsis.

(*c*) Another word for summer Tîrmâ used in several of these Gazetteers (Châgai, Sarawân, Jhalawân) is the old Persian Tîr Mâh the fourth month of the year and the first month of summer. The word Tîrmâhî for summer is to be found also in modern Persian dictionaries.

(*d*) The Baluchi word for the wind Gwât is the same as the Guâd of the Indian Parsis who generally use that name for the angel of wind and the 22nd day of the month instead of the ordinary Persian Bâd. The Baluchi name is in accord with the usual rule of that language of rubstituting "gw" for the Persian "b." How the Parsis got the same form I cannot say.

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ancient mounds or Dambs are connected with the names of Kayânis, e.g. Sâmpur near Mastung is said to be the remains of a city founded by Sâm the grandfather of Rustom (Sarawân Gazetteer Page 42). Gundâva in Kachhi is said to have been founded by Bahman. (Kachhi Gazetter Page 192.)

THE PÛITIKA.

30. What has gone before will I think put beyond reasonable doubt the identity of the southern sea, from which the summer rains come, with the Vouru-kasha the storm-tost condition of which under the monsoon wind is so graphically described in the Tistar Yasht (Para 31). Further a passage in the Las Bela Gazetter (page 12) throws a remarkable light on the identity of the Pûitika. The passage is in connection with a theory about the mud volcanoes on the coast of Baluchistan and runs thus :—"In connection with these arguments it may be noted as a curious fact that all along the Makrân coast portions of the sea become discoloured and smell horribly at different times of the year. This discoloration, which looks as if a preparation of thick reddish brown soap and water had been diffused in the sea, occurs in large isolated patches, sometimes in streams, and sometimes as far as the eye can reach. No one knows the cause but all fish which enter the discoloured water are killed and the discoloration generally travels towards the shore. Near the Ormârâ volcanoes which are nearly always active the hills are full of sulphur springs. Can it be that the presence of the mud volcanoes on the shore and the proximity of the sulphur springs have any connection with the discoloration of the water and that irruptions under the sea cause this curions phenomenon?" The stench and impurities are the principal characteristics of the Pûitika as described in the Bundahis' (XIII-10), the Pahlavi Vendidâd (V-57), and Zâd-sparâm (VI-15 and 18), and I have quoted these passages above in other connections (Paras 2 (a) and 18(d)). One can easily understand them now if the Pûitika sea is identical with that along the Baluchistan coast as has been already inferred for other reasons (Paras. 23 to 25). I do not know whether any part of the Caspian can boast of an equally agreeable phenomenon. One understands also better why the putrid matter from corpses is said in the Vendidad (V. 15-20) to be washed down to the Pûitika through unseen channels. It looks very much like a primitive theory to explain the phenomenon. The name Pûitika itself points to the same phenomenon. Scholars differ as to whether it should be derived from Pû

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to purify, or Pû to be putrid; whichever etymology be correct, in both cases the fact that the sea contains putrid matter has to be admitted. The local name if any for the sea or phenomenon may throw further light.

THE PATH OF HAOMA.

31. Para 33 of the Tiśtar Yasht describes the clouds and winds as traversing the same path as Haoma. The explanation of this seems to be the Avesta theory that the white Haoma tree (Gaokereua or Gokard) and the tree of all seeds stand in the Vourukasha, that the seeds which fall from them are picked up by Tiśtar and sent to the land with the wind and rain. Naturally therefore, Haoma follows the same path as the wind and rain. For the theory in its complete form I would refer to Chapters IX, XVIII and XXVII of the Bundahiś, and for allusions to it to Vendidad V 19-20 and XX. 4 and Rashnu Yasht (XII. 17). The wind is a well-recognised agent in the distribution of plants. As to how the wind distributes seeds, and how they spring up on the occurrence of rain in these very regions I would refer to Tate's Seistan page 124, and the same author's Frontiers of Baluchistan page 194. As the seeds sprout in the rains it was natural to infer that the monsoon wind brought them.

THE US-HINDU MOUNTAIN.

32. This mountain is described in para 32 of the Tiśtar Yasht as standing in the middle of the Vourukasha and as the gathering ground of the clouds and rain before they come to the land. It is referred to in similar terms under the name Aûsîndôm in Chapters XII and XIII of the Bundahiś, and Chapter XCII of the Dâdistân-i-Dînîk. Haug has tried to identify it with the Hindu-kush (Haug's Essays page 201). It cannot be the Hindu-kush, if it is in the middle of the sea, but there is good reason to think that the Hindu in the name is either the Indus or India, and the name means above or outside the Indus or India. An island in the southern sea would be naturally called so. The name Hindu was known to the Avesta people and occurs in the Vendidâd (I 19).

HUKAIRYA AND ARDVÎ SÛRA.

33. As the Hukairya (Pahlavi Hûgar) is a part of the heavenly Alburz surrounding the earth over which is the revolution of Satavês (Bundahiś XXIV 17) it must be the southernmost part of that Alburz. As the Ardvî Sûra

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drops from it into the Vourukasha or southern ocean according to numerous Avesta and Pahlavi passages, that river must also be regarded as an imaginary one situated in the south. Such at least must have been the Sassanian idea of it. It may be noted that there is no Avesta passage connecting Hukairya with Sataves. There is a notable resemblance between the golden Hukairya (Yt. V 96, 121, Yt. XII. 24, Yt. XV. 15) from which drops the Ardvî Sûra (Yt. V 3, Yt. XIII 6, Yt. XII 24), and the golden Sumeru from which drops the celestial Gangâ of the Indians (Vishnu-Purâna II. 2 & 8).

Table referred to in Para 8 (a).

In calculating the places of the stars I have reduced for precession the longitudes in 1910, by 19° 3′ for 500 A.D., by 33° 27′ for 501 B.C., and 47° 14′ for 1501 B.C. On account of the proper motion of Sirius I have increased its longitude at the rate of 54.8″ per century, and reduced its latitude at the rate of 125·2.″ For the same reason I have reduced the longitude of Vega at the rate of 50 9″ per century, and the latitude at the rate of 25·2.″ Small errors will not affect the argument.

Latitude and Epoch.	Interval between the rising of Sirius and setting of Vega.		Positions when Sirius rises.					
			Distance of Sirius from East towards South		Distance of Vega from West towards North.		Altitude of Vega,	
In Latitude 25°N	Hr.	Mt.						
1910 AD	0	48	E 18°	22′ S	W 39°	1′ N	8°	15′
500 AD	1	3	E 17°	27′ S.	W 37°	17′ N	10°	55′
501 BC	1	14	E 18°	13′ S	W 37°	14′ N	12°	10′
1501 BC	1	26	E 20°	7′ S	W 38°	4′ N	14°	35′
In Latitude 40° N.	Hr.	Mt.						
1910 AD	1	44	E 21°	54′ S	W 39°	3′7 N	13°	32′
500 AD	1	57	E 20°	46′ S	W 37°	0′ N	15°	52′
501 BC	2	11	E 21°	43′ S	W 36°	33′ N	17°	31′
1501 BC	2	25	E 24°	1′ S	W 37°	15′ N	18°	57′

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Table referred to in Para 18 (c).

I have allowed for precession and the proper motion of Sirius as stated above. For proper motion I have reduced the longtitude of Canopus at the rate of 7.5″ for each past century, and increased the latitude at the rate of 1.2″. I have assumed the arc of vision to be 10° for both stars. The dates are Gregorian or new style ; they can be converted into Julian by subtracting 2 for 500 A.D. adding 5 for 501 B-C, and 13 for 1501 B-C. The Gregorian dates correspond with the seasons. The stars might have been actually seen a few days later owing to local atmospheric conditions but that will not affect the argument materially.

Latitude.		25° N.		30° N		35° N	
Epoch	Star	Date of heliacal rising	Interval in days	Date of heliacal rising	Interval in days	Date of heliacal rising	Interval in days.
500 AD	Sirius	17th July	29	22nd July	36	27th July	47
	Canopus	15th August		27th August		12th September	
501 BC	Sirius	9th July	34	14th July	41	19th July	53
	Canopus	12th August		24th August		10th September	
1501 BC	Sirius	30th June	40	5th July	47	11th July	61
	Canopus	9th August		21st August		10th September	

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HVARENŌ.

By Dr. Eugen Wilhelm, Professor of Iranian languages in the University of Jena.

Mr. Werner Wilhelm *Jaeger* published an interesting article on Horace Od. I, 34 in the journal for classical philology '*Hermes*' XLVIII, 3, pp. 442-449. The fundamental idea of this poem is, that Fortuna disposes and governs the destinies of humanity. She bestows crowns and takes them away. Now *Jaeger* is of opinion that the Roman poet, in the religious disposition of mind created in him by the experiences of years of revolution that had witnessed the most unexpected turns of fortune, praises in this poem a not-Roman power, named *Fortuna*, who not only gives and takes away crowns, but has the characteristics of a sombre demoniacal divinity, a brutal idol, by means of which the dying Grecian faith supplied the bright figure of the Olympic *Diespiter* altitonans. On this occasion *Jaeger* mentions also the Avestic *hvarenô* and the semitic *gad*, and thus gives me an opportunity to come back once more upon '*hvarenô* ', a subject on which I formerly published an article in Le Muséon 1885, IV, pp. 510—531.

In the Avesta there is often mentioned a sort of splendor or light named خ‍ورنه, *hvarenô*.[1] The etymology of the word is clear : its origin is the radix *svar*, to shine, (cf. *siar-pati*, lord of splendor) which must have become *hvar* in Iranian, whereof came neo-Persian خور or هور and many similar words in Indian and Iranian languages. But there is no word entirely corresponding to *hvarenô* in Sanscrit, while in neo-Persian خره corresponds exactly to *hvarenô*, designating the same splendor of light; more frequently however occurs the synonymous فر of which the secondary form فره, *farrah*, like فرهی, *farrihî*, glory, goes back to pahl.* *farreh*=old-Persian * *farnaha*. Cf. *Huebschmann*, Persische Studien, 1895, p. 83 : ap. *Vindafarnâ*

1 Cf. F. *Spiegel*, Eränische Alterthumskunde, 1873, II, 42-45. Id., *Kuhn's* Beiträge y, 391 ; Shâhn. 17,14. 18,13. 21,10. 31,9. 36,6. Franz *Cumont*, Les Mystères de Mithra, 1900, p. 37 : Le *hvarenô* illumine les souverains legitimes et s'écarte des usurpateurs comme des impies, qui perdent bientôt avec sa possession la couronne et la vie." See likewise p. 40.

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(im Nominativ, Thema *Vindafarnah-*), P. *Horn*, Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie 1893, who quotes p. 180 phl. Nom. pr. Farn[bag, N(â)pi[farnâi (gemme, Horn, Mitteilungen IV, 24) and *ibid.* points out, that on gems, high dignitaries have the surname '*farraxu*'. The above mentioned words فرّه and فرّهي *Vullers* translates, "*magnificentia*, *potentia*," and I.I.P. *Desmaisons* (Dictionnaire Persan-Français, Rome 1910, II, s.v.), *rang*, *dignité*, *gloire*, *grandeur*, *puissance*.

The word *hvarenô* is generally used in the Avesta to designate the splendor of divine beings, and Zarathuštra also belonged to the divine beings to whom this glory and majesty of the king appertained. In this case, the word, *kavaya*=royal, is usually added besides, so that royal majesty is called 𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬑𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀. This *hvarenô* is the exclusive priviledge of the Iranians, the insignia of their gods, kings or eminent men, like Zarathuštra, upon whom it was bestowed by divinity. Cf. K. F. *Geldner*, Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta übersetzt und erklärt, Stuttgart 1884, p. 3. Sometimes in the Zamyâd-Yasht 𐬑𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 is called the splendor of Arian countries, which is the common property of all Arians. Without any other addition, *hvarenô* is also applied to persons of minor importance, and signifies in that case '*glory*, *fortune*.' The word by which *hvarenô* is usually rendered in the translations is the semitic גד, *fortune*, phl. 𐭲𐭥 (𐭲𐭣 and 𐭲𐭩). We may therefore suppose, that generally *hvarenô* means what we call brilliant, fortunate circumstances. Therefore, the fortune or happiness which all men pursue without ever attaining it, in spite of all their pains and fatigues, is called 𐬑𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬥 *hvarenô ahvaretem*, so that the signification of *hvarenô* is generalized into '*happiness*'. Therefore '*ahvaratem hvarenô*' is in opposition to *kavaêm hvarenô*, that is bestowed by Ahuramazda on kings by the grace of God as an attribute of their dignity, and on elected persons.

It is comprehensible that the kingly splendor was attributed to all those great kings whose achievements are related by the mythic reports concerning the remotest times of Iranian history. This is most obvious from Yasht 19, which although called Zamyâd-Yasht, is all about the 'kingly splendor'. With the exception of Aurvataspa, who is entirely omitted, kingly splendor is ascribed to all the mythic kings, in the highest degree to Yima *Khšaēta*, the brilliant[1]. 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 is no doubt=

1 Cf. K. F. *Geldner*, Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta übersetzt und erklärt. Stuttgart 1884, p. 94.

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phl. 𐭱𐭩𐭮 šet=np. شيد *šēd*. *Tabarî* (I, 179, 10) says[1] : والشيد معناه عندهم الشعاع "*šēd* with them (the Persians) means 'splendor,' " and asserts that Yima was called so on account of his beauty. Better still *Hamza* of Ispahan (p. 21 in Gottwalds' translation) : significatio vocis *schid* est lux, inde et sol vocatur *Khurschid*. Regem hunc inde appellatum, quod lux ex eo effulscrit. In the same way it is explained by the Persian lexicographers, as may be seen *Vullers* sub voce, and in this sense, it often occurs in literature, f. ex. *Firdausî*, p. 162, 7 ed. *Vullers* :

که هرگز ندیدیم زین گونه شید رخی همچو گل روی و مویش سپید

Likewise 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬚𐬀 , *Khšōithnî* तेजास्विन्, *tejasvin* according to *Neriosangh*, cf. also तेजस्वन्, shining, brilliant, तेजस्विता, dignified, majestic deportment).

After this linguistic digression, we return to Yima, the brilliant. After his fall, the third part of his majesty returns to heaven to unite with Mithra, the celestial surveyor of the countries and probable ancestor of the kings. The remaining two-thirds remain on earth; the one is given to Thraêtaona, the other Keresâspa takes for himself. This indicates, as *Geldner* l. c. rightly observes, that none of the successors of Yima ever again attained his power and fortune. That a part of the majesty is transferred to Thraētaona is quite just as he is the legitimate successor. It is more striking that Keresâspa is named as the proprietor of the remaining third. This Keresâspa is the son of Thrita and is called in Yasna 9, 30 the most useful of the Sâms. His deeds are often enumerated, and so there can be no doubt, that he is the same person whom Firdausî and the later historians call *Sâm*. After the current opinion, *Thrita* and consequently also *Sâma-Keresâspa* descend from Yima, but his race is confined to East-Iran, where are its domains. Sâma-Keresâspa therefore is nearly related to the royal family, but nevertheless he cannot be considered as capable of succession and his descendants have, on several occasions, renounced the throne that was offered to them. But we can scarcely presume that the Avesta should have made Keresâspa an owner of kingly majesty, if it had not considered him as a real king. The list of Persian kings knows in fact one king Keresâspa in the mythic times, but his place is not quite assured. Firdausî places him between *Zâl* and *Kai Qobâd*, but has not much to say of him. Tabarî gives him the same place ; in the writings of the Parsees it is somewhat different. The Bundahishn

1 Cf. Annales auctore Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir At-Tabari, quos ediderunt J. *Barth*, Th. *Noeldeke* etc, Leiden 1879 .

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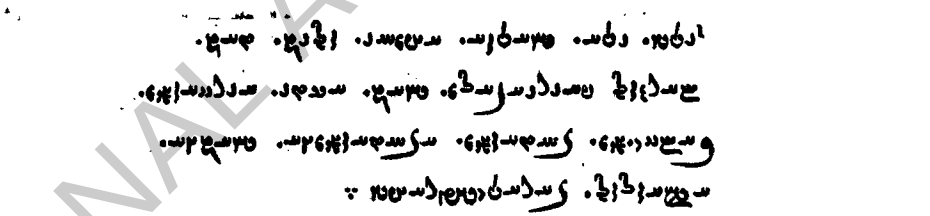
omits this monarch entirely ; the Dschâmâsp-nâmak places him immediately after Thraêtaona and before Manusch-tschihar, (the Manôtschihr of the Shâh-nâme) ; the Minochired places him after Kai Qobâd. All these writings leave no doubt, that there was a king Keresâspa and the Minochired ascribes to him the deeds which also the Avesta relates of him, but which Firdausi attributes in the Shâh-nâme to the East-Iranian Sâm. We now know how to explain this dissimilarity in Tabarî, who is acquainted with still other pedigrees of Keresâspa (I, 532, 583), one of them makes him descend, not from a collateral line of Yima, but from Thraêtaona and Mainyush-tschithra=Manush-tschihar. We must therefore presume that the Avesta knows only a Keresâspa, who is the legitimate king of Iran, but knows nothing of Keresâsp's descent from a collateral line.

The list of Iranian kings names not only the legitimate kings, but also two usurpers : Azhi dahâka, who possessed the royal dignity for 1,000 years and Frangrasyan=Afrâsiâb, who retained it for at least twelve years. With these two *kavaêm hvarenô* did not unite ; their domination therefore could not be of long duration. There is even no reason to presume that they desired this *kavaêm hvarenô*, but Yasht 19, 45-64 tells of these two usurpers' efforts to attain the *ahvaretem hvarenô*. What the author of the Zamyâd-Yasht means by *ahvaretem hvarenô* becomes evident from § 57, where Frangrasyan, after a vain effort to seize *ahvaretem hvarenô* exclaims :



"I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra" (Sacr. Books of the East, 1883, vol. 23, translated by J. *Darmesteter* p. 300). With this agrees entirely Yasht 5, 42-43 the prayer of Frangrasyan that is not granted by Ardvi Sûra Anâhita :

1. I quote according to *Geldner's* edition, who has endeavored metrically to reconstruct the imperfectly transmitted text of the Zamyâd-Yasht. Cf. also Chr. *Bartholomae*, Arische Forschungen I. 1882, p. 99-154.

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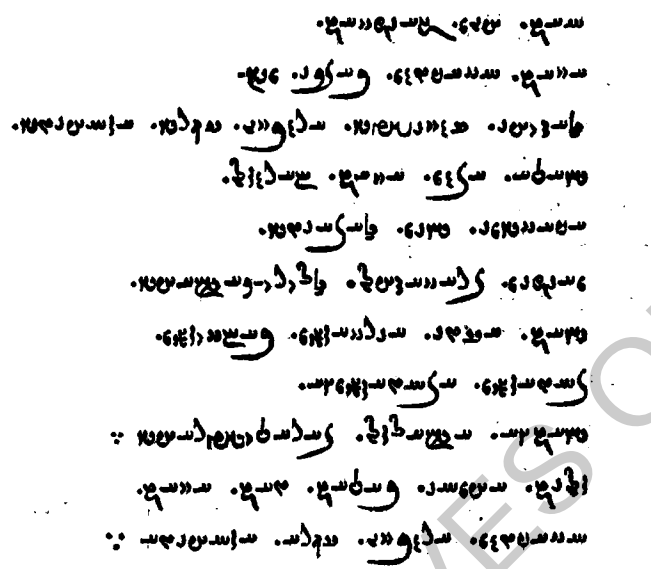
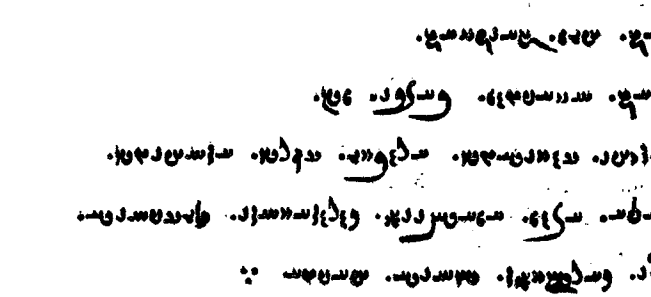


"He begged of her a boon, saying : 'Grant me this, O good., most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that I may seize hold of that Glory, that is waving in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha and that belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and to those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra.' Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon"(J. Darmest. S.B.E. Vol. Vol XXIII p. 64).

I believe accordingly that '*ahvaretem hvarenô*' is something much more general than kingly majesty : we may say it is the happiness or welfare of men in general, the fortune that resides among them, but which the single individual cannot obtain by his own force, in spite of all endeavours. When in another passage, *Azhi dahâka* (Yasht 5, 30), in his prayer to Ardvi Sûra Anâhita pronounces his ultimate aim to make the earth devoid of men, he wants to make the living men unfortunate by destroying '*ahvaretem hvarenô*, which, to be sure, can only be welcome to Angrô-mainyush. The words of *Azhi dahâka* are :



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" He begged of her a boon, saying : "Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men." (J. *Darmesteter*, l. c. p. 61).

It is curious, that in the Old Persian language of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achemenian kings, who glorify themselves for their kingdom obtained by the grace of God with all its splendor and power, there is not a particular substantive that corresponds entirely to the Avestic 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬯𐬀𐬦. Considering the scanty remains of the language transmitted to us by the inscriptions, this is not so very surprising. We may, notwithstanding, presume that there existed in Old Persian a word for the Avestic *hvarenô*. We can evince this from the proper name *Vindafarna*, which occurs Bh. 3, 14. 4, 18 (*Tolman*)[1] = §50, §.68 (*Weissbach*)[2] as that of a general of Darius and of one of his chief supporters. Old Persian 𐎫𐎢𐎴𐎭𐎼𐎶𐎢𐎴 *Vindafarnâ* (Thema *Vindafarnah-*) corresponds entirely to Avestic 𐬬𐬌𐬴𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬯𐬀𐬦 *Vindahvarena, i.e.* "he who obtains the glory or the splendor", in the Râm Yasht (XVIII, 45) : it is furthermore equivalent to Ἰνταφέρνης, Intaphernes of the Grecians and to 𒀀𒁀𒈬𒊑𒀀𒉿𒀀𒈬 *Mintaparna* of the Susian cuneiform inscriptions.[3] :It is doubtless therefore, that there was in Ancient Persian a word for *farnah*= Avestic 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬯𐬀𐬦

It is certainly one of the most ancient doctrines of Oriental rulers in general, and particularly of the Persian Kings, that their power and fortune are of divine origin. Herodotus relates (III, 65) that Kambyses, in his harangue to the dignitaries of his realm, exhorted them to pray to the Θεοὶ βασιλήιοι, the royal divinities, and the same writer tells us (V, 106), that Histiacus swears before Darius by these royal gods. When in later days, the successors of Alexander the Great aspired to render legitimate their usurped thrones by tracing back their own genealogical trees to that of the Achemenides, they established the Ancient Persian worship of the '*Tyche*' of the King, that became the hellenistic equivalent of the Iranian *hvarenô*, the personified divine majesty of the King. In this sense, we find the '*Tyche*' of the King in the contract of Smyrna and Magnesia (CIG. 3137, n.60), where the

1 Cf. H. C. *Tolman*, Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts. New York 1908.

2 F. H. *Weissbach*, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, Leipzig 1911.

3 The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia. A new Collation of the Persian, Susian, and Babylonian Texts, with English Translations, etc. With Illustrations. London 1907.

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cities swear by the customary gods and the Tyche of the King Seleukos (*Michel*, Recueil 19,61 = *Dittenberger*, Orient. Inscr. 229, 61)[1].

The Iranian *hvarenô*, which the Grecians render by ' Tyche', was identified by the Semites with their גד syr. *Gaddâ*,[2] which occurs in the Old Testament Genes. XXX, 11, where בגד by the Septuaginta is rightly rendered ἐν τύχῃ (Vulgata : *feliciter*). The cult of *Gad* is expressly attested in Isaia LXV, 11 :

אתם ..... הערכים לגד שלחן

i. e., you dress a table to Fortune. The Septuaginta here renders גד by τὸ δαιμόνιον, the Vulgata by '*Fortuna*'. Furthermore, '*Gad*' appears in a series of Semitic compound names of places and persons, f. c. גדיאל Num. XIII, 10, my fortune is God, בעלגד, God is the Lord on a Phenician inscription (Bloch. 22). *Martin*, ZDMG, 29, 138 mentions a *Beïth-Gadé*, which *Nöldeke* (ibid. p. 441) explains by Τυχειον, temple of the Tyche; furthermore, we find Ios. XV, 37 : מגדלגד. In the bilinguous inscription of Palmyra Τύχη θαμεῖος = Gad Taïmi is to be translated with *Nöldeke* by "*Tyche* of *Thaimi*" (ZDMG. 29, p. 100).

According to *Cumont*, the cult of *Gad* probably developed only parallelly to that of the Grecian *Tyche* in the Seleucidian empire under the influence of astrology. The equalization *Gad=Tyche* is therefore confirmed by the inscriptions. Of particular importance was the Fortune of the king inasmuch as it brings prosperity or harm to the people. The Old Persian conception of the *hvarenô* is here blended with the Aramean idea of the divine destinies of the monarch (see *Hoffmann* ZDMG. 32, p. 747 ; *Cumont*, Mon. Mystères, Mithra I, 285). As it was the custom to swear by the *Tyche* of Seleukos, so in the Sassanian countries by the *Gad* of the king of kings (Cf. *Assemani* Acta martyr. orient. I, 217, 220, where the Syriac, '*partaw*' is rendered by 'gaddâ dh malkâ' or by the *Gad* of Shapur (ibid 186, 192),

Yet the belief in the *Gad*=Tyche of powerful men and crowned heads which we find already with the *Diadochi* did not remain confined to the Orient. The

1 Cf. *Jaeger*, Hermes 48, p. 445.

2 On ' *Gad* ' cf. *Cumont* in *Pauly's* Real-Encyclopaedie d. Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung VII, 433—35 ; Encyclopædia Britannica Vol. X, 4 ; Realencyklopædie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Vol. VI : Gad und Tyche, p. 333—36 ; *Mordtmann*, ZDMG. 31, p. 99—101; 39, p. 44—46.

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time of Augustus was favorable for its development in Rome. In the Syriac Acta Mamantis (Excerpt. Annal. Bollandiana IX, 15, 10) 'the Fortuna of Cesar' is translated by '*Gadeh de Qésar*', and the Talmud of Jerusalem (Aboda Zara I, 4, 39^b) speaks of the *Gad* of *Herculius*, meaning the emperor *Maximinian*, who had this surname in the same way as *Diocletian*, who called himself *Jovius*, because he worshipped *Juppiter* as his patron. Maximinian's patron was *Hercules*. (Isid. Lévy, Cultes Syrians in the Revue des études juives 43, 196). The Cæsars had always, as *Jaeger* remarks l. c., an image of the *Fortuna Regia* (= Τύχη βασιλέως) in their cubiculum, and left it to their successors as a symbol of domination. So f. ex. Antoninus Pius, when he felt his death approaching, sent his *Fortuna* to Marcus Aurelius.

The empire of the Achemenides has long since been destroyed, and only the ruins of Persepolis bear witness to the splendor of that kingdom by divine grace, whose origin is to be sought in Iran. But, as the proud title of the Achemenides in their inscriptions, where every one of them calls himself *Khshâyathiya Khshâyathiyânâm* King of Kings, has survived in the title, شاهنشاه *Shâhinshâh*, of the possessor of the Persian throne, so, the splendor of the kingdom by divine grace has continued until to-day in its ancient form, but with a new capacity. For the title 'by divine grace' was adopted gradually by all Christian sovereigns and is used to-day for the designation of a monarchic authority that is conceived as independent of every earthly power. But also Fortuna, whom Horace in the above quoted poem regards as the supreme deity that gives crowns and takes them away, is worshipped more than ever now-a-days, although experience shows continually, that Fortuna bestows her gifts with arbitrariness and caprice.

Jena, October 26, 1913.

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THE GRAVE OF KING DARIUS AT NAKSH-I-RUSTAM

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About five miles north of Persepolis are the burial vaults of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The necropolis rock is an irregular cliff extending from west to east about 500 ft. long and varying from 800 feet to 200 feet in height at its western end. Ctesias calls it the "Double Mountain" (διττὸν ὄρος, fr. 46) owing to its jagged outline and the abrupt turn southward at its eastern extremity.

Of the four similar tombs only that of Darius (the second from the east) is identified by inscriptions. If the next grave to the left be that of his successor Xerxes, then the one to its left is that of Artaxerxes I, and that of Darius II is in the bend of the cliff. If, however, we assign the latter to Xerxes (which is quite possible), the two to the west of the Darius grave would be those of Artaxerxes, and Darius II, respectively. We cannot do more, of course, than conjecture, but it seems likely that the first supposition is correct, as it is natural to infer that the line of tombs on the south side of the rock was completed anterior to that in the jutting angle of the cliff.

The great niche is carved in the form of a Greek cross, the upright limb being 72 ft. long and 35½ ft. wide, the transverse 59½ ft. long. The lowest section is finished, but not ornamented. The sculpture, therefore, begins with the transverse limb and consists of four semi-detached columns supporting the entablature. Here, we see, doubtless, the representation of the façade of the royal palace. The base is a simple plinth with high torus and astragal instead of the elaborate bell-shaped socle which we see at Persepolis. The shaft is smooth and slender, because flutings, seen at such a height from the ground,

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would tend to make the columns appear smaller. The simple form of bull-capitals without the coved cylinder and double volutes of the richest type is employed as in the side hall of the *apadâna* of Xerxes. On these rest the beams which support the architrave. This consists of three superimposed outer planks above which is the denticulated frieze surmounted by a smooth *thrinkos*.

The entrance is between the two center columns, the three upper compartments of the bay being of solid rock, while the fourth or lowest, now missing, was a block which revolved on a pivot. The door is ornamented with the familiar coved Egyptian cornice but the frame differs from those at Persepolis in having three listels. Between the columns to the left of the door is the ancient Persian text of the great lower inscription (NR. b) 66 lines. To the right of the door the corresponding Elamite version 43 lines, and to the right of this the Babylonian 40 lines.

This inscription is much mutilated, although Jackson seems to go too far when he pronounces it as ' almost illegible ' (Persia, 298, n. 1). A new examination of the rock would doubtless yield valuable results. Professor Weissbach from copies recently come into his possession has been able to read several isolated words and phrases, certainly of great grammatical interest, even if they do not contribute much to historical study. Here we recover the abl. instr. dual, m. in *ušibi[y]â*, 'with two ears' l. 37 and in *dastaibîyâ u[tâ] pâdaibiyâ* ' with both hands and feet' l. 41. Strabo quoting from Onesicritus gives the following inscription on the tomb of Darius ; 'I was a friend to my friends, I was the first of horsemen and bowmen, I excelled as a huntsman, I could do all things.' So in l. 9 we read *daušta amiy* . . ' I am a friend . .' , and l. 42 *uvâsabara* ' good horseman' ? *amiy* ' I am' *[ea]nuba[š]-iya* ' bowman '? Weissbach compares with the somewhat similar phrase of the Strabo epitaph, (Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, 92-51). I have previously compared a mutilated sentence, *vainâm[i]y utâ ušibi[y]â utâ framânâyâ* l. 37, ' I see with two ears (i.e. with the capacity to perceive) and (with understanding) of the divine precept ' with the Avesta phraseology, *dâyå me—urune uši*, ' grant to my soul ears' (i. e. capacity to understand divine wisdom), as having an important bearing on the religion of the Achaemenidan Kings and tending to show the Zoroastrian faith of Darius, (Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, V., and American Journal of Philology, 31, 80).

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The uppermost section of the cross is most rich in sculpture. The two rows of fourteen figures each bear the throne (*gâθu*). They represent the tributary nations of the empire. To the left and right of the lower row stands a subject supporting the legs of the dais from the outside. These massive legs are carved like those in the throne relief and are surmounted by the heads of monsters. Volutes arranged two and two vertically adorn the transverse beam. Darius says in the great upper inscription : ' If thou shalt think, something limited in number are these countries which Darius the king held, look at the pictures (of those) who are bearing my throne, thus thou shalt know them ; then it will be known to thee that the spear of a Persian man hath gone forth afar ; then it will be known to thee that a Persian man fought his foe far from Persia.' The countries the king himself enumerates : Media, Susiana, Parthia Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandâra, India, the Amyrgian Scythians, the pointed-capped Scythians, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, Ionia, the Scythians beyond the sea, Skudra, the shield-wearing Ionians, the Puntians, Kushians, Maxyes, Karkians, (Tolman, Lexicon and Texts, 45). This important list gives the subject nations of the empire at the close of Darius' reign and represents the total achievements of the king of kings. We note the additions when we compare it with that of the Behistan inscription and the record on the south retaining wall of the terrace at Persepolis.

Let us see how far we can recognize the various national types in the sculptures themselves. Each figure had a tri-lingual superscription designating his nationality, as was conjectured by Oppert in 1859 (Expédition en Mésopotamie, 2,192), and Dieulafoy, 1885, speaks of seven which were noted by his fellow-workers F. Houssay and Ch. Babin (Comptes rendus de l' Acad. des Inscriptions, IV, 13, 231).

These latter have been read by Weissbach from the copies, (Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius, 1911. 30-32 ; Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, IV.) There is little doubt that this throne motive had its origin in the Egyptian conception of placing the subject provinces between the legs of the throne, thus symbolizing imperial dominion. On the grave relief the figures show the head in profile, the arms and breast in front view, while the lower

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body combines the two, the feet being in profile. The national types (reading from left to right) are as follows: *Persia*: long flowing robe, girded at hip, upper part smooth, lower falling in cross folds in front, and, vertical folds on the sides; the fluted high tiara; inscription, 'this is a Persian,' *iyam Pârsa*. *Media*: close fitting coat and trousers; round cap; inscription, 'this is [a Median]; *iyam* [*Mâda*]. *Susiana*: Persian dress; inscription, 'this is a Susian,' *iyam Uvaja*. *Parthia*: Median dress; inscription, 'this is a Parthian,' *iyam Parθava*. *Aria*: a dress which we may designate Arachosian consisting of a close fitting coat like the Median but with knee trousers and high boots. *Bactria*: Median dress. *Sogdiana*: Scythian dress with long trousers and trimmed coat; the bashlyk covering ears and cheeks. *Chorasmia*: similar Scythian dress. *Drangiana*: Arachosian dress. *Arachosia*: the Arachosian dress described above. *Sattagydia*: hip apron reaching to the knee. *Gandâra*: the hip apron. *India*: the hip apron and Hindu turban as seen in the Açoka reliefs. *Sakâ Haumavargâ*: Scythian dress. *Sakâ Tigrakhaudâ*: Scythian dress; high pointed-bashlyk; inscription, 'this is the pointed-capped Scythians,' *iyam Sakâ tigraxa*[*udâ*]; *Babylon*: under garment with shawl-like outer garment; pointed hat with tassel; inscription, '[this is] a Babylonian,' [*iyam Bâ*]*biruš*. *Assyria*: short tight-fitting coat reaching to the knees with girdle at the waist; cloth turban; inscription, 'this is an Assyrian,' *iyam Aθuriya*. *Arabia*: Assyrian dress. *Egypt*: beardless; long smooth shirt reaching to ankles. *Armenia*: Median coat and trousers. *Cappadocia*; Median coat and trousers. *Sparda* (Lydians?): loose chiton reaching to the knees. *Ionians*; loose, sleeveless chiton reaching to the knees; *petasos* or hat. *Scythians beyond the sea* (*Sakâ tyaiy taradraya*): Scythian dress. *Skudra* (Thracians?): Scythian dress and bashlyk, elsewhere the *petasos*. *Ionians* (*Yaunâ takabarâ*, Macedonians?): chiton and *petasos*. *Pantians*: Egyptian dress; on back an outer garment with border of leopard's skin. *Kushians*: negro physiognomy; long outer garment. *Maxyes* (supporting leg of dais on left from without): bearded, hip apron, reaching to the knee; inscription, 'this is the Maxyes', *iyam Maciyâ*. *Karkâ* (Carthagenians?) supporting leg of dais on right from without: bearded; doublet reaching to the knees. For a detailed description of these nationalities and costumes see Sarre und Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs, 14—56; Nachtrag, 251-7.

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Above the dais is a pedestal of three steps. Here stands the king in Persian dress, his beard frizzled, the kidaris on his head. His left hand holds the bow ; his right is raised in adoration. In front on three steps is an altar with a cone of fire. Above in the centre is the symbol of Ahura Mazda with tiara and hair like the dress of the king. Horizontal wings of light support the divine presence. The right hand of the god is raised in blessing ; the left holds the ring of empire. A halo encircles his waist from which descends to form the lower body a succession of plumes of flame and of forked lightning. This token of the supreme god was borrowed through the Assur symbol from the winged sun disk of the Egyptians. In the right hand corner above the altar floats the crescent moon. Behind the figure of the king is the Persian text of the great upper inscription, *60* lines (NR a), in which Darius declares that he is a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan lineage, concluding with the admonition; 'O man, what is the precept of Ahura Mazda, may it not seem to thee repugnant ; do not leave the true path ; do not sin, (Tolman. Ancient Persian Lexicon & Texts, 44—50). To the left of the Persian is the Elamite version, 48 lines, and the Babylonian on the left projecting side wall.

It is interesting to note that the Babylonian paraphrase [*matu Ya*]-*ma-nu sa-nu tú ša ma-gi-na-ta ina ḳaḳḳadi-su-nu na-šu-u* 'other Ionians who wear (or bear) the shield on their heads' seems to explain the *Yaunâ takabarâ* whom Andreas regards as the Macedonians (Verhandlungen des 13 Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses, pp 96ff. 1904). But we see from the description of the relief just given that there is no distinction in the wearing of the shield-like hat or *petasos* on the part of the *Yauna*, the *Skudra*, and the *Yaunâ takabarâ*. Again, the regular ancient Persian word for shield, I believe, would be * *spara* as seen in the New Persian *sipara* and the Hesych phrase σπαραβάραι· ὁι γερ(ρ)όφοροι. It would be this wicker shield and not the notched shield carried by the guards as seen on the sculptures of Persepolis (*e. g.*, the Audience Relief, Hall of 100 Columns) which would resemble the Macedonian *petasos*. We should expect * *sparabarâ* as the epithet implying the figurative meaning suggested. For *taka* I propose a derivation from I. E. *teñk*>Skt. *tañk* 'draw together', Lit. *tánkus* ' thick (cf. Middle Pers *tah*, Turfan MSS *tahmîhâ*, New Pers. *tahm*). In this case the word would signify 'shelter-bearing.'

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I take occasion also in referring to this upper inscription to mention the form *aba[ra]ha*^{n} l. 19. It undoubtedly furnishes another example of the preterite with the ending of the sigmatic aorist (cf. *adurujiyaša*^{n}) in place of the regularly occurring *abara*^{n}.

In lines of three each on the left and right stand personages who are evidently assisting in the divine ceremony. The leaders are on the casing or borders of the panel, thus forming a vertical row of three on either side. The others are in the returning angles or the face of the edge connecting the polished with the rough rock. The figures on the left (except the leader of the second line) carry the lance at rest in both hands and are in Persian dress. The leader of the first line on the left is Gobryas as we learn from the trilingual inscription above his head (N R c.); 'Gobryas, a Patischorian, spear-bearer of Darius the king'. Strabo speaks of the Patischorian as a Persian tribe and in the Behistan inscription (IV. 84) Darius enumerates Gobryas (Gaubruva) among his allies who overthrew the false Smerdis calling him the son of Mardonius, a Persian. The leader of the second line we again know from the inscription (NR d.) to be Aspathines (Aspacanâ, *aspa* 'horse,' *canah* 'desire'). He wears the Median dress and carries the bow in its sheath. In his right hand he bears what is interpreted by some to be a battle axe.

The interior of the tomb consists of a chamber from which extends in the rear a recess containing three *loculi* hollowed out of the rock of the floor. A left extension of the chamber contains six others. Thus we see six vaults on the left, three in the rear, and none on the right.

The royal tomb which seems raised above earth on the steep mountain side and associated with the splendor of the monarch's life must have impressed his subjects with awe. Set out as it was against the rugged back ground, it formed a magnificent mausoleum worthy of him who styled himself, not without authority, the king of kings.

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STRABO AND THE AMESHASPANDS.

BY

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During the delivery of Dr. J. H. Moulton's Hibbert Lectures on Early Zoroastrianism in the spring of 1912 some interest was aroused by Dr. Moulton's reference to the statements of Strabo which appear to refer to the Ameshaspands. An anonymous writer in the Athenæum apparently wished to revive Dr. Darmesteter's view that the Ameshaspands are derived from Philo of Alexandria. The theory has never been accepted by other scholars, and it is unnecessary to do more than refer to its refutation by Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., in his essay The Antiquity of the Avesta (Journ. R. A. S., Bombay Branch XIX, pp. 263 ff, and Asiatic Papers, pp. 111-136).

As the work of scholars on the text of Strabo has been done quite independently of any help which might be obtained from Persian sources, it may be worth while to state exactly what the evidence of Strabo is, and to what extent we may draw inference from it.

Strabo was a native of Asia Minor. The dates of his life are uncertain, but he is supposed to have died about A.D. 24. He received a good Greek education under famous scholars. The only work of his which has come down to us is his Geography in 17 books, which is complete except for the seventh book. His interests were not purely geographical. He adds information on customs, political events, and eminent men of the countries which he describes. He travelled widely, and his information is the more trustworthy because he generally distinguishes what he actually saw from what he gives on the authority of other writers.

The first passage in question is in Book XV, 3, 15, where the name Omanos occurs: "And in Cappadocia (for the tribe of the Magi, who are also called fire-priests, is numerous, and the temples of the Persian gods are also numerous) they do not even sacrifice with a sword, but with a kind of club, striking as if with a pestle. There are also fire-temples, a remarkable kind of

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enclosure. In the midst of them is an altar, on which there is much ashes, and the Magi preserve a perpetual fire. They enter daily, and chant for about an hour, having round their heads felt tiaras, with the cheek-pieces coming down on both sides so far as to hide the lips. The same is the custom in the temples of Anaitis and Omanos. These have enclosures also, and an image of Omanos is carried in procession. Now these things we have seen ourselves, but the former matters are read of in histories."

The "former matters" referred to by Strabo are in the sections preceding the above passage. We may accept his statement as to what he saw, but we cannot be equally certain that he interpreted what he saw correctly. The names of both divinities occur in Book XI 8, 4 and 5, where he gives two accounts of the origin of a religious festival called the Sakaia. The Scythian Sakæ, he tells us, attacked the Cappodocians in Pontus south of the Black Sea, and defeated them. He proceeds: "The Persian generals, who were there in that place, attacked the Sakæ as they were making a festival of the spoils, and by night utterly destroyed them. And filling a certain rock in the plain with earth they set up a rampart in the shape of a mound, and founded the temple of Anaitis and of the gods[1] with a common altar Omanos and Anadatos, Persian divinities, and established a sacred yearly festival, called Sakaia, which the inhabitants of Zela still celebrate. For such is the name of the place. It is a town for the most part of temple servants."

Strabo however gives this only as the account of some authorities. He goes on to give another which attributes the origin of the festival to a victory of Darius over the Sakæ. "And Darius thinking that the success was due to a divine cause, dedicated that day to the ancestral goddess, and called it Sakaia. And wherever there is a temple of this goddess there also the festival of the Sakaia is kept, a kind of bacchic feast by day and night, of people equipped in the Scythian fashion, drinking and brawling with one another, and with their wives drinking with them."

In Book XII. 3, 37 Strabo says that the temple of Anaitis at Zela was also honoured by the Armenians, and that the people of Pontus all went there to take oaths in matters of the first importance.

1 This is slightly obscure, but probably means that a second temple was erected to Omanos and Anadatos.

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The question may be noticed in passing as to how far the description of Strabo has any connexion with the Zoroastrian religion. This must be dealt with in an exhaustive discussion of the subject; the present inquiry is limited to determining what we can conclude on philological grounds from the names Omanos and Anadatos.

The first name has been identified with that of the Ameshaspand Vohumano. Philologically this is quite possible. The Greeks early lost the sound v from their language, so that the letter itself was dropped from the alphabet, except as a numeral. At a later period, certainly before the time of Strabo, they lost h. It would thus be natural for Greeks to represent Vohu-by a long O; in the same way as they represented Ahu—by O—in Ahuramazda (Oromazdes); so that we may admit that if Strabo wished to represent the name Vohumano in Greek, the natural spelling would be Omanos. This however does not settle the matter. The attempt has naturally been made to identify Anadatos with another of the Ameshaspands, but there is no name exactly corresponding. Another spelling of the name in some editions is Anandatos. One of these forms at least must be a corruption, and the more corrupt form is no doubt Anadatos, the reason being that Anadatos to a Greek would look like a Greek word meaning 'given forth, or shared.' It would be much more likely for a Greek scribe to convert Anandatos, which was unintelligible to him, into Anadatos, which appeared to be a Greek word, than for him to convert an apparently Greek word into something quite unknown. The name usually identified with Anandatos is Ameredat. But if we do so, we take leave of any philological rules. We cannot on any theory of Greek writing assert that Ameredat became changed into Anandatos The corruption is so great that it may go back to Strabo himself, or to some error in his authorities. The case being so doubtful with this name, it may be equally so in the case of Omanos.

Dr. Moulton (Hibbert Lectures, p. 101) says, "It is generally assumed that Omanos is Vohumanah, while Anadatou[1] is supposed to be a false reading for Amardatou and so to represent Ameretât. There are too many assumptions here

1 Dr. Moulton here gives the Greek name in the genitive case, as it occurs in Strabo. We do not know whether the nominative ending in Greek was—os or—es.

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to make me feel at all easy. Good Thought and Immortality might be selected as the first and last of the Amshaspands, according to the usual later order. But there is nothing beyond the name Omanos to suggest Amshaspands at all."

The names then cannot be reconstructed from the Greek. The restoration can only be done, if at all, from a knowledge of the Zoroastrian sources.

These results appear negative, but they may serve to clear the ground by showing that the evidence of Strabo cannot be used against anything that we may learn from other sources of information. They may also serve to show that Strabo is probably not dealing with pure Zoroastrianism. He is describing customs among peoples not of Persian origin, who probably retained customs of their own, even though they may have adopted the Persian religion.

The most profitable direction which further investigation may take has been shown by Mr. J. J. Modi, B.A., (Athenæum Aug, 3, 1912). He points out that the two Ameshaspands always mentioned together are Haurvatât and Ameretât, whom he identifies with Anadatos and Omanos respectively. He also suggests that the image which Strabo saw was probably an agricultural symbol at an agricultural festival. This is quite a justifiable interpretation of Strabo's words, because when Strabo speaks of an image, it would only imply that he saw something which he interpreted according to his own religious views.

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YASNA XXVIII AS AVESTA AND AS VEDA.

By

PROFESSOR MILLS.

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1. (*a*) ahyâ yâsâ nemaṅhâ[1] ustâna-zastô raf(e)dhrahyâ.
(*b*) mainyēush (= -yosh)[2] mazdâ p(a)ourvîm (= viyem)[3] speñtahyâ ashâ[4] vîspēñg (= -pânsh (-?)) ṣyaothnâ.
(*c*) vaṅhēush(= -osh) khratûm[5] manaṅhô yâ khshnəvîshâ gēush-cha (=goshcha) urvânem (ruvânem).

1. 'In prayer-praise.' The simplest transliteration has been here adopted. 2. The-*ēush of mainyēush*, is beyond question a mere *a+u* intended to express the *a+u* of *-o* : so that *mainyēush* = *—yosh*. So also of the *-ēush* of *vaṅhēush*, it equals *-osh*. 3. The '*o*' of *p(a)ourv-* is caused by epenthetic anticipation of an '*a*' and the '*î*' is mere false transliteration of the ancient Av.—Pahl. for '*y*' with its inherent vowel. The '*a*' of *p(a)ou* is débris left from a redundant expression of *a + u* = (*a*) *u* :—the '*o*' itself would have sufficed to express '*a*' with the '*ū*' in epenthesis, but it is better to leave these bits of débris so that they can be distinctly recognised as being what they are; *p(a) ourviyem* must be adjectively or nominally, and not adverbially (used, as it stands between related genitives : *yânem* is understood from *yânâish* in 9 ; from this the *yîm* = *yânyam*) of the introductory paragraph. *Vîspēñg* is merely a graphic dialectically distorted form of *vispânsh* or possibly (?) *vispâni*. 4. *A(r)sâ* is, as I hold, more correct;—but it is unsightly ; I here use *Ashâ* as the word. *Ashâ* is naturally instrumental here, and not voc ; *ṣyaothna*, refers to the entire action of the Holy Community in the cause ;—and not so pointedly to the author of the piece, as I formerly explained. *Ashâ* is automatically instrumentally adverbial when connected with forms meaning 'thought' 'word' or 'deed.' A voc. is extremely, out of place. *Ashâ vîspēñg ṣyaothnâ*, might be a kind of compositum. 5. Khratûm = 'understanding' rather than 'will

Transl. With venerating[1] desire for this (gift of) gracious help, O Mazda, and stretching forth (my) hands (to Thee), I—pray for the first (blessing of (Thy) Bountiful[2] spirit ; (—that is), I beseech (of Thee) that all[3] actions (of worth, or ritual, of State or individual (toward us, or by us) may be done) in accordance with Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy Law); and for this I implore (of Thee) the Understanding of Vohumanah, Thy Good Mind in our Toilers, in order that I may propitiate Gēush Ruvan, the Herd's Soul (which cries so bitterly to Thee).[4]

1. "Bowing in praise", Ved. *namasâ*, gives an added idea to the mere words "in prayer for." 2. Others, "Holy Spirit", to which I do not object. 3. Or "actions towards all". Possibly a neuter—*vis'vîni* ; generalising the idea. 4. See Y. XXIX. It represented the entire polity and cause. He practically asks for the actions of Asha and the wisdom of Vohumanah.

AS VEDA[1].

1. (*a*) Asya yâsâ[2] namasâ (-o-) uttânahastaḥ (-o-) rabhasaḥ (-sa-)[3] ûti-dasya
(*b*) Manyoḥ(-or), (haye[4]) (su-)medhaḥ (-o') (mahâdhâḥ), pûrvyam s'vântasya (-ar-) rtena vis'vân, (prati , vis'vâni-vâ?) chyautnâni
(*c*) Vasoḥ kratuṃ manasaḥ (-o) yena kshṇavishâ (-âni)[5] goḥ(-s'-)cha (-â-) âtmânam[6].

1. The accentuation is here omitted, but elsewhere purposely left redundant and otherwise irregular;—see especially the vocatives and the verbs; that other transcription was intended to suggest an analogous accent upon each Avesta word. This piece Y. XXVIII appeared in another form in the Festgruss to the late Professor R. von Roth, pages 193. 4, 1893. Max Muller's more popular transliteration is here adopted. 2. I preferred *yachchhâmi* (*sic*) in the Festgruss ; see page 193, but *yâsâ* as 1st sg. sa-aor. conj of *yâ* will do.—and looks more like the Av. *yâsâ*. 3. Other writers might prefer some other form from the same root; *cf.* Vedic *rabhaḥ* (*-s-*) in a 'good' sense; recall approximate *rabhîṣ-* (Wh.) and *rabhdi*. 4. '*Haye*' is merely inserted to mark the vocative. 5. Recall *duvishâni* (?) for form only, to *du* (= *liv-*). 6. I have elsewhere added *ravaṇa-s'rut-* to recall *ru, rauti* as the root, related to *ruvînem*, -a 'humming' in the ears' giving the idea of 'the soul'. The 'understanding' '*khratûm* expresses the essential element of the Good Mind, 'the skill of the good-minded citizen,' the agriculturist, through which he might satisfy the 'Soul of the Herds' which cries aloud in XIXX. for 'good tillage' and good fodder. So that, with proper restorations, the identities with Vedic become manifest. We have chiefly only dialectic '*s*' for vedic '*h*', '*h*' for Vedic '*s*', '*p*' for the related '*v*';-see '*h*' in the two genitives; -recall Spanish '*Ximenes*' pronounced '*Himeneth*,' '*Juan*' pronounced *Huan*, etc.

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(*a*) yē[1] vā̊ mazdâ ahurâ pairi-jasâi vohû manaṅhâ[2]
(*b*) maibyô dâvôi[3] ahvā̊ astvatas-châ hyaṭ-châ manaṅhô[4]
(*c*) âyaptâ ashâṭ hachâ yâish rapeñtô daidîṭ[5] hvâthrē̊.[6]

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1 This expression 'I who' is very characteristic in this chapter. It occurs sporadically elsewhere, which is also important.

2 *Vohû m.* is of course instrumental, expressing the spirit of his approach to Ahura. A voc. is singularly out of place ; -see also the form. He approaches "with a good state of mind", and not "in company with an Archangel",-and so throughout ;-though he may be *'inspired'* by the Archangel of "Good Will". These are the crucial questions : How far shall we personify ? ; and in personifying should we ever omit to express the interior idea ? Here let me once for all object to 'discontinuity,' *sic, i. e.* to all non-consecutiveness as unscientific ; *Asha, Vohu Manah,* cannot be absolutely meaningless, even as proper names, in one line and mean 'Right', 'Benevolence', etc., in the next. In the later Avesta the interior sense is often lost. To write *Asha, Vohu Manah* would be an unwarrantable affectation and wholly uncritical. The Authors never intended to use foreign expressions. This has never been thoroughly thought out. Asha, V. M. etc. are foreign expressions to us. We should write ' the Good Mind,' 'sovereign Power,' etc.

3 Infin. for imperv.

4 Notice the religiously-philosophical depth,-seldom or never so expressed before at such a date.

5 Is not *daidîṭ* really *daidyât* ? -I as Av.—Pahl.=** *y*(?) with inherent short vowel, so carelessly for long â (?).

6 *Hvâthrē̊* to *hvan.*-

Transl. And therefore, O Ahura Mazda, Life-Spirit-Lord, the wise one (Great-Creator),[1] (inspired) by Vohumanah (Archangel of Thy Good Mind), I approach You, and beseech of You to grant me those attainments-of-reward (which appertain) to both the worlds, to that of the body, and to that of the mind,-and which are to be derived from Asha (Archangel of Just Law inspiring righteous deeds), by means-of-which he (that personified Justice) may introduce (those) who are their-recipients into welfare-and-beatitude.

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1 To 'the Wise one', so with others,—I object only to its more abstract tone as being less probable.

AS VEDA.

2. (*a*) (Aham) yaḥ (-o), vaḥ(-o) (haye) su-medhaḥ (-o) (mahâdhâḥ (-â)) asura, pari-gachchhai vasunâ manasâ ;
(*b*) Mahyaṃ dâvane [sta, kila datta(-â-))] asvoḥ (-r), asthanvataḥ (-ś-) cha (śariravataḥ (-ś-) cha yat (-ch)-cha manasaḥ
(*c*) (Phalâni (-y) âptâni (-y) ṛtât (ṛte) śachâ (ṛtena saha), yâiḥ (-?) rabhataḥ (-to asma-vratâni (-y-) upagrahâṅ) dadhyât suar (svar, svarvati svargasukhe sânandân).

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3. (*a*) yē vā̊ ashâ ufyânî[1] manas-cha vohû ap(a)ourvîm (-viyem)[2]
(*b*) mazdām-châ[3] ahurem y(a)ēibyô khshathrem-châ[4] aghzhaonvamnem
(*c*) var(e)daitî âr(a)maitish ; â môi(mē) raf(e)dhrâi zavēng (= -vânsh) jasatâ.[6]

1 Exactly the Vedic expression 'weave' a surpassing chant to you. Cf.....*uvuḥ (-r) arkam Indrâya.*
2 Indra was *apûrvya*— as='most excellent'; here the term is applied to the chant, or else adverbially.
3 I fear that the 'Wise One' sounds rather too abstract, yet my objection is not strong; I prefer *Mahâdhîḥ*='the Great Creator', though '*mazdām*', fem. occurs as='wisdom' elsewhere.
4 Notice the extreme difficulty in rendering the abstract noun *khshathrem* here as the personfied Archangel;—none seem to attempt it;—yet if it is absolutely sure that *khshathra* is being here used in its interior meaning as the 'kingdom', how is it possible that the composer uses Gâthic *Asha, vohu manah*, etc., in any other than this same interior sense even when used as proper names. Âr(a)*maiti* can also not here mean 'the earth', —so seldom, if ever, in the Gâtha. 'Zeal' in the 'Saintly agriculture' is the sense. The 'active energy of mind'; *ara-* to '*ar*' (=to plough) as in *aratrum.*
5 See *kshoṇi*, for *akshoṇyamânam* (?); recall (non-) 'fluens respublica.'
6 Some might prefer *jasatâ* (*sic*) as the 3d. sg. imperf. med. conj. used:—'let Aramaiti come'.

Transl. O Asha[1] (Archangel of the Holy Law), and Thou, Vohumanah, (of the Good Mind), I will weave (my hymn) to You, (b, c) (and) to Ahura Mazda in a manner unsurpassed, for all of whom Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal) is causing the imperishable Kingdom to-advance;—(and while I thus utter my supplications to you), come ye (here) to my calls to aid:—

1 Wherever "*Asha*" is here used by me without adding "Archangel of the Law of Truth and Ritual", or the like, let it be understood that I regard the reader as already fully apprised that the word is never written by me without its interior sense being borne in mind, and this even when it expresses a proper name. In fact I apologise for the use of *Asha*, as a foreign word. The Author would not have used the English (foreign) words 'Law of Truth' etc., not even the Sanskrit *ṛta, vasu manaḥ*.—As well might I use *Asha* in my Sanskrit translation, expecting to be understood by a person not previously apprised. (I make an exception here.)

AS VEDA.

3. (*a*) (Ahaṃ yaḥ(-o) vaḥ (vo), (haye) ṛta, (arkaṃ (ṛcham)) vayâni,[1] manaḥ (-ś)-cha vasu -(o'pûr-) apûrvyaṃ,[2]
(*b*) (Su-) medhasaṃ[3] (-ase) (mahâdhâm—(-dhe -' sur-)) asuram (-âya) yebhyaḥ kshatraṃ (-ñ-)-cha[4] (-â) *akshoṇyamânam,[5] ((?) iti, kila (-â-) akshîyamâṇaṃ)
(*c*) Vardhati (-y) aramatiḥ (-r);—â me rabhase (-a) (ûti-dâya, upakârâya, tasya hetoḥ (-r mana) havân̊ (â)gachchhata.

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4. (*a*) yē urvânem (ruvânem) mēñ[1] gairę̄ (gairîm) vohû dadę̄ hathrâ manaṅhâ

(*b*) ashîsh-châ sy(a)othnanãm vidush[2] mazdã̄ ahurahyâ

(*c*) yavaṭ isâi tavâ[3]-châ avaṭ khsâi (-a-)ēshę̄[4] ashahyâ.

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1 It is now more the fashion to connect *mēñ*=*mēñg* as equalling *man-*,*manaḥ* with *dadhę̄* ; 'I turn the attention of my soul to 'awaking' (or 'to praising'). Hardly *mēñg*=*mēnd* gen or as=*mãm* acc. More might be said for *mēñg* as ideogram for *mân-*, or *mdna-* as in a *mânô-gairi*=='Abode of Song', 'Heaven'. Or the variant *gairîm* might be preferable *mēñg-)gairîm*, the '(Heavenly) Mount Abode', though the concept 'Mount *Alborj*' seems to be later. See *mâṇ̄-garô* at 45,8, 50, 4; but *garô* (*d*) *mânę̄* at 51, 15.

2 Notice the close personal piety of the ideas.

3 Notice the more ancient Vedic 1st singulars in *-â* here, so, often, as against *-âni*, or *-âmi*.

4 Some prefer *â išē*='to wish *for asha*', but such an infin., hardly goes so well with a genitive like *bhuje*, ; -see, however, the throng of Vedic dative infinitives in '*e*'; yet see again *(a)ēsham* in this 28,7,9 and in 30 *(a)ēshę̄* is better as the loc. (adverbially) 'in prayer for Asha'. He does not pray to 'learn' how to 'wish for Asha', but already having that wish and knowing the rewards he expresses his determination 'to teach' or 'to learn (further in order 'to teach' in the wish for Asha).

Transl. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications), I who am directing my soul's attention to an awakening [1] (?), knowing full-well (as I do), the rewards of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by[2] Ahura Mazda (and also the rewards bestowed by Him.) So long as I am able and may have the power (of place and time, of means and opportunity) so long will I (thus knowing) teach (or 'learn to teach)' Your people concerning those holy rewards to be gained by them) in the desire for Asha (the coming of the Archangel of Thy Law, to inspire them to those deeds, and so induce those blessings).

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1 Or, 'I who am delivering my soul to the (Heavenly) Home Mount,' so reading *gairîm*, "(whither all the redeemed must pass)," S.B.E. i.e. "I who deliver my soul to *Garodmân* (Heaven) (?) "; so the Pahl. trl. ; see above.

2 Not of course knowing the rewards "*through* Ahura" or "*by means of* Mazda." Ahura could seldom stand in an instrumental in such a sense.

AS VEDA.

4. (*a*) (Aham) yaḥ(-ya) âtmânam manaḥ (-no) (?) gire[1] (mâna-girim vâ) vasunâ dadhe satrâ manasâ

(*b*) Ṛtiḥ(-r)[2] [(?) iti, kila, phalâni puṇyâni] chyautnânâm (aham) vidvân (-nt-(?)) su-medhasaḥ (-so's-) asurasya

(*c*) Yâvat(-d) îśâi tavâ (-ni)[3] cha tâvat (-chchh-) śikshai (-â(?)) eshe(-a) ṛtasya.

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1 To *gṛ*='to awake ; consider also *gṛ*='to sing,' 'to utter praise'; also *giré*, and *giraye* ; cp. *giri-kshit*.—

2 *Ṛtiḥ*=*ashîsh*, but in Sanskrit it has not that meaning ; possibly 'adverse attack' may suggest vengeance, *ashi* also meaning the 'recompense of evil.'

Cp. for form only, *bravâni*: recall *tavîti*, etc.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

5. (*a*) ashâ kaṭ[1] thvâ dar(e`sânî, manas-cha vohû v(a)ēdemanô[2]

(*b*) gâtûm-châ[3] ahurâi[4] sevishtâi sr(a)oshem-châ[5] mazdâi

(*c*) anâ mathrâ mazishtem vâurôimaidî[6] (vavare-) khrafstrâ hizvâ.

1. *Kat*, like 'when' in English and other languages, is probably here the expression of earnest expectation;- '*when* shall I see thee ?' equals 'shall I, *indeed*, see thee ?'

2 Hardly emphatic as='I, as especially intelligent', 'fully recognsing'

3 *Gâtu*='way' in Ved.; yet seeit elsewhere in Avesta and upon Behistun (*gîthum*) as='throne', 'seat'

4 I return to my query whether *ahurâi* may not be really—*ahurâya*, *i* as Pahl.—Av. *y* with inherent 'a'; see the metre here; recall the iota subscript.

5 Some writers justly fear to accept the beautiful sense 'Obedience the way to Ahura'. The idea of 'obedience' must, however, be dominant even if we render 'to Ahura most bountiful to the obedient' 'the obedient saint', or 'the obedient throng'—See also Y. 33, 4-5, where *sr(a)oshem* follows an *asrushtim*,—approximately proving that 'obedience' not merely 'the obedient' was the idea present. See also the adj. 'greatest' there in 33, 5 as here in 28,5; see *asrushtôiš* also in 44, 13. See also Y. 45, 5, where *sr(a)oshem* must mean 'Obedience' and not 'the obedient,' and is so rendered by all; so *mazishtem* the 'greatest' here may well refer to the 'greatest' thing, 'obedience' see Y. 33, 5. Two accusatives, one of them understood,—the 'Heeding Ear (of God or Man').

6 *vavaremaidî* 'may we teach', or 'may we hold off'. Here we have a fine case to illustrate my contention, which is that we may often select very different views of the last point of the meaning while we accept the same identical literal words. We are not certain which sense of the word '*var*' to apply. We may have here an example of a superior incantation : 'with this manthra we may the most hold off the infidels as flesh-devourers, with tongue'; see S. B. E. XXXI.—or 'we may cause the polluted ones to believe on the greatest Sr(a)osha (or on 'Mazda')'.

Transl.—O Asha (Archangel of the Holy Law), shall I, indeed, see Thee, and Vohumanah (The Good Mind), I finding both the Throne (of command) and Sr(a)osha(God's Heeding Ear and man's, or the throng obedient) to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda:—with that Manthra-of Reason will we cause (even) the Khrafstra-polluted ones (the infidels) to choose[1] that greatest one (Sr(a)osha, God's Heeding Ear and man's).

1 Alternatives: "Will we cause the polluted ones to believe (so the Pahl.) on the greatest One ('Sraosha', or on 'Ahura')?" or again, most critically (perhaps of all, so in S. B. E. XXXI), "Will we the most hold off with tongue the infidels as Khrafstras (flesh-devouring fiends)?" The "conversion of the polluted" sounds rather advanced for the period :— better 'hold them off'.

AS VEDA,

5. (*a*) (Haye) ṛta, kat tvâṃ darśâni, manaḥ(-ś)-cha vasu ((-v) ahaṃ) vedaṃânaḥ (-o)

(*b*) Gâtuṃ (-ñ) cha ((-e-), iti kila, sadman (-ñ-) cha, râjâsanam, asurâya śavishṭhâya śraushṭiṃ (-ñ-) cha (su-)medhase;—

(*c*) Anena mantreṇa mahishṭhaṃ (-thâm vâ) *vavṛîmahi (?)(-e)[1] (vavṛmahe) kraviḥ-(-r)-aśiṭ̄ṅ (-r)[2] (iti, kila (-â-) apuṇyâṅ (-ñ-) jihvâ (-ayâ).

1 Recall for approximate form *vavṛtîmahi* : (-ṛ + î = -rî);—recall *vavṛmahe*.

2 *Or klp-(kalpa-)-(-a-)-aśiṭ̄ṅ;*—recall *kehrpem*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

6. (*a*) vohû gaidî[1] manaṅhâ dâidî[2] ashâ-dâ dar(e)gâyû[3] (-ô ?)
(*b*) ereshvâish tû ukhdhâish mazdâ zarathushtrâi (a)ojaṅhvaṭ raf(e)nô
(*c*) ahmaibyâ-châ ahurâ yâ d(ai)bishvatô dv(a)ẹ̄shâ[4] taurvayâmâ.

1 Notice that *Mazda* could be besought to 'come'; see elsewhere, and at Y. 23,3. *Vohû m.* is obviously adverbial instr. and not for the nom.

2 More original than *dehi.*

3 Or *dar(e)gayô* voc. sg. m. 'O thou eternal' (lit 'long-lived'). The Vedic expression 'long lived' refers to Indra in the sense of 'Eternal'. Notice the metre at line. (b). Was not—*trâi* really-*trâya (?)*; recall again the iota subscript.

4 The foes were military in the war-feuds, but being especially animated by the Evil One, their hostility had an infernal element. The hymn was not purely 'academic'.

Transl. Come thou, O Ahura Mazda (the Life-Spirit-Lord, the Wise One, Great-Creator), come[1] (to me) in grace, (that is, with Vohu Manah as thy Good Mind),[2] and do Thou, who bestowest asha-gifts, (the righteous gifts, the Archangel's gifts) bestow alike long-lasting life[3] on me; (b) and by means of Thy lofty[4] words impart Thy powerful joy-inspiring help to Zarathushtra,[5] (c) and to us, O Ahura, whereby we may repel the fiendish-hostilities of the foe.

1 Referring to the prayer for him in the previous strophe.

2 Personification is not here so fully pronounced;—it is guarded in this sense by the previous strophe, as by the entire piece. 'V. M.' is nowhere Archangel with a meaningless name. Hardly here 'in company with His Archangel'.

3 Or 'O thou External'.

4 Or, "With Thine 'holy words', 'true words'."

5 This strophe seems to be put into the mouth of Vishtâspa; not that V. was the author here; see the next strophe where Z. takes up again the first personal. This reference to Z. in the third personal hardly precludes his authorship here. Z. was undoubtedly the chief composer.

AS VEDA.

6. (*a*) vasunâ (â)gadhi manasâ, dehi (haye(?)) ṛta-dhâḥ (-â) dîrghâyo (dîrghâyutvaṃ-vâ)[1]
(*b*) Ṛshvaiḥ(-s) tvam ukthaiḥ(-s), su medhaḥ(-o), Jarathushṭrâya (-au-) ojasvat(-d)[2] rabhaḥ(-a-)-(ûtidam upakâram),
(*c*) Asmabhyaṃ (-ñ-) cha,(-â-) asura, yena *dvishataḥ(-to) (dveshiṇaḥ(-no vâ) dveshâṅsi tûrvema.

1 *Haye* is inserted only to mark the possible vocative; so elsewhere throughout.
2 Indra is also '*ojasvant*—'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

7. (*a*) dâidî ashâ[1] tăm ashîm[2] vaŋhēush (= -osh) âyaptâ manaŋhô; —
(*b*) dâidî tû âr(a)maitē̆,[3] vîshtâspâi (a)ē̆shem[4] maibyâ-châ;
(*c*) dăs-tî, mazdâ khshayâ-châ,[5] yâ vē măthrâ srev(a)ēmâ[6] râdâ.

1 *Daidî* seems an older form than *dehi*. The question arises whether *Ashâ* be not always in form an instr. with inherent nom. or voc. Otherwise of course *Ashâ* may be here as voc. a masc.

2 Notice the intended (?) alliteration.

3 After *tû* the voc. —*tē̆* looks more natural than —*tî*:—see the other vocatives. Though *âr(a)maitî* looks reasonable.

4 See (*a*)*ē̆shem* in the undoubted sense of 'prayer'; recall strophe 4. See the vivid personality, proving contemporaneous actualities.

5 2nd sg. imperv. or voc. sg. masc.

6 Some might read '*srevîm*' as '*srevyam*,' acc., with '*măthrâ*' as nom. sg. m.; *âr(a)dâ* as 1st sg. conj. act. There is the question whether Avestic *sru*—does not at times mean 'make hear' aside from the causative, it seems quite singular that the Pahlavi *srâdan* should mean 'proclaim'—See the same peculiarity inverted with regard to Av. *gush* = 'to hear' whereas Indian *ghush*—'to roar', etc.

[(Notice the same incisively personal expression throughout,—see the Festgruss at p. 194. A great Avesta-Vedist used to say that these strophes were to him the convincing proof that the Gâthas were hymns written at the time when the events alluded to transpired; and I add, in the crisis of a civil or inter-tribal war, a struggle to secure the political power. How ridiculous becomes the supposition that they were written close upon the time of Christ when the language had been Pahlavi for centuries.)]

Transl. O Asha (Archangel of the Truth,—the Holy Law—) bestow on me this reward,—the attained-prizes of Vohu Manah[1] (the Good Mind of my intention and devotion).

(*b*) And do thou, O Aramaiti (Archangel of the Holy Zeal), grant to Vishtâspa and to me[2] our wish;—

(*c*) May'st Thou, O Ahura, vouchsafe and provide[3] that whereby we may (fully) hear (to proclaim) Your benignant words.[4]

1 See once more the difficulty of "the angelic personification." "The Good Mind of the faithful who earn the reward" is the foremost idea. An eminent Vedist would most certainly have here rendered "the rewards of the Good Man"

2 Z. as the author.

3 Or, "do thou grant, O Mazda and ruler."

4 Or again, *with another text*, "that I may, as thy manthra-speaker, cause thy message to succeed.' Notice how little these variants affect what we most treasure in these hymns, which is the depth and vitality of the moral-religious ideas.

AS VEDA.

7. (*a*) Dehi, (haye) ṛta (tvam, kila tava-tanute)—haye tava(-â-)âtmabhâva sâkshât (-ch) chetasâ (-e) iva kṛta(-te); dehi tâm ṛtiṃ (iti, kila, phalaṃ puṇyaṃ) vasoḥ (phalâni(-y)) âptâni manasaḥ,
(*b*) Dehi, tvam, aramate[1], Vishṭâspâya (-ai-) esham (arthaṃ prârthitaṃ) mahyaṃ (-ñ-)-cha;—
(*c*) Dâḥ(-s) tvaṃ, (su)medhaḥ, kshaya-cha, (tat (-d)) yena vaḥ (-vo) mantrân (pravachanârthaṃ(-ñ) śṛṇuyâma[2] (śravayema) râdho-dâḥ.

1 Or -*tyâ* reading—*tî*.

2 Or '*yena vaḥ* (*vo*) *mantrân* (*ñ*) *śravayema*...—or again, '*yena vaḥ* (-*s'*) *śravyaṃ mantravit* (-*d*) *śrâdhâ* (-*âmi*, *śrâdhayâmi*),—so with differing Av. text, N. B.—See Gâthas, Comm.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

8. (*a*) vahishtem thvâ (= thvãm) vahishtâ,[1] yēm ashâ vahishtâ haz-(a)oshem[2]

(*b*) ahurem yâsâ[3] vâunush[2] (= vavanush) narôi (= narẹ̄) frash(a)oshtrâi -maibyâ[4]-châ

(*c*) y(a)ẹ̄ibyas-châ iṭ rāṅhāṅhôi(= -ẹ̄)[5] vîspâi yavẹ̄ vaṅhēush (= -osh) manaṅhô.[6]

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1 Again intentional (?) alliteration. The acc. forms here are idiomatic irregularities.

2 Very Vedic.

3 Note well again the frequent 1st pers. sg. in *-â*, occurring throughout as against *—âmi*, — they are more ancient and Vedic.

4 Lost nasalisation, as often, — see the Inscriptions.

5 Hardly a first personal here as in *nipaiṅhẹ̄* (*—pâse*) after the expression of a 'prayer',—see also *y(a)ẹ̄ibyas* —.

6 Notice again the ever-constant difficulty of rendering V. M. merely as *Vohu Manah* the Archangel, with loss of the incisive meaning of the words : — so throughout the Gâthas. *Vohu Manah* is also a foreign word to us, not to be used in such a translation. Imagine again Z. using even a Vedic word in his Avesta hymn.

Transl. (a,b) That best of gifts, therefore do I beseech of Thee, O Thou best one, Ahura, one in will, (as Thou art) with Asha (Archangel of Thy Holy-Law), likewise the best (of spirits), desiring (it, as I now do) for the heroic Frash(a)oshtra, and for me, (c) upon whom verily may'st Thou bestow it for all the age (and dispensation) of Thy Good Mind[1] (the duration of Our Holy Cause once established and supreme).

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1 Another introduced the idea of the 'best-gift' or 'best thing' from line (a) here as understood ; —it seems rather remote and compare. Y. 30,4, where *vahishtem manah* occurs as exceptionally expressive of a 'continuous state'

AS VEDA.

8. (*a*) Vasishṭham tvâṃ, (haye) vasishṭha, yam (iti,yaḥ-a) ṛtena vasishṭhena saṃjosham (iti,kila, tvâṃ yaḥ (ya) ṛtena sajoshaḥ (-o's-) asi(-y-) asasi)

(*b*) Asuram yâsâ[1] (-âmi, imam esha-(-â-)-artham) vavanvâṅ nare *Phrashoshṭrâya mahyaṃ (-ñ-) cha[2]

(*c*) Yebhyaḥ(-ś)-cha(-e-) id râsâse[3] viśvasmai[4] yugâya[5] vasoḥ(-r) manasaḥ.

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1 *yachchhâmi* in the Festgruss.

2 See the 'personality' again.

3 Recall *râsate.*

4 As there was an ind. *sue* (*loc.*) side-by-side with *svasmin,* so there may have once been an ind *viśvâya.*

5 One might form a Sanskrit *'yave'*, see *niyut* to 2d *yu,* more like the Gâthic ; see *niyava-*, though *yug-* looks as if it were also kindred to *yu*—'to unite.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

9. (*a*) anâish vā̊ nôiṭ (=nêṭ), ahurâ mazdâ, ashem-châ[1], yânâish[2] zarn(a)ēmâ
(*b*) manas-châ hyaṭ[3] vahishtem, yôi(= yē vē yôithimâ(=yeth-) dasemē[4] (dahmē (?)) stûtā̃m ;
(*c*) yûzhēm zevîshtyā̊ṅhô (a)ēsha[5]-khshathrem-châ savaṅhâm.

1 Here personification becomes more pronounced.

2 From this I supply '*yânem*' in strophe 1 as in agreement with *p(a)ourviyem;* see it likewise reproduced, in the later but still ancient introduction, as *yânîm* = *yânyam.*

3 Is not *hyat* conceivably *hvat* —'quod,' (***kvod) ?ﻻ(*ii* = *y*) is constantly miswritten for » (*u u*=*v*) The *h* seems difficult ;— it was probably a mere rough breathing unless the two, *hy*—=quo—.

4 Or *dasmē*, see the metre.

5 (*A*) *ēsha*-is a better reading than (a)*ēshô* 'the wish and the power'. This form has its bearing upon strophe 4 ; which see.

Transl. (*a*, *b*) On account of those-boons-of-strengthening-grace (and in our prayers for them) may we not anger[1] You, O Ahura Mazda, nor Asha (Archangel of Thy Law), nor Vohumanah (Thy Good Mind, by defect of utterance), since we have (indeed -made-(manifold)-effort in the tenfold (chorus) of (Thy) praisers;—

(*c*) Be[2] Ye most swiftly-furthering toward-the-One king[3]-over-his wish as regards these successes (or 'toward the one praying for blessings, and for their completed-acquisition).

1 "Through conscious or unconscious defect in the method of our worship". Such a tone is more consonant with the pagan spirit than with that of the Gâtha, so that in S. B. E. XXXI, I was inclined to read "animated by these blessings may we not anger you," but see Yasna I. 50—67.

2 Or 'Ye are the....'

3 Notice the word *Khshathrem* as impossibly describing the Archangel. Recall the *asûrahyâ* 'the not feeble' potentate of XXIX.

AS VEDA.

9. (*a*) Ebhiḥ(- r) vaḥ (vo) ned, asura (su-)medhaḥ(-a), ṛtaṃ(-ñ-) -cha (ṛta cha) yânaiḥ(—r) hṛṇâyema *(?) iti, kila, ned vaḥ (vo) *hârayema (?), krodhayema),

(*b*) Manaḥ(-ś)-cha yat(-d) vasishṭham (asi(-y) asasi (-î-), iti, kila, haye, tava ? tanute (-a-) iva sâkshât (-ch) chetasâ kṛte-(-vayam,) ye vaḥ (-vo) yetima daśame (dâśi, dasme) stutâm ;

(*c*) Yûyaṃ (-ñ-) javisṭhâsaḥ (-so javanatamâḥ (stha (-â)abhi)) esha-kshatraṃ(-ñ-) cha śavasâṃ (kila, taṃ asma-râjânaṃ bhûyiṣṭhaṃ tasya(-o-) udyogini prayatne prajâvayatha).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

10. (*a*) aṭ yĕñg·ashâṭ-châ[1] vôistâ(=vēstâ) vaṅhēush (= ·osh·)-châ dâthēñg manaṅhô

(*b*) erethvēñg,[2] mazdâ ahurâ, (a)ẹ̄ibyô perenâ âpanâish kâmem;

(*c*) aṭ vē khshmaibyâ asûnâ v(a)ẹ̄dâ hvar(ə)thyâ vaiñtyâ sravā̊.

1 Notice that the personification of *asha* and V. M. is here only at all possible when we realise that their very existence as *asha* and V. M. implied 'living holiness'. All here abandon mere angelic personification.

2 —*ēñg* is really = *ân* or —*ânsh*, throughout-sometimes for—*âni* (?)—

Transl. (a,b) Whom, therefore, Thou knowest, O Mazda Ahura, to be the holy creatures[1] of Vohumanah (Archangel of Thy Good Will), and from asha (as their sanctity)[2], to-these do-thou-fill-up desire with-(their)-results-attained,

(c) For I have known Your (inspired) words to be never-void-of-their-effect, reaching-(ever)-well their aim,[3] victorious (for our weal).

—[(Alternative : "What gifts thou knowest to be the holy gifts of a Good Mind, from these do thou fill (our desire through acquisitions (of them) ; for I have known your (revealed) words to be to you never-void-of-their-effect[3] regarding-(our needful) food*, and for (other) objects (most) desired)].[4]

1 The 'ordinances' or the 'established laws';- It is hardly necessary to take "*dâthēñg*" as meaning "the clever".

2 Hardly 'from the 'Archangel *Asha*' as if imparting information.

* 'Food was then as now the supreme question. *Z*arathushtra first canonised the man who grows wheat;-must we not revert to him ?

3 They will "fill desire."

4 The alternative, while, as ever in all the alternatives, it may vary the literary point, does not affect the main idea. 'Food' was, as ever, the 'first question'

AS VEDA.

10. (*a*) Ât(-d) yâṅ (yâṇ (vâ)) (-ar·) ṛtât (-ch)-cha vettha vasoḥ(-ś)-cha dâdân (!) (âdhânâni, dâtâni) manasaḥ(-o)

(*b*) Ṛtâvanaḥ(-o) ?) (ṛtâvâni vâ, (haye) su-)medhaḥ (-o, 's-) asura (-ai-), ebhvaḥ (ebhiḥ) pṛṇa[1] ((-â·) asma-prayatnaiḥ(-r)) âpânaiḥ (-nânâṃ hetoḥ); kâmaṃ[2]

(*c*) Ât(-d) vaḥ(-vo) yushmabhyam aśûnâni[3] veda svarth·âni[4] vantyâni(?)[5] (kâmârthaṃ prârthitaṃ vanishṭhâni), śravâṅsi.

1 Whether *pṛṇá* should be so accented : see *sṛjá*, *vṛhá* (Delb.)

2 Notice *kâmem* in its full sense ; *-kâme* in Y. 32 is not so probable as merely equalling 'earnestly.'

3 To (a)*śûna*=(non)-'emptiness', *śûnya*—.

4 To *su-artha* = 'well-reaching their aim'. Or following the Pahl. Pers. and Sk. 'for our food supplies" to ind. hvṛ-, *hvarate* (?) as 'twisting in chewing' and so for 'eating.' Consider also *jhvar-*, *jhval-* for form only, with the idea of 'heating'.

5 So for *vaiñtyâ* (more original acc. pl. nt.) to *'van'*—to acquire ; see the suffix—*tya* in an *aptya*, etc; consider also *vâñchitâni*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

11. (*a*) yē âish ashem[1] nipâṅhē manas-châ vohu yav(a)ētâitē.
(*b*) tvēm mazdâ ahurâ frô mâ sîshâ thvahmâṭ v(a)ochaṅhē
(*c*) manyēush (= —yosh)[2] hachâ thvâ ā̊ṅhâ yâish â aṅhush p(a)ourvyô bavaṭ.[3]

1 Notice again the continuous necessity for recognising Asha as a quality, or better as a quality embodied in the faithful citizen, the Archangel could not be held 'in protection.' Asha is here the 'Sanctity of the Land' embodied in the Holy Community, as *Manaschâ vohû* equals the saint replete with the inspiration of Ahura's Good Mind. Cp. again 49,10.

2 *Spēnishta mainyu* (?).

3 In view of Y. 30, it seems difficult to avoid the plain sense here.—We can hardly see a 'new world' or 'excellent dispensation' here, or take '*bavat*' fully and exclusively as an improper conj. with fut. sense. *P(a)ourvya*— means 'prior' beyond all question in such connection, emphatically referring to the past rather than to the future, while 'creations' is a 'choice' theme everywhere in Avesta and is just here especially in point. Upon it is based all obligation and authority. Y. 30 should here follow.

*Transl. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers), I, who through-these-means (of grace) would protect Asha[1] (as the Spirit of Thine Holy Tribes[2] and Law), and Vohu Manah (likewise embodied in Thy Saints) for-ever-(for this reason)—teach Thou me forth, O Mazda Ahura, to proclaim (to Thy Folk) from Thy (most holy) Spirit (as) with Thy mouth, how the first world arose (and how it may be; *i.e.* 'may recur,')[3]

1 He could not wish to "protect the Archangel".

2 So *Vohu Manah* must be here again "embodied in the saint".

3 So, venturing to add, holding that this idea may alternatively fit the context the more aptly, in case that, as some think, *bavat* were also somewhat felt as improp. conj. in a future conj. sense. Yet see the theme 'creation.' Y. XXX follows naturally upon this as Y. XXIX precedes it.

AS VEDA.

11. (*a*) (Aham) yaḥ (ya) ebhiḥ (-r (?)) ṛtam nipâse,[1] manaḥ (-s'-)-cha vasu yugâya[2] (-â-) ananta-kâlâya
(*b*) Tvam, (haye) su-medhaḥ, (-o's-), asura, pra-u (pro) mâ śisha[3] (śikshaya (?)) tvadîyât (-d) vacase
(*c*) Manyoḥ(-s) sacha (saha (?)) *tvena (?)[4] tvadîyenâ (-â) âsâ, yaiḥ (-r) â (-â-) asuḥ pûrvyaḥ (-yo'bh-) abhavat.[5]

1 To the aor. stem *piśa*—, but med. Notice this first sing, med. here first suggested by the Pahl. to be classed with the other 1st singular med.'s, in—*se* cited by Whitney *archase, rñjase, -yajase*; so better than as an infin. (for imperv. with some);—see the very characteristic first personals throughout. Here the Pahlavi translator first made this acutely critical suggestion, interesting, even if it be not really correct:—it is most possible.

2 Could we form a *yavatâte* to *yu* ?; see *sarvatât, -satyatât*, etc.

3 *s'ishâ*—to the '*a*' aor. stem *śisha*—, see the imperv.'s to the '*a*' aor., *vida*, etc.; or *śikshaya*, to *śak*.

4 So formable from the one occurrence '*tuábhih*'.

5 Or *bhavat* as improp. conj. [It is requested that this piece be studied only in connection with S. B. E. XXXI, 1887, Gâthas 1892-94, Roth's Festgruss, 1893, Z. D. M. G. 1911-12 (Y. XLIV in Sanskrit), the Muséon 1912 (Y. XXIX in Sanskrit), Z. D. M. G. Y. XXX in Sanskrit 1914, Muséon (Y. XXXI in Sanskrit, 1914), and the Dictionary of the Gâthic Language of the Zend Avesta, 1913. (See also YASNA I in its Sanskrit equivalent, Appendix, 1910). Readers will kindly condone misprints and defective transliteration which were inevitable owing to distance, and the absence of some types.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Here are eleven strophes, each containing three lines of seven plus nine syllables, with the constant caesura;—say about five hundred and twenty syllables, and out of the whole mass scarcely more than one or two of the words are disputed as to the original root-meaning, for which also almost identical Sanskrit equivalents are readily available. In fact by 'merely restoring' the now shattered Avestic forms, the Avesta becomes of itself nearly Vedic Sanskrit, while valuable alternatives offer themselves with the few obscurities;—the forms as well as the roots likewise present little difficulty when scientifically deciphered. Even the wranglings among experts as to the last pointing of the ideas is here largely excluded, when we are not so unreasonable as to expect minute unanimity.

And here I am obliged to insert a remark which does not concern the exact scientific elucidation of this chapter as an isolated relic of antiquity. It is this—and it vitally concerns the history of moral-religious-philosophy. Let the reader *note it well.* What gives this chapter with the rest of the Gâthas their *inestimable position* as the earliest documents of interior, that is to say, of 'real' religion, and of the 'moral idea,' making them the first[1] documents in this 'higher criticism,' is here not touched by any differences in the last pointing of the literary sense;—it is all unavoidably included in almost every strophe.

1 If the Avesta orthodoxy and eschatology largely coincides with that of the Exilic pharisaism, even entirely aside from all question of historical connection between the two, then this fact which is not contested or contestable, should be closely examined by all who seriously study the Semitic orthodoxy, all the more indeed in respect toward the eminent scholars who believe the historical connection to have approached historical identity as well as toward those who maintain the via media. Such discussions as this is meant to be should be multiplied in view of this all-important, if not supreme, consideration.

L. H. M.

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THE POINT OF THE AVESTA.[1]

By Professor Dr. Lawrence Mills.

The inestimable value of Avesta as a stone in the arch of history does not consist altogether in the sublimity of its main ideas, nor in its importance to the Veda, though the most prominent Vedist of the last century taught Avesta enthusiastically and alternatively with Veda.[2] Nor does it consist in its high position in the study of comparative mythology where it has the additional advantage of its situation between East and West; nor even, so far as we are concerned, does its chief force consist in its dominant importance to religious philosophy in general, perhaps the most vital of all departments of research. Avesta has its supreme value to us Christians simply because it is in its main elements 'Our own religion' at a previous stage and this effectively as well as historically. It expresses the very quintessence of the vast Religion of the Persian Empire once sovereign in Asia the rival and often the conqueror of Rome, and that religion is alive in ours.[3] In its Gâthic Hymns we actually possess the very documents of its origin—a priceless gem, even when regarded as a curiosity in literature, to every educated person. While I do not hold with others that it was the immediate historical source of the exilic orthodox eschatology, it plainly fostered that creed against the more ancient negations of the Sadducees. Beyond all question it instigated that vivid sympathy between Persia and its tiny province which Ezra depicts and which resulted in the restoration of the Jewish City with its Temple. Political motives explain much, but not everything.[4] How far Avesta may have affected Greek thought we cannot say,—but if Plutarch could quote Theopompos (about 350 B. C.) describing the very interior elements of the Zoroastrian creed as being *character-*

1. A hand-maid to the Bible.

2. And nearly all the leading Avesta scholars are, and were, Professors of Sanskrit, though chiefly known through Avesta.

3. See 'Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia,'—Mills, Leipzig, 1913.

4. See how Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes ask for Israel's prayers, superstitiously perhaps, but yet how really, if Ezra is true.

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istic of all Persia without especial distinction, then the higher lights of Greece must have heard of them long previously. Avesta's influence upon the Gnostics was that of a smothered centre ;—and the same may be said of the pure Mithra Cult ;—see also Manes with his results. Avesta is the core of much. But if Avestic eschatology influenced the eschatology of its exilic sister with its unequalled depth of principle aiming to regulate the 'thoughts' as well as 'words and deeds'—then it was at one stage of it close kindred to our own—a sister-faith to the Pharisaic orthodoxy upon which ours depends. Surely everly Bible teacher in Christendom should like to know[1] what Avesta is—and knowing it, should welcome it—as some have done, half canonising 'Cyrus.'

And what labour meets investigators here Avesta is Veda's sister, as no one doubts, often her elder sister. The languages are almost identical. Avesta's forms are often older than Veda's,—and even their eschatologies are somewhat parallel. Vedic seers and those of Avesta in far distant ages were the same. Veda's first home was Iran. Yet we do not say that no Vedist is competent without Avesta for the simple reason that it is well-nigh impossible for a Vedist to master the immense field of Avesta-Lore in the midst of his immediate duties. And what must the original Avesta-specialist face ?—What strength and time do my readers think it takes to decipher whole manuscripts of Pahlavi,—at first well-nigh inscrutable, out-rivalling Assyrian ?—What time and toil to collate them, with all their stated variants ?—What time to translate them? One writer (the present) has contributed some forty odd chapters to the leading Zeitschrift, edited with all the variants, and the same translated to another, each a treatise, and together equalling several books. What time to master the Achaemenian Inscriptions—an essential part of Avesta-Lore ? What time does it take to write the Gâthas in their sister Sanskrit, a very illustrative service—one of the most instructive possible of ways of teaching ?—What time to write exhaustive Dictionaries ?[2]—What time to write indispensable histories summing the matter up ?—One writer (the present) has published close on three thousand pages under momentous engagements and professional duty. One book alone includes

1 Anything like fear or dislike should be utterly repugnant to an enlightened age.

2. See the Dictionary of the Gāthic Language of the Zend Avesta, Vol. III of the Gāthas, pages 623 1139, plus LIX, Mills, Leipzig.

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twelve hundred pages in five languages—all new work as there presented. Even pecuniary outlay has not been contemptible, though curbed by widest circulation.

As to the hindrances, they are trivial and mercenary, scarcely deserving a thought, being also universal.—Upon exhaustive success, with a subject vitally crucial, combinations instantly arise;—even assenting colleagues head the throng. 'Our point has been well made', say they, 'but another reaps the prize'.—Pique the most puerile—jealousies the most desperate,—measures the most criminal. Yet these only matter as they exhaust the toiler's brain and heart while he counts the golden hours. These are some of the heights which one must storm, with the side-sniping upon either flank. Yet the end is worth it all. A subject has been restored to our mental life, and what a subject! to clear, rebuild and to apply—Gâthic Avesta first in history pointed the use of 'right and wrong' as to 'thought, word and deed' within interior, that is to say, within 'real' religion. Avesta broadens our views intellectually and our sympathies religiously, here leading all earlier themes—and all religious lore is ancient:[1]—Avesta awakes gratitude of an especially noble-kind and warns us against phantasies by its defects. To explain it carefully with all its documents is, as it has been called, 'an eminent service.'[2] Since men will dabble with religious questions, Zoroastrian science furnishes us with facts which check all false statements and muzzle pious fraud—revealing one of the most important of all chapters in the history of the human Soul,—a bulky element in all our religious beliefs.

L. H. M.

Oxford, *June, 1913.*

1. Some might ask why revive such ancient matter? I rather think the Bible is somewhat ancient. All Bible teachers are orientalists;—Avesta is the hand-maid of the Bible.
2. So the first Sanskritist of Germany.

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THE PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION ON THE MOUNT CROSS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A.

Pahlavi scholars in Bombay and Europe are not unfamiliar with the Pahlavi inscriptions engraved on several Christian cross-structures in the south of India. The best known of these inscriptions is that on the cross dedicated to the Christian St. Thomas, and erected on Mount Thomas at Kottayam, in Travancore near Madras. This cross-tablet on a stone monument, about 4 feet high and 3 feet broad, was discovered by the Portuguese in 1547 A.D., and has been kept in the Mount Church to the present day. The bird hovering over it, seems to be a dove which indicates the Christian symbol of the spirit of Christ. In his paper on "Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in southern India," Dr. A. C. Burnell has collected all the historical references to the early settlements of Christians in India, and has attempted to prove from the surviving legends of Mâr Shâphor, Mâr Aphrottu, and Marvân Shapîr-Isû (all Persian names), "that the first historical notice of a Christian mission to India is that of certain Manichæans from Persia ; . . . and that all trustworthy facts indicate that the Christian settlements in India down to the tenth century, were Persian, and probably, therefore, Manichæans or Gnostics ; while the Syrian (Nestorian and Jacobite) Christians must have settled in India at a much later date ; . . . and that the bas-relief crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions must be attributed to the earlier or Persian Christians" (*vide* Dr. West's remarks in "The Academy," Jan. 24, 1874, pp. 96 seq.)

(1)

Dr. Burnell's was the first attempt in 1873 at deciphering and interpreting this inscription on the Mount Cross. He proposes the following reading and rendering of it. In his transliteration he omits all the vowels that are unexpressed :—

(Shorter Line) *yîn riiyâ mn vn drd-î dnmn* +

(Longer Line)*mân amn mshîhâ af alhâ-î mdm af rshd-î aj asr bôkht.*

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" In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this (one) : he who is the true Christ, and God above and guide ever pure."

Apart from the reading and meaning of the three words *dnmn*, *mdm* and *bôkht*, Dr. Burnell's interpretation seems hardly acceptable by Pahlavi scholars (*vide* Dr. Burnell's paper in *The Indian Antiquary*, III, 1874, pp. 308 *seq.*)

(2)

Dr, Haug's interpretation of this inscription is found in *Beilage zur Ausburger Allg. Zeitung* (29th July, 1874). It is very free, and can hardly be understandable from the text of the inscription. His translation runs as under :—

" He who believes in the Messiah and God above and is the Holy Ghost, is redeemed through the grace of Him who was cross-bearing."

(3)

Taking the longer line first, Dr. E. W. West suggests the following transliteration of it :—

mân âmen Meshîkhâ-i avakhshâ-î madam afrâs aj khârbûkht.

" The shorter line," according to Dr. West, " is much more uncertain, and there is little chance of any two Pahlavi scholars agreeing about its interpretation ; perhaps the most likely reading is " :—

sûldâ î min van va dard î denman.

Dr. West's translation of the above two lines is as follows :—

" What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the up-raising, from hardship ? The crucifixion from the tree, and the anguish of this."

Taking the two lines in the reverse order, his translation is as follows :—

" The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this which freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the up-raising from hardship."

(4)

The fourth decipherment and translation of the inscription are suggested by Prof. Harlez in the " Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists," Paris, 1892. The copy of the cross-tablet here given, is taken from an accurate photo thereof found in this volume. Prof. Harlez reads and renders it as follows :—

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mân âmen Mesîhá i avakhshâî madam afrâs aj asar bôkht + yîn razyâ min van dart-î denman.

"Celui qui (est) le vrai Messie, le réconciliateur, le ressuscitant à jamais, purifie (sanctifie) par la vertu (provenant) du crucifiement de lui (ou, du crucifiement celui-ci, ce qu'on voit ici)."

"He who (is) the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator for ever, purified (sanctified) by virtue of his crucifixion (or, of that crucifixion which one sees here)."

The Pahlavi characters in this inscription are not those used in the *Naksh-î-Rajab* and the *Hâjîâbâd* inscriptions; they almost resemble those used in the extant Pahlavi manuscripts. It is, therefore, hardly possible to accept Dr. West's reading of the last three words of the longer line, namely: *aj khâr bûkht.* The letter preceding is not but clearly , which has in the angle an unnecessary point, shown probably through an outsight of the engraver. I do not understand why the clear reading *î chahâr-bûkht* has been altered to *aj khâr bûkht.* The reading *aj* of the Pahlavi , by Dr. West is not admissible because *aj* has a distinct form of writing it in Pahlavi, *viz.* . Also the reading *sûldâ* of the first word in the lower line, cannot be accepted by Pahlavi scholars. If his reading were accepted, then what would the initial letter *r* stand for in that word, which is considered as redundant by the translator without giving any reason for doing so. Dr. West objects to Dr. Burnell's taking *van* as a tree of execution, as he says that the Pahlavi term for it is not *van* but *dâr.* Prof. Harlez, however, defends Dr. Burnell's interpretation of *van* by remarking: "West, il est vrai, met en doute sa propre interpretation de *van* 'croix' (proprement 'arbre'), parce que ce n'etait pas le terme usuel chez les Persans. Mais on ne doit pas oublier qu'il s'agit non point de Persans quelconques, mais de Chrétiens, et que, chez les Chrétiens, le mot 'arbre' fut dès l'origine (comp. *Act. Apost.*, ch. 10, 13 *seq.*) employé pour distinguer la croix, comme il l'est encore aujourd'hui. Il n'y a donc là rien d'extraordinaire et l'interpretation se justifie de point en point." I, too, agree with Prof. Harlez in taking *van* to mean "a tree," or "an arbour," and according to Christian technicality "a cross," which looks like the stem of a tree with two horizontal branches.

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Prof. Harlez' readings *aj asar bôkht* and *yîn razyâ* are not acceptable, nor is his interpretation of the lower line intelligible from the text. All the translators mentioned above, seem to have avoided the most clear reading of 𐭪𐭥𐭧𐭲𐭥 *chahâr-bûkht* in their decipherments. It might be that such a reading would controvert their belief in the Christian legend about the miraculous birth of Christ by Virgin Mary. However that may be, the readings *aj asar bokht*, or *aj khâr bûkht*, and *sûldâ* or *yîn razyâ* are far-fetched, although ingenious.

As the interpretations of Drs. Burnell, Haug, West and Harlez, do not seem to be quite satisfactory, I attempt to give below four different readings and renderings of the inscription, which I hope will be of some interest to Pahlavi scholars in India, Europe, and America.

(1)

By taking the lines in the reverse order, beginning with the shorter and lower line, I read the inscription as under:—

Rish-razyâ min van ðard denâ + mûn hemn Meshîhâ âpakhshâ-î, madam afrâs î Chahâr-bûkht.

"Such (was) the affliction (*ðard*) of the wounding and spearing (*rish-razyâ*) of him on the cross (*min van*),* who (was) the faithful (*hemn*) Meshihâ, a forgiver, of superior dignity, the descendant of Chahâr-bûkht."

As to my reading *rish-razyâ*, compare Av. 𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬀 *raêsha*, "wound," and Arabic رزح *razah* or رزء *razeh*, "spearing," "piercing." The word *van* is commonly used for "a tree" or "wood," as the Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬀 (*vanâ*), Skr. वना (*vanâ*), Pers. بن (*ban*). In the inscription mentioned above it means "the wooden cross." The word *hemn* may be compared to the Arabic امانداری (*aimândârî*) or امان (*aimân*), Chald-Pahl. 𐭰𐭬𐭲𐭭𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭭 (*hemnunastan*) "to believe". *Âpakhshâ* comes from Av. 𐬀𐬯𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬱 (*â-bakhsh*), "to forgive"; and *afrâs* may be compared to Pers. افراجی *afrâjî*, Av. 𐬀𐬐𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (*fracha*). Here *madam afrâs* may also mean* "the great offspring;" that is, "the great descendant" of Chahâr-bûkht.

Chahâr-bûkht, evidently, seems to be the name of a native of Persia, formed on the analogy of the name Haftân-bûkht, occurring in the Pahlavi *Kârnâmak-î-*

*Lit. "from the tree."

The Mount Cross in Southern India.

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Artakhshîr-î-Pâpakân, chapter VI, § 1. The Pahlavi name, *haftân-bûkht*, means literally "freed from the evil influence of the seven planets." According to modern Persian, بخت (*bûkht*) means "a son," hence هفتا نبو خت *haftân-bûkht* may also mean "one having seven sons," and this signification is consistent with the statement of the Pahlavi text of the *Kârnâmak*, that "he had seven sons" (*vide* the foot-note on the name in my English translation, p. 24, revised edition, 1896). Similarly, the name Chahâr-bûkht might also mean "one having four sons." The man, Chahâr-bûkht, mentioned above in the Pahlavi inscription, had very probably emigrated from Persia to Assyria during the Parthian dominion in Persia, sometime about the beginning of the first century before Christ, for trade purposes, and professed the Jewish religion there continuing on his Persian name. It is possible to infer hence that the Christian prophet had inherited not only Persian religious ideas and teachings to a certain extent from his great Persian ancestors, but also their intellectual faculties, and powers of sublime imagination.

(2)

Rish-razyâ min van dard denâ + mûn hemn Meshîhâ âpakhshâ, î madam-*Aprahîm î Chahâr-bûkht.*

"This (was) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of him on (*min*) the cross, who (was) the faithful Meshihâ, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abrahîm, (who was) the descendant of Chahâr-bûkht."

By "the great Abrahim" is meant probably the prophet of that name mentioned in the Old Testament. The last letter *m* in *Aprahim* seems to have been mutilated, the lowest part of it being still slightly visible.

From the above interpretation it would follow that Chahâr-bûkht was a remote ancestor of Abrahîm, who was again a remote ancestor of Jesus.

(3)

By reading the lines in their proper order, taking the upper and longer line first, it can be read and rendered as follows :—

Mûn hemn Meshîhâ âpakhshâ-î, madam-afrâft, î chahâr bôkht; rish-razyâ min van dard denâ.

"He of whom the faithful Meshîhâ (was) a forgiver, (was) highly exalted; he (was) redeemed from the four (regions of Hell); this (was due to) the affliction of the spearing and wounding (of Meshîhâ) on the cross."

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The engravers of the inscription on the bas-relief of the Mount Cross were clearly Christian emigrants from Persia to India, and well conversant with the ancient Persian ideas about Heaven and Hell. The ancient Persian Religion from the earliest ages taught the existence of the four regions of Heaven, namely, *Hûmata, Hûkhta, Hvarshta* and the *Garô-nmâna,* and also the four regions of Hell, namely, Dûshmata, *Dûzhûkhta, Dûzhvarshta* and the *Achishtem-ahûm,* in the next world (see *Hâdôkht Nask*, chaps. I-III). This very idea seems to have been expressed by the Persian engravers to represent the miraculous power of their Redeemer, Christ.

(4)

Following my third interpretation of the upper line, I might here suggest a possible different reading and meaning of the lower line :—

Rasûl-ich Yeh min van dard denâ ; meaning :—"This (was) the affliction on the cross even of the messenger of Jehovah."

Rasûl is a Semitic word. *Yeh* and *Jeh* are one and the same, signifying literally in Chald.-Pahl., "The Being," "God," or "Jehovah."

From the historical references which are so elaborately mentioned by Dr. Burnell in his paper aforesaid, it is not difficult to ascertain that the inscription in question was the work of one or more of a batch of Persian Christians of ancient Irân, who had, probably on account of Mahomedan violence and persecution emigrated from Persia in the VII century A.D., settled themselves in the south of India, especially in Travancore, and established their church there. Coming from Persia, they seem to have continued the use of the language (Persian or Pahlavi) of their native country like the Zoroastrian emigrants from Persia to India, and kept up for several years the memory of the ancient Persian legends and traditions regarding Jesus and his lineage. One of these Persian legends may have been, considering the occurrence in the inscription of the clearly readable proper name *Chahâr-bûkht* (in my first and second interpretations given above), that a Persian named *Chahâr-bûkht* was one of the distant ancestors of Jesus. My second translation, further suggests the reading of another proper name of a person very well-known in the Biblical history, namely, Abraham, who is accepted by the Christians as one of the distant ancestors of Jesus Christ.

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BRIEF NOTES ON CERTAIN PASSAGES OF THE AVESTA.

By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.

Sixty years ago the texts and translations of the Avesta which were then in vogue among Parsees, were generally incorrect and unsatisfactory. Thanks to the brilliant results of the patient studies of the western Oriental Scholars, from Burnouf, Bopp and others down to Westergaard, Geldner, Spiegel, Justi, Haug, Darmestater, Mills, and other eminent scholars of our own time, we have now more accurate and reliable texts and translations of our sacred Scripture. The original materials in preparing these texts and translations were the Indian and Iranian manuscripts of the Avesta and the Pahlavi translations and other books, from which, coupled with the marvellous philological ingenuities of eminent savants and scholars, we have been furnished with almost correct texts and trustworthy translations. Admirable though they are in their own way and do good and great service to the progress of Science, they cannot still be considered altogether perfect and final. For, sometimes these learned translators, relying upon the traditional Pahlavi myths and Mediæval fantastic imaginary expositions, have produced translations whereof some passages are at times found to be not only absurd and irrational but they also give cause to insinuate undeserved imputations upon the teachings of the holy Avesta. But the humble writer of these lines is of opinion that if the study of the Avesta be prosecuted with a little more patience, care, and devotion, here and there alterations in the texts and corrections in the translations would suggest themselves to our minds, such as would be free from absurdities repugnant to our common sense, and they may approach more and more to accuracy and truth. With this view I note down in this paper a few of the more interesting and important suggestions as they have occurred to me in my studies.

I.

THE NAMES OF THE SIX GAHAMBARS OR SEASON FESTIVALS.

Visperad, kardâ 1, para. 2.

Formerly it was a traditional belief among us, based upon the later and more recent Pahlavi-Pâzend and Persian writings, such as the ***Afrin-e-Gahambâr,***

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the *Bundahîsh*, the *Rivâyats* and others, that these Gahambars were the festivals in commemoration of the six creations of Hormazd. If they were really so, their names would have been different from what they are. For example, the name of the first Gahambâr would then have been "*Asmô-dâiti*" (creation of the sky), of the second "*Ap dâiti*" (creation of waters), of the third "*Zem-dâiti*" (creation of the earth), and so on. But the names of the six Gahambârs, as they stand in the Avesta, are obviously the names of times of certain seasons of the year and not of creations. Not only these names but their qualifying words and phrases also denote certain events and acts appropriate to those seasons. Most of these names with their qualifying words and phrases have been already made familiar to all by learned translators of the Avestâ. Still it would not be out of place if we venture to reproduce them here with certain modifications and further elucidations of my own.

(1) *Maidhyôizaremaya Payangh.* Mid-spring, abounding with water or showers of rain or milk or sap.

(2) *Maidhyôishema Vâstrôdâtainya.* Mid-summer, the grsss-cutting time. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 grass, and √𐬯𐬌 दो to cut.

(3) *Paitish-hahya Hahya.* The cereal season, the harvest time, the reaping of corn and fruit.

(4) *Ayâthrima Fraourvaêshtrima Varshniharshta.* These three words are interesting as regards their meanings, derivations, and explanation. *Ayâthrima*, cessation of journeys, (owing to the ending of summer or warm season, and approach of winter, 𐬀 = अ negative + 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬌 = यात्रा, journey, pilgrimage, exodus). This word can also be taken as 𐬬𐬀𐬙 going, from √𐬬 to go, and 𐬬𐬀𐬙 fire, heat, the *Rapîthvan*, meaning thereby the going away *i. e.* the ending of the first seven months of the religious year during which period the *Rapithvan Gâh* is recited at noon. *Fraourvaêshtrima*, the ending (viz. of the summer, from √𐬯𐬌, to end. Compare 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬌, the end, termination). This adjective may be explained in another way also, as it has traditionally been done, which says that *Rapîthvan* or heat remains on the surface of the earth for seven months of the warm season, and consequently we feel the waters of wells cool. It then goes down into the bottom of the earth during the winter, and consequently we feel the waters in wells warm during that period. Though this might appear a very common experience

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of all men, and whatever else the scientific explanation of this phenomenon may be advanced by the votaries of Science, one cannot expect to have a better explanation of this phenomenon from old Irânian traditions. Following this traditional explanation the word may be translated "descending of *Rapîthvan* or heat into the bottom of the earth." The last word *Varshniharshta* may also be explained in more than one ways. First, it may mean bull-liberating time (from 𐬬𐬁𐬭𐬌 a bull, = Sk. वृषि, English bison, and 𐬯𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌 from 𐬯𐬁𐬭𐬎 Sk. सृज्; Pers. هشتن to let loose, to liberate). To liberate the bull from what? From ploughing the field, because cultivation cannot be carried on in the succeeding wintry season. Secondly, it may also mean, according to tradition, the rutting season of the male cattle. Thirdly, by correcting 𐬬𐬁𐬭𐬌 into 𐬯𐬁𐬭𐬌 Sk वृष्टि, showers of rain, and 𐬯𐬁𐬭𐬎 to loosen, it may mean the time of the pouring of rains, in other words, the rainy season. Fourthly, if we compare the word with the Sanskrit वृषोत्सर्ग (setting the bull at liberty on occasion of a sacrifice or obsequial oblation) it reminds us of some ancient ceremony of the remotest time when the Aryâs, the common ancestors of both, the Hindoos and the Parsees, lived together and performed similar ceremonies at the end of the warm season of the year, when their year began with the commencement of the wintry season. Hence the origin of the Sanskrit शरद् and शरदा, meaning both, (1) the autumn, as well as (2) the year, and in Irânian languages also, Avesta 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌 meaning both (1) the wintry season, and (2) the year; the Pahlavi-Pâzend and modern Persian سرد cold, and سال a year. Perhaps in this word also we can trace the origin of the old Aryan idea of meritoriousness of *Gôdâna*, गोदान giving of cows and bulls in charity to the sacerdotal class on the season of the श्राद्ध lasting for fifteen days among the Hindoos and on the occasion of Avestic 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌 (Yasna, Hâ 1, paras 9 and 17; Hâ 2, para 17; Hâ 3, para 19; Hâ 4, para 22; Hâ 6, para 16; Hâ 7, para 19) commonly known as *Farvardegân*, and lasting for ten days among the Zoroastrians.

(5) *Maidhyâirya Çaredha.* The middle day of the cold season, that is, mid-winter (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 = Sk. मध्य middle, and 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬌 = Sk. वार, a day, and 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌 Sk. शरद्, cold, one of the two consecutive *ya*-syllables being dropped by syncope). This etymology is supported even by the Pahlavi Bundahèsh which asserts that the *Mêdhyârem Gahambâr* must fall in the severe winter.

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(6) *Hamaspathmaêdhya Arêtô-karethna.* These two words are also interesting. For, they may be derived and explained in various ways. (1) 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 Sk. सम; Pahlavi-Pazend 𐬵 *ham* and 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 *hâmîn* Pers. همین summer; 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬎, a transposition and contraction of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌 Sk. क्षप् Pahlavi-Pâzend 𐬱𐬀 *shav* modern Persian شب, night, with the insertion of 𐬌 or 𐬎, and 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀 middle. So the word would mean literally "summer night middle," i.e. that midnight on which the summer or warm season commences. (2) 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 summer, 𐬎𐬱 Sk. पथ् path, 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀 middle, which would mean the middle of the Zodiac or the path of the sun occurring at the beginning of the warm season, *i.e.* the middle of the sun's course towards the Summer Solstice. (3) 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 Sk. सम, Pahlavi 𐬯𐬌 Paz. 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 Pers. ہم whole; 𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬎 a contraction of 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬨𐬀 Sk. संवत्, a year, and 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀 Sk. मेघ, sacrifice, with the termination 𐬨𐬁 belonging to. The word, therefore, would mean the occasion of performing the sacrifice at the completion of the whole year. (4) 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 Sk. सम, equal, 𐬵𐬎𐬱𐬎𐬨𐬁 a transposition and change of 𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬭𐬎𐬌 Sk. क्षपन्, night, and 𐬨𐬁 Sk. द्य, day (compare अद्य, to-day) which would mean equal night and day; *i.e.* equinox (*viz.* vernal). (5) 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 Sk. सम, equal, 𐬎𐬱𐬁 Sk. श्वस्, to-morrow, 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀 Sk. मध्य, middle, which would mean the time, of which the next day will have equal middling (of day and night). *Areto-karethna,* This adjective can be derived in two ways. First, by correcting 𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬀 into 𐬙𐬌𐬨𐬀 it would mean the time when the whole day is cut into two equal halves. 𐬙𐬌𐬨𐬀 Sk. अर्ध half, and 𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬎 Sk. कृत, to cut. Secondly, if we keep the orthography of the text untouched, it would mean, as the extant traditional rendering goes,, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬎 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀. the time of performing holy ceremonies. (𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬀 = 𐬀𐬱𐬀 Sk. ऋत, Pahlavi 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀 Pâz. 𐬀𐬱𐬀 Pers. اشو holy meritorious deeds or ceremonial rituals, and 𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬎 Sk. कृ Pahlavi-Pazend 𐬐𐬀𐬵 Pers. کردن to do).

An objection might be raised as to the various ways of explaining and deriving the above words. It would be said that really speaking each word must have only one meaning and one derivation. What is the use then of examining these words and phrases in more than one ways? Our reply is that in whatever philological way we examine these names and phrases, none of them leads us to the idea of creation as has been erroneously understood by mediæval tradition. On the contrary

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the idea underlying these words and phrases is found to be only of the seasons of the year.

II.

THE 33 RATUS OR THE PRESIDING SPIRITS OF THE RITUALISTIC TIMES.

(Yasna Hâ 1, paras 10 and 17, Hâ 2, para 17; Hâ 3, para 12; Hâ 4 para 15; Hâ 6, para 9; Hâ 7, para 12; Hâ 17, para 9).

Five words in Yasna I, 10, viz. 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌 and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 not being correctly understood, have misled for centuries, from the great Mobed Neryôsengh Dhaval, the Sanskrit translator of the Avestâ and other Zoroastrian writings, down to our present day, many able and learned western savants as well as our Parsi scholars in the correct rendering of this passage and in understanding an important fact of the Zoroastrian religion relating to its calendar. The old Pahlavi translator of the Avesta has rendered 𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎 by 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬫 *pêrâmûn* round about, and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 by 𐬐𐬀 *hâvan*, and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌 by 𐬉𐬀 *rad* or 𐬉𐬀𐬛 *radîh* the presiding spirit, and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌 by 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌 *nazîst* nearest. Now, the Pahlavi 𐬐𐬀, *hâvan*, when deciphered as such, has two meanings, (1) the mortar to pound the twigs of the Hom plant, and (2) the *Hâvan gâh*, the time from sunrise to noon. Hence some traditional Parsi translators have understood 𐬐𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬫 *pêrâmûn hâvan* to be round about the mortar, and they give the farfetched explanation that the phrase alludes to 33 ceremonial implements round about the mortar of Hôm in the Yejishne ceremony. When called upon to enumerate the thirty-three implements, no one seems to succeed in giving a satisfactory enumeration. Mobed Neryôsengh seems not to have paid heed to this strange traditional explanation and has understood the word 𐬐𐬀 *hâvan* in the sense of *Hâvan-gâh*. All modern scholars have followed Neryôsengh and have been satisfied with the meaning of these two words as 'round about the *Hâvan-gâh*'. But "round about the Hâvan-gâh" is a very vague and meaningless expression. For how can the time of the *gâh* be said to have a round

shape ? The conception of time is always lengthwise, and therefore it can have only two ends, viz. the beginning and the end. Again, to understand, as some have done, *Hâvan* as meaning the more important sacerdotal time when holy rituals are performed, is also not quite clear and appropriate. Because many such rituals are performed in other *Gâhs* also. Thus both these renderings and explanations do not quite satisfy the critical mind. About eight years ago setting aside these unsatisfactory renderings, I tried to give a new translation of this para 10 of Yasna, Hâ I, which was then published in the Gujerati journal, the " Rast Gôftâr," and subsequently in a pamphlet form named અવસ્તાઈ જમાનાનું જરથોસ્તી દીનનું પંચાંગ (The Zoroastrian Religious Calendar of the Avestic Times). In that pamphlet I have fully explained the words 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌, 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬴𐬀, 𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬌, and 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀. I take, along with Dr. Geldner, the two words 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 and 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯 not separate but a compound, 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬎𐬎𐬀 meaning " belonging to the full year." 𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯 =Sk. सावन the year of 360 days, to which the prefix 𐬎𐬎𐬀, allied to the root 𐬴𐬀 =Sk. पॄ, to fill, being added, we get the word 𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬴𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 =Sk. परिसावन, meaning the full or complete year, *viz.* the year consisting of one revolution of the sun from the point of starting to returning again to the same point. In other words, a full astronomical year of 365¼ days, or more accurately of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 47 seconds. 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌, these; viz. the above-mentioned. The meaning of 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬴𐬀 here is occasions, seasons, or presiding holy spirits of the times. 𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬌, Pahlavi 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬉 *nazist*, nearest=𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬉, nakhust Pers, نخست of the first or former (age of the Zoroastrian religion), when there were nine periods of the year, each consisting of 40 days, see Yasna Hâ 16, paras 3-10 where *Hormazd* is the first day, *Anêrân* the thirtieth, and after that the following ten days are given, making in all the period of forty days each ; *viz.* (31) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (32) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (33) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (34) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, (35) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (36) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (37) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (38) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (39) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 ; (40) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, and five intercalary days of the *Gâthâs* added at the end of the year, deferring the remaining six hours of the year to be added in the form of a day or days at suitable occasions. In that pamphlet I have traced the rule of the Zoroastrian

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religion regarding the diurnal festivals when the names of the day and of the month are the same, such as, *Mehergân*, Meher feast, *Abangân*, Aban feast, *Adargân*, Adar feast, and so on, and also therein I have shown that at this first or former period of the Zoroastrian religion the first period (or call it month) was presided over by *Daê Dâdâr Hormazd* and the last by *Âdar*. The word *Nazdishta = Nakhûst* (of the first or former age which is a synonym of Avestic *paoirya*) itself suggests that the month-period of forty days was afterwards shortened into that of thirty days of twelve months in a subsequent *Avestic* time, which arrangement has been continued up to the present day [See Hâ 1, para 11; Hâ 2, para 11; Hâ 3, para 13; Hâ 4, para 16; Hâ 6, para 10; Hâ 7, para 13]. [As to the distinction of the two periods of *tkaêshâs*, the first of the time of Zarathushtra himself and the subsequent one called *apara*, compare *Zarathushtrahê Varenemcâh tkaêshemcha*, Yasna, Hâ XVI, para 2, and *Aparemcha tkaêshem*, Uzîrin Gâh, para 7].

With this necessary short explanation I translate the aforesaid paragraph (Yasna, I. 10) as follows:—

"I announce, and complete (my Yasna), to all these (above-mentioned) presiding holy spirits of time, who are of the first or former (age of religion), appointed to preside on the thirty three occasions of the full solar year; and which as of the best ceremonial order were inculcated by Ahura Mazda and proclaimed by Zarathushtra."

It may naturally be asked which are the above-mentioned 33 occasions or their presiding spirits to be adored at their appointed times during the full solar year? They are classified and enumerated in Yasna Hâ I, paras 1-9, 17; Hâ 2, paras 2-9, 17; Hâ 3, paras 1-11, 19; Hâ 4 Paras 2, 4-14, 22; Hâ 6, paras 1-8, 16; Hâ 7, Paras 1-11, 19; Ha 17, paras 1-8, 17. They are arranged in these passages in one and the same order of (1) *ayara*, (2) *açnya*, (3) *mâhya*, (4) *yâirya*, and (5) *çaredha*. Putting them in tabular form, they are as follows:—

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The Five Classes of the solar year's religious occasions.		(1) *Ayara*, (2) *Açnya*, (3) *Mâhya*, (4) *Yâirya*, (5) *Çaredha*.
1.	9	From *Daê Dâdâr Hormazd* up to *âdar*, the last. (Yasna Hâ, I. paras 1-2). The diurnal festivals when the names of the day and the month are the same.
2. *Açnya*.	5	The Five Gâhs (Yasna Hâ I, paras 3, *et sequor*, and similarly in other Hâs).
3. *Mâhya*.	3	*Antare-mâh* (the new moon); *Perenômâh* (the full moon); and *Vishaptatha* (the intercalary days to equalise the lunar year with the solar year. (Yasna Hâ I, para 8, Mâh Nyâish, para 6. Compare Dastur Peshotan Sanjana's Pahlavi Dinkard, Chapter 419; Kama Memorial Volume, p. 12-28).
4. *Yâirya*	6	Gahambars or season festivals (Yasna Hâ I, para, 9, and similarly in other Hâs).
5. Çaredha		
	33	Total.

It will be seen that in this table there are two blanks left. Put *Ayara* in number 1, the first of the series of the five classes of the solar year's religious occasions, and put 10 in the blank space against *Çaredha*, the fifth and the last class of the series of the five classes of these occasions, and we get the table completed with the total number 33. Of these five class-names the first name in the blank space of number 1 is not mentioned in the text of the Avesta. But we can easily make out what it is. It is nothing else but *Ayara* which is here to be taken as understood. For, very often in the enumeration of certain series of names the first is taken as understood

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in the Avestâ as also in other lauguages. For example, in the *Hormazd Yasht*, para. 7, where the ordinals 𐬉𐬎𐬎𐬀, 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, etc. are met with, they suggest that 𐬌𐬎𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 is there to be taken as understood. Similarly in this place also *Ayara* is to be taken as understood, because the following *Aęnya*, *Mâhya*, etc. suggest that as they are the consecutive class-names of the series of *Ayara*, *Aęnyâ*, *Mâhya*, *Yâirya*, and *Çarêdha*, the name of the first class *Ayara* is to be taken here as understood; we must remember that in all other places in the Avestâ where this series of class-names occur, it always begins with *Ayara* and ends with *Çaredha*. 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 means a class of festivals, each lasting for a day, on which the name of the day and that of the month is the same. Again, the total at the bottom of the table is spoken of as 33. Summing up the occasions of the first four classes in the above table (9+5+3+6=23) the number is 23, which means that the number of the fifth and the last class *Çaredha* must be 10 (33—23=10). Now, what must be these ten of this last class *Çaredha*? *Çaredha* etymologically denotes 'belonging to the cold season.' Therefore it means here a festival of ten (days) of the cold season. What must be this festival of ten days? It must be the festival of ten days of *Farvardegân*, which falls at the end of the cold season. (See *Farvardîn Yasht*, para. 49).

A careful reader will see that in this and other passages mentioned above which relate to the series of class-names of *Ayara*, *Aęnya*, *Mâhya*, *Yâirya*, and *Çaredha*, there is a sketch of the religious calendar of the Zoroastrians of Avestic times.

The Kadimi sect of the modern Parsees recognises the religious year consisting of 365 days only. But from what we have shown above in Note I. as regards the meanings, etymology, etc., of the six Gahambârs it is clear that our religious year is the year of natural seasons. And since the seasons of nature recur infallibly in the complete year of 365¼ days, it is absolutely necessary that the arrear of the remaining six hours of the complete year must inevitably be intercalated at some suitable time. Their denial, therefore, of this intercalation of the remaining six hours of the complete year is untenable. The Shehenshâhi sect of the modern Parsees, though recognising the necessity of intercalating the arrear of the six hours in the complete year at some suitable occasion, holds that it should be made in the form of a month of 30 days at the lapse of 120 years. But this mode of intercala-

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tion is fraught with inconvenience and disadvantages. For, in that long period of 120 years the fixed seasonal as well as other festivals and occasions could not be observed at their appropriate or even approximate fixed seasonal times. Moreover, we cannot also be sure of being free from natural, national, and other worldly calamities which may befall during that period and make it impossible to intercalate the month at the end of this long interval of 120 years. As a matter of fact we Parsis have had the bitter experience of this disadvantage in that since the downfall of the Sâsânian dynasty the ancestors of the Shehenshâhi sect of the Parsis have been able to add the intercalary month only once and consequently at present our religious festivals fall at wrong times and seasons. In order to have a correct and fixed seasonal religious calendar, our wise and thoughtful coreligionists are anxious to reform the present incorrect and imperfect calendar, and so fix the festivals and other occasions that they may always fall on their appropriate fixed seasonal times. How is this to be performed ?

The chief characteristic of the Zoroastrian religious calendar consists in its simpleness and convenience of intercalating the arrear of time in day-form and also in avoiding the rather inconvenient method of counting the days of the month in unequal numbers, as also in avoiding intercalation of the fractions of the diurnal time. Hence in conformity to its character of simplicity and satisfying also the demands of religious rituals, the best course is to adopt the system of intercalation of one day at the expiration of every fourth year, making it of the duration of 366 days. This mode of intercalation is already in practice among all the civilised nations, which year is called the leap year. It would be convenient both for religious and practical purposes, if the leap year of the Zoroastrians would also fall in the same leap-year as that of the Europeans, the 366th intercalary day to be called "*Avardâd Sâl Gâh*" with its appropriate religious recitals as is extant in our ritualistic books, such as "*Avestâ-ê-Vâjahâ*" or બાજ ધરણું, under the heading of "*Khashnûman-ê-Sôdî Nôrôz*" from which we can infer that the dedication of this day is fit to be made to *Khordâd*, the presiding spirit of all times [Compare "*Afrîn e-Rapithvan*, page 99, of the Pâzend Texts].

We shall conclude this note without entering into further details of this subject, contenting ourselves with showing that the Zoroastrian religious year of the first age of Avestic times began with *Daê Ḍâdâr* as the first month of the

year and *Adar* as the last. The present notion of *Farvardin* as the first month and *Spandârmad* as the last month of the Zoroastrian year was unknown in the old Avestic times. The custom of reckoning the order of months from *Farvardin* came in vogue in some post-Avestic time, possibly sometime after the downfall of the Sâssânian dynasty, and probably when Jalâl-ud-dîn Malik Shâh of the Saljûkî dynasty inaugurated his own era. During his time *Farvardin* the first in order of the months of Yazdejardi era, which began with his accession to the throne on the 19th of June 631 A.D., [N. S.], had receded owing to absence of intercalation of the yearly six hours, and had then fallen on the 21st of March, the time of the Vernal Equinox or Jamshedi Naoroze; from which time the wrong notion of considering *Farvardin* as the first month both of the Zoroastrian religious year as well as of the accession of Yezdejerd originated and has continued up to the present day among our coreligionists.

III.

THE ORDER OF THE GÂHS.

The order of the five *Gâhs* of the day is ordinarily believed to commence with *Hâvan* and to end with *Ushahîn*. But our modern study of the Avesta has proved this to be an erroneous idea. Truly speaking the day commences according to the Avestâ with the *Ushahîn Gâh* beginning from mid-night and ending with sunrise. Then follow the order of the other four *Gâhs*, the day coming to a close at midnight. In support of this assertion we have the following evidences.

(1) One kind of *Hamkârs* or co-workers of the *Gâhs* are (1) *Nmânya*, (2) *Vîçya*, (3) *Zantuma*, (4) *Dakhvyuma*, and (5) *Zarathushtrôtema*, each having his place in one of the *Gâhs*. The *Hamkâr Nmânya* is attached to *Ushahîn*, *Vîçya* to *Hâvan*, and so on. Now, if *Hâvan* were the first in order of the five *gâhs*, this series of five *Hamkârs* would have had its beginning with *Hâvan*. But it is not so, and is commenced with Ushahîn. This shows that *Ushahîn* must be the first in order of the five *Gâhs*.

(2) In the two larger recitals of the *Gâhs*, *viz. Ushahin* and *Hâvan*, reverence is paid to the seven Amshâspands, the first five of which are reverenced in the *Ushahîn Gâh*, while the last two in the *Hâvan Gâh*. This also goes to prove that *Ushahîn* is the first in order of the five *Gâhs*.

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(3) In the Pahlavi Nîrangistân the order of the Gâhs begins with *Ushahin* and ends with *Aiwiçruthrem*. This order is also seen by me in some manuscripts of the *Khordeh Avesta*.

(4) The obsequial fourth day ceremony called *Chahârûm* is commenced to be performed in the *Ushahîn Gâh*. This also shows that *Ushahîn* is the first in the order of *Gâhs*, because the ritual of Chahârûm, the fourth day, is begun with *Ushahîn*.

(5) Besides these *Ushâh* the dawn, as the commencement of the day, is met with in the Vendidâd, Pargard 13, paras 1, 2, 5, 6; Pargard 18, paras 15, 23; Yasht 5, para 62; Yasht 14, para 20; Yasht 15, para 55, &c.

IV.

TECHNICAL TERMS AS THE NAMES OF CERTAIN RECITALS.

In the portion of Yasna consisting of the *Hâs* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 called technically the *Sarôsh Darûn*, certain words occur which are generally translated in their ordinary meanings. But they are not so, in as much as they are used there as technical names for certain aggregations of *Hâs* of the *Yasna* which are to be recited until the whole Yasna is completed.

Technical terms.	Standing for what recitals.
(1)	Yasna Hâ 19, 20, 21, the commentaries on *Ashem*, *Yathâ*, and *Yênghêhâtâm*.
(2)	The five *Gâthâs*.
(3)	Yaçnâ, *Hâs* 55-63.
(4)	The portion commencing with *Angheûsh Darethrâi* (Yasnâ, *Hâs*, 64, 65).
(5)	The portion of the Yasnâ, Hâ 66, commencing with &c.
(6)	The portion of the Hâ 72 commencing with

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The attention of the learned members of the *Zarthoshtî Dinni Khol Karnâri Mandli* (Society for making researches into the Zoroastrian religion) was drawn by me to this subject in 1891 A.D. (See the proceedings of the Society), and I belive there may still be other technical terms in the Avesta which may have hitherto been translated in their ordinary meanings, but which, if investigated in this spirit, may lead to further discoveries in the Avesta.

V.

THE FOUR PRINCIPAL APPELLATIVES OF THE MÂZDAYASNI RELIGION.

(*Yasna* 12, *para* 9) :—

In the confession of faith of the Mâzdayasni Religion, besides the usual epithet 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬌 (good), there are other four qualifying adjectives of this religion. These four words must not have been applied to this religion without any peculiar significations. Hence they are important to be well understood. They are (1) 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌 (2) 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 (3) 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 and (4) 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀. If we analyse the first adjective into 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 + 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌 it would be compared somewhat with Sk. root प्राक्षिप् (throwing forth) + योक्त्र (yoke strap). This would give no suitable meaning to denote an appropriate signification of the religion. The traditional Pahlavi meaning is 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 (which has abandoned false arguments), and its comment is 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 (that is, one should not go to others with absurd or unjust arguments, but if any one comes with absurd or unjust arguments, we should well contest with just arguments with him). Neryosengh translates the Pahlavi meaning by परित्यक्तप्रतिवादां (which has abandoned wrong arguments) and the comment by अप्रतिवादगुरुत्वेन उपरि केषांचित् न युज्यते गंतुं यश्च अप्रतिवादगुरुत्वेन उपरि आयाति तेन सह प्रतिवादगुरुत्वं शुद्धतया युज्यते कर्तुम्. (Without having weighty arguments it is not fit to go to argue with any persons, but if any one adduces absurd or unjust arguments, it is fit to rightly contest with him). From these two translations we gather that the Avestic 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌 is understood by them to mean contest or controversy, and, therefore, the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌 in the Avesta text should be corrected into 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 (argument, from √𐬵𐬀 to speak). Or keeping the text intact, we must understand 𐬭 to

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stand for ḇ as sometimes it is found in the Avesta. For example 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 for 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 or 𐬵𐬀𐬎 (to cover, to put on dress); 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬌

holy, sacred, &c. But here as well as elsewhere in the Avestâ this adjective has a peculiar signification, implying not only general purity or holiness in the moral sense of the word, but also in ceremonial, ritualistic, and other peculiar commandments of the Mâzdayasni Faith.

VI.

"ASHA" AS THE NAME OF THE HEAVENLY LOCALITY "GAROTHMÂN."

(*Yasna* 16, *para* 7) :—This phrase is understood to have the apparent primary radical meaning of its three component words "glorious works of Righteousness", and consequently the paragraph is translated somewhat as under :—

"And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness, in which the souls of the dead rejoice, which are the *Fravashis* of the Saints."

This translation has originated two erroneous ideas. The one is the traditional belief that the *Ravâns* and the *Farohars* are the same, thus confounding human souls with their guardian spirits. The second is the confounding or identifying acts of Righteousness with Fravashis, or Guardian Spirits. But the aforesaid three words, as well as the word in this passage have entirely different meanings. The second word is the name of a heavenly locality, in which sense it is used in *Hâ XIX*, para 6, where the three stages of Heaven are spoken of as (1) ; (2) ; and (3) . Somewhat similarly we have in Yasna XVI, paras 6 and 7, the three stages of Heaven (1) ; (2) ; and (3) . A little careful reflection on these parallel passages of the *Hâs XIX* and *XVI* will show that in these passages heavenly localities are spoken of and not works. does not mean in this passage "they rejoice", but it means "they make them rest", from $\sqrt{}$ or $\sqrt{}$ to dwell, to take rest, of which the causal is . In this sense also the Pahlavi translator has understood this word, which he translates by *âçâînênd*, "they make them rest." Not only this, but he further gives as commentary of the pasage *garôthmân*, which is well-known as a heavenly locality. The last word is not to be understood here as "work", but as a synonym of "lustre"

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Sk. वचस् Pahlavi 𐭥𐭠𐭫 *varj*, Pazend 𐬬𐬀𐬎 or 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎. (Compare also *Visperad XIX.* para 2 ; *Ardi-Bahesht Yasht,* paras 1 and 2). Moreover, if we accept the pronoun 𐬌𐬎𐬎 as standing for "works", grammar compels us that there must be here a past participle passive in the locative plural case, like 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 or some such. Investigating in this way we find that the meaning of this passage hitherto understood is not correct. Taking the meanings of 𐬎𐬎, 𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 and 𐬵𐬀𐬙 as shown above and observing the accuracy of grammar, the translation of *Yasna, Hâ XVI*, para 7 is as follows :—

"We adore the bright lustres of the heavenly locality *Asha* (Garothmân) in which (those) which are the guardian spirits of the holy, make the *Ravâns* (or souls) of the *Iristâs* (those wko have been declared fit for Heaven) rest."

There is a somewhat similar sentence in the Avesta 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌, 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬬𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬬𐬎𐬎. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬬𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎. 𐬬𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 (here we reverence the *Ravâns* [or souls] of the dead, which are the *Fravashis* of the holy). This is recited at the end of *Gâhân Sarâyashni* (ગેહ સારણું) as well as in the formula recital on certain occasions of viewing the Tower of Silence (નમસ્કાર દોખમાનો). This recital also seems to have strengthened the erroneous idea that *Ravâns* and *Farohars* are identical. But this error is due to taking 𐬎𐬎, a relative pronoun standing for *Rvân.* If it were so, the word would have been 𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 and not 𐬎𐬎. With a little consideration it will appear that 𐬎 must have been left out by incompetent writers and careless reciters. Correcting, therfeore, 𐬎𐬎 into 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 the sense is clear, and the text would run 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌, 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬬𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬬𐬎𐬎. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬬𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬬𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 (Here we reverence the *Ravâns* [souls] of the dead and the *Fravashis* of the holy).

VII.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF THE PROPHET SPITAMA ZARATHUSHTRA.

𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 (*Yasna, Hâ 53*) :—It is my humble opinion that this fifth and the last Gâthâ of Zarathushtra which has been conceived as a nuptial song, is really the last will and testament of the prophet Spitama Zarathushtra. This view held by me of this *Gâthâ* was laid before the members of the "*Zarthoshti Dinni Khol Karnâri Mandli* (Society for making researches

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into the Zoroastrian Religion) in 1891 and 1892 A.D. (See the proceedings of the Society). I divide this chapter of the testament into six parts thus :—Part I, paras 1-2, wherein Zarathushtra appoints his successors in the matters of religion Gûshtâsp, Frashaoshtra, and other wise and holy propounders of religion, and enjoins that in all succeeding times this practice must be observed and continued. Part II. consists of the third paragraph, in which Zarathushtra commands his daughter Pouruchiçtâ to be, during the time of her unmarried life, under the guidance of a wise preceptor of his religion, and after that to marry a good husband, and after her marriage to live under his protection, and to lead a secular virtuous life. Part III. consists of the fourth paragraph, in which he orders all good women to honour and obey their elders and guardians, and promises that if they will exert their influence in making those who come in contact with them steadfast on his religion, they will be rewarded heaven by Ahura-Mazda in the next life. Part IV. consists of the fifth paragraph, wherein he orders the marrying couples to profess his religion with its both outward signs (viz. *Sudrâ* and *Kûsti*), and admonishes them to lead a life of mutual love. Part V. consists of paragraphs 6 and 7, in which he enjoins all men and women to abstain from demon-worship which is sure to bring bitter punishment in hell. The Part VI., the concluding one, consists of paras 8 and 9, wherein he excludes from his blessings all those who will not fulfill his wishes and commands, and orders to consider such persons as alien to his community, and on the other hand he pronounces benedictions and promises meritorious reward by Ahura Mazda in heaven to all those who will fight against and vanquish wicked rulers, false priests, deceivers and such other evil persons. With this preliminary remark I give my translation with important necessary notes of this *Hâ* as follows :—

PARAS 1—2.

"The best wish of Zarathushtra, the descendant of Spitama, is made heard (i.e. announced as follows):—If (or when) Ahura Mazda should bestow upon him (Zarathushtra) (in reward) for his righteousness the gifts, viz., a blissful life for all eternity (i.e., heaven after his death), Gushtâsp, the Kayânian, Frashaoshtra, and any descendant (or successor) of Zarathushtra himself, and (from time to time) the Saoshyants (the holy benefactors of the

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world, the propagators of religion, i.e., the Zoroastrian priests), who may be well-versed in the Right Ways, namely, the Religion which Hormazd has given (i.e., sent to mankind), shall give instructions about thoughts, words, and deeds, so as to make one faithful as regards the worship, praises, and propitiation of Hormazd; (they shall give instructions) to him (i.e. to any person) who may wish to learn and remove the doubts (of his mind) as regards the sayings and actions of the Good Religion."

NOTES.—[illegible], Pahlavi [illegible], the state of blissful life. This word is equivalent to [illegible] Pahlavi [illegible]; Pers. [illegible]—[illegible] I take here the root [illegible] (correcting the text into [illegible]) as akin to [illegible], [illegible], doubt, and the root [illegible] as the desiderative of [illegible] to learn; the reduplicative syllable being dropped and [illegible] transposed to [illegible].—[illegible] is equivalent to [illegible], rejoicing, propitiation.—[illegible]. Adverb, present participle, accusative singular of the root [illegible] + [illegible] akin to [illegible], [illegible], &c.—[illegible] nominative plural of [illegible], knower, one who knows: nominative singular [illegible], accusative singular [illegible].

PARA 3.

"And thou, Oh Pouruchiçtâ! the descendant of Haêchataspa and Spitama! the devotional one among the daughters of Zarathushtra! he (the spiritual guide) shall give to thee the signs (the sacred garments, *sudrâ* and *kûsti*) of the acknowledgement of being under the rulership of Mazda, Vohûmanô, and Asha (Hormazd, Behman, and Ardîbehesht). And after that thou shalt be consulting him (in matters of religion) with thy increasing wisdom. And thou shalt marry a good husband of perfect good mind."

NOTES. [illegible]. The subject of this verb is to be taken as understood and to be taken from the preceding passage where [illegible] (wise preceptors) are spoken of. [illegible] or [illegible], from [illegible] + √[illegible], Sk. आह्, to respond, or to acknowledge; or [illegible] + √[illegible] (= [illegible]), Sk. वह् 'to put on the garment.' Here Zarathushtra commands his youngest daughter that she shall get herself initiated into the ceremony of *Sudrâ* and *Kûsti* by a spiritual guide, and shall continue to consult him in matters of religion, and also that she shall not remain single, but marry a good husband. This command of Zarathushtra reminds us of a similar injunction in *Revâyets*, inculcating that every

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Zoroastrian should select one invisible spirit or angel, one religious guide, and one wise friend to ask their help in spiritual, religious, and worldly affairs. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 – 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎. (𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎+√𐬎𐬀 + 𐬵𐬀=thou shalt marry a good husband. 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 =Sk. सुधनी = a good master. (Compare Yasnâ, Hâ 31, para 16). 𐬎𐬁 = Sk. वृ, to select and to marry; and 𐬵𐬀, the termination of imperative mood, second person singular.

PARA 4.

"Verily the pious house-wife who will emulate in giving herself up (in submitting herself) to the pious father and husband and relative, who lead an honest industrious life, shall be everlastingly given by Ahura Mazda the deserved (?) Garôthmân (the highest heaven) of Behman—she herself being, as it were, the good religion incarnate. (In other words, she will be a model of a pious Zoroastrian lady)."

Notes. 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎. Feminine of 𐬎𐬀 husband; as 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌 feminine of 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌, &c. 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬁𐬌𐬀, √ 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 = Sk. स्वृ, to emulate (other women in submission to her lawful elders). 𐬎𐬁𐬌𐬁 = 𐬵𐬁𐬌𐬀, "to the father." 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 is another word for 𐬌𐬎𐬀 = Sk. गिर्, sound, √𐬌𐬎 = Sk. स्वन्, to sound. 𐬌𐬎𐬀 or 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 (compare Venidâd 5, para 38) is a synonym for 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬁 or 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬁 dwelling. So 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬎𐬀 is another name for 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬁 𐬎𐬁𐬎𐬀 (Garôthmân). 𐬵𐬁𐬎 𐬎𐬁 is a difficult phrase. It seems to be an adjective of *Garôthmân* If compared to Persian بایستم, it would mean 'deserved,' 'deserving' (?); or compared to Skr. मापयत्+वक्ष् measuring at growth, proportionate (?).

PARA 5.

"Declaring openly I command the brides and ye also (the bridegrooms), I who encourage married life, that this ye shall often and often bring to remembrance, viz. both having been invested with the two outward signs of religion (*Sûdrâ* and *Kûsti*) ye shall obtain (lead) the life of good mind. And ye shall bear affectionate love to each other. Verily, then, it will be your living happily."

Notes.—𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎. Nominative singular of 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎.—𐬎𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎, Sk. उद्यमानाम्यः= brides uniting in wedlock. 𐬎𐬁𐬎𐬀, a contraction of 𐬎𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 = Sk. वाह्यमान, causing or encouraging marriages. 𐬎𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬎 .ए. 𐬎 and ye shall often and often

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put into mind; i.e. ye shall always remember. ꬱ=this, the following—ꬹꬱꬹꬱꬹꬱ

PARA 7.

"And in return (punishment) for that (demon-worship) there shall be heart-rending extensive insatiety of food reaching to the bottom of the naval, going up and down, to the invisible (soul) of the wicked wherever he may try to flee away. Let that worship be abandoned, lest you shall have to lament at last."

This stanza may be translated in another way.

"And in punishment for that demon-worship there shall be a furious snake going up and down, to the soul of the wicked, &c."

NOTES. 𐬫𐬀𐬎=Skr. मख =sacrifice, from which there is 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬌 = Pers. مغ a sacrificer, Latin '*Magus*', plural '*Magi*'. 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬌 = Pahlavi 𐭬𐭢𐭩 *Magôpat* = Pars. موبد a Parsi priest.—𐬫𐬀𐬱. Correct it into 𐬫𐬀𐬱 = Pers. ژ, excessive hunger, insatiety. On comparing it with Sk. अहि, Pers. اژدر, a snake, a dragon, metaphorically it means the pain caused by excessive hunger or by a huge serpent. Compare the punishment of the souls of some sinners in hell, described in the Ardâ-Virâf-Nâmeh. 𐬵𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴, (1) heart-felt, heart-rending; (2) if taken as 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴 it may be an adjective of 𐬫𐬀𐬱, a dragon, meaning filthy, foul. Compare 𐬫𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴 𐬫𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴; (3) If taken as 𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬴 it may be an adjective of 𐬫𐬀𐬱, meaning stinging, biting, gnawing the heart (𐬎𐬀𐬴=हृद् the heart, and 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀=दष्ट p. p. passive of दश् to sting). 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌 √𐬵𐬌 = Sk. म्रुच्, to go, to move. 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌 = the invisible (part), i.e. the soul. 𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬌 𐬫𐬀𐬱, he may flee further; √𐬵𐬀𐬌 to flee, Sk. नश्, Gujerati-નાસવું.—𐬫𐬀𐬱𐬎𐬀𐬴 . 𐬎𐬀𐬌, = Sk. विच्, to separate. The meaning is "not only that ye shall abandon the demon-worship, but also you shall make others abandon it." 𐬵𐬌𐬫𐬀𐬌, the same as 𐬵𐬀𐬌, in the above stanza, comparable with Pers. وای = lamentation.

PARA 8.

"Let all those, who are inactive (who show dereliction of duty in carrying out these my injunctions) be derided and sneered at and rediculed by the taunting executioners and lash-beaters of good kings. Let them be excommunicated and driven away from habitations and streets. Let them be bound both (in hands and feet) with chains. May swift and great mortality befall them!"

NOTES. 𐬵𐬌𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬫𐬀𐬱, inactive, not performing, showing dereliction of duty.

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The prefix denotes absence, want. Compare 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀, absence of food. 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀, construe it with 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 =Skr आडम्बनीया = fit for deriding, sneering, rediculing, fit for indignity; future participle. 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 =Skr. उपहास्या fit for redicule; i.e. inadmissible in society, banned from society. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 = 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 + 𐬀 = beater, punisher, executioner; 𐬀𐬌𐬎 (from √𐬀𐬌𐬎, to be cruel, to wound). Contraction of 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 = Sk. क्रूरवर a cruel man. As 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 executioner, so 𐬀𐬌𐬎 lash-beater. Both are punishers, low menials of the royal courts. 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 √𐬌𐬎 Sk. क्रुध् Pers. خروشیدن to decry, to taunt. Compare the pictures of punishment of sinners in hell by the *Daêvâs* who redicule and taunt them as given in the Ardâ-Vîrâf-Nâmeh.—𐬀𐬵𐬌. This word is allied to 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 Greek 'eremos' (from which the English word 'hermit' is derived); standing alone, i.e. excommunication, ban from society. Compare Yasna 48, para 11. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 (who will excommunicate the cruel wicked persons?). 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 =Sk. क्षितिभ्यः from habitations. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀. Here 𐬀 stands for 𐬀. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀=Sk. इरत = let him move. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀=Sk. द्विपाश = bound both (in hands and feet) with ṣhains (shackles and fetters). 𐬀 goes with 𐬀𐬌𐬎 which means bonds, chains, from √𐬀𐬌𐬎, to bind.

PARA 9.

"One adorns himself with (the sacred) garb (*Sûdrâ* and *Kûstî*), though without faith; (i.e. there are certain persons who, though outwardly appear pious, are really hypocrites). There are also wilful destroyers of righteousness, the *tanâfurs*, (the great sinners), who are, as it were, prostitutes, the decreasers (of the prosperity of the world). Wherever there be a good lord (sovereign) who would fight against the lives and hospitable receptions accorded to such persons, that act of his is as meritorious as "*Thy Khshathra* (Kingdom), oh Ahura Mazda! which is the same as *giving subsistence to the poor, leading righteous life* [alluded to in the *Yathâ-Ahû-Vairyo*]".

Notes. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 = one without faith, or one having bad faith, a sanctimonious hypocrite. 𐬀𐬌𐬎 = Skr वेष = garb. (Refers to the religious garment, *Sudrâ* and *Kûsti*). 𐬀𐬌𐬎, adorns. √𐬀𐬌𐬎, to adorn; Pers. پیراستن آراستن Pahlavi 𐬀𐬌𐬎 *vêrâçtann*. 𐬀𐬌𐬎 decreaser, √𐬀𐬌𐬎, to decrease. Compare 𐬀𐬌𐬎, metaphorically spoken of in Ven didâd XVIII, as the decreaser of waters, trees, and

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other prosperities of the world. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 is a synonym of 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀, √𐬐𐬎, Sk. रज् to be attached with unlawful love. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 = wilful destroyers of purity. Compare Vendidâd V, para 4. 𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬀, a *Tanâfur* (a great criminal, a sinner).—𐬀𐬌 or 𐬀𐬌=𐬀𐬎 Sk. क = Pers. کو where? Note here the interrogative is for the relative 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎. Compare Yasna, Hâ 23, para 3. 𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬌 = 𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎.—𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬎 = 𐬐𐬀𐬎, life.—𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌, would fight against, √𐬵𐬎 + 𐬵𐬀. Compare Pahlavi 𐬲𐬐𐬀𐬎 *hamêçtâr*, opponent. 𐬐𐬀𐬎–𐬀𐬎, literally "going and coming at one's will, without hindrance from any one", i.e. good reception hospitality. Compare Yasna, Hâ XII, para 3. 𐬉𐬀𐬎, comparative of 𐬀𐬌𐬉, every good thing. Compare the line 𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀𐬎 in the *Yathâ-Ahû-Vairyô*.

The first line may be differently interpreted. "Poison (in hell) is the gift to the unbelievers. They (who) are the troublous oppressors of men....."

Notes.—𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎 (1)=Skr. विष: poison. Compare Ardâ Viraf Nameh. Or (2)=𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 (with the procope of 𐬀 and change of 𐬎 into 𐬵) Pahl. 𐬉𐬎 misery 𐬐𐬀𐬎 from √𐬐𐬎=Ved. राध् to recompense.—𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌=Skr. तृषिर् oppressors of men.—𐬵𐬀𐬎 from √𐬵𐬀𐬎 Pers. ستردن to torment.

Such is the substance of the Gâthâ Vahishtâ-îshtî, which must have been composed by Zarathushtra, the prophet, in the last stage of his life. Taking all the five Gâthâs in a comprehensive view, it seems they must have been composed by him one after the other at different stages of his life; because we can trace in them incidents relating to his life from youth to old age. Seeing much of the sublime and noble work of the propagation of his religion and reform of the world still remained to be done, the Prophet must naturally have been led to entrust it to his successors and followers in all times to come; and hence this chapter is more likely to be of the nature of his last will and testament rather than anything else.

VIII.

BÊNDVA. 𐬠𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬉𐬀 (*Yasna, Hâ XLIX., paras 1-2*) :—

This word is so rare that it occurs only in the two consecutive Gâthic stanzas of Yasna, Hâ 49, paras 1-2. Some eminent scholars, assuming this word to be the proper name of a border chief, have rendered these stanzas in their own way. But we have not yet got any evidence or evidences in support

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of this assumption. On the contrary the traditional Pahlavi translation as well as comparative philology combinedly show that there is no need of assuming it to be the name of a border chief. The Pahlavi gives its meaning [illegible] *vîmârîh*, Pers. بیماری, sickness, ailment, disease; and philologically also the word is comparable to Sanskrit मांद्य, Pers. ماندگی, Gujerâti માંદ and માંદવાડ, meaning sickness, indisposition. In support of this comparision we have an example of the Avestic initial [illegible] comparable to Sanskrit म्; viz. the root [illegible], Sk. मुच्, to deliver, to release, to set free, to get relief or comfort. Hence approving the traditional and the philological meaning of [illegible] to be sickness, ailment, disease, I render the aforesaid two paras as follows :—

"A great chronic disease has filled (taken hold of) me, which (disease) is difficult to go away (to be removed or cured). Oh Mazda! make me truly rejoiced. (Cure me of this disease, so that I may be cheerful again). Come to me by my good prayer. Comfort me. By means of (Thy) Good Mind put aside this disease.

"And he causes me diseased of this, he who is the false religionist, the deceiver in the garb of truth, the frequent (intense) envier who has not for himself Thy Holy Consummate Thought, nor is he a kind enquirer (of my condition)."

NOTES. [illegible], continuous, chronic. [illegible], the perfect tense of √[illegible], to fill. [illegible], prayer, from √[illegible], Sk. आह्, to speak, to say. [illegible], from √[illegible] for [illegible], to comfort. Compare [illegible] comfort [illegible]=Pers. ماندن کند, and ماندگی کند, causes sickness; √[illegible], to sicken. [illegible], frequently or intensely envious, √[illegible] = Sk. ईर्ष्या, to envy. [illegible], from √[illegible], Sk. धृ, to hold, to have.

From these two stanzas we conclude that they were composed by Zarathushtra at a time when he was suffering from a heavy continual sickness, and when some enemy of his had come to him in the guise of a friend to recommend to him some remedy to cure this disease. But Zarathushtra sagaciously finding him out to be the enemy in the garb of a friend rejected his advice, and preferred to take some other remedy putting his trust in Ahura Mazda. The source of the event of Zarathushtra's sickness spoken of in the Persian Zarthôsht Nâmeh, when his enemies recommended for him remedies which would have surely killed

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him but which he refused to take, can be traced in these two stanzas of Yasna, Hâ 49.

IX.

EGYPT'S NAME IN THE AVESTA, AND DISCOVERY OF THE HVÂFRÎDÂN DYNASTY IN THE AVESTIC TIME AFTER THE KAYÂNIANS.

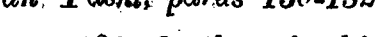
(*Abân Yasht, paras 130-132*) :—

In the Abân Yasht, paras 130-132 there is this prayer :—

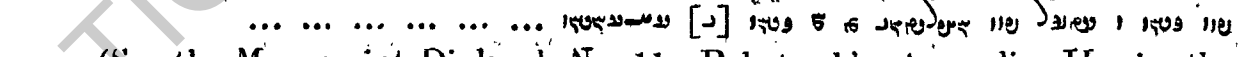
... ...

The translation of this passage given by learned scholars is somewhat as follows : —

"I beg of thee this favour, that I, fully blessed, may conquer large kingdoms....."

Here the phrase  is of great interest, worth investigating into.

In the first place if we think a little, the asking of this sort of boon would not be appropriate in the mouth of any or every person. For if an ordinary person were to ask for a boon, he would not ask to obtain kingdoms in his prayer. This shows that the above prayer was uttered by some particular person, and, therefore, the word must not be considered an adjective of (I), but as a proper name of some particular person. Let us try to find out who that person was. In the Pahlavi Dinkard we come across the following passage :—



... ... [د] ... ...

(See the Manuscript Dinkard, No 11, Rehetseck's Appendix II., in the Mullâ Firuz Library of Bombay, labelled دینکرد از دفتر چهارم تا پشتم با شش جز گم شده copied by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rânâ, page 23 of جز اول).

[Hûkhûdâih baên Jam-tôkhmagân âkhar min Frêdûn pavan... ..... fradûm pavan Mânûshchiharân u dâdigar pavan Kayân u çi-digar pavan Hvâfrîtân ê

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min ham Kayân ê Sâsâniân.....] "Among the descendants of Jamshed, there was good rule after Farêdûn.....first by the successors of Minôcheher, and secondly by the Kayânis and thirdly by the descendants of Hvâfrît;—and the Sâsânians descended from the same Kayânis."

Here we find the trace of a certain dynasty of kings established by a person named Hvâfrît. Now if the prayer in the above Avestic passage befits any person, it is most likely that the person Hvâfrîtô was the founder of a royal dynasty or a descendant of a certain royal dynasty after Kaê Gushtâsp (Abân Yasht, 132) who must have asked this boon from Ardvi Sûra. Thus we find that besides the well-known dynasties of ancient kings of Persia, there was one more dynasty of Kings of Persia in the Avestic times after that of the Kayânians and preceding that of the Achæmenians. Now, this Hvâfrîtô prays for making some conquest. What is it that he wants to conquer ? It is 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌. Hitherto these two words have been translated as large kingdoms. But it is my humble opinion that 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 is a geographical proper name of a country, and that country is none else but Egypt. The word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 must originally have been 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬉. But through careless recitations and erroneous writings of manuscripts, the letter 𐬉 being dropped, the word remained 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌. We have two similar examples of the dropping of the letter 𐬉 in the Avesta. The one is the well-known name of Bactria which was originally 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬀𐬎𐬎, but now it is found only 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 (Vendidâd I, paras 6 and 7); the original 𐬉 reappearing in Pahlavi 𐬚𐬉 *bakhâr*, Pers. بخار and بار. The second is 𐬯𐬀𐬌 (Vendidâd XIX, para 21), originally 𐬯𐬀𐬉 (a particular piece of bamboo which is an implement used in the ceremonial purification of Bareshnûm). The letter 𐬉 in this word having been dropped, and the three following words through careless recitation and negligent writing being changed, the text now stands there 𐬯𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 (the bull, a full ox ungelded [or cloven-hoofed]). But it should be corrected into 𐬯𐬀𐬉 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌, meaning thereby 'the bamboo implement for sprinkling [the cow's urine] which has a certain number of knots, i.e. nine knots, well-known as Pers. نه گره, Gujerâti નાગરેઠ, used in the ceremonial purification of Bareshnûm. Now it may be asked why the whole country of Egypt as one is not here spoken of, and instead of it the word is in the plural number. Its explanation is that 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌 in the

plural number means the kingdoms or principalities of Masra (Egypt), in which number it is found also in the Achæmenian Persian Inscriptions as well as in Hebrew writings. Thus the Achæmenian 𐎶𐎢𐎼𐎡𐎹𐎢. (Mudrâyâ), Hebrew מעדים *m-s-r-i-m*. From this we can only conclude that the conqueror wishes to lead his army to subdue some tribes of Egypt and not the King or the Emperor of the whole country. And this much is also certain that in the Avestic times 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 was a monarch who wished to lead his army to the country of 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀, which is Egypt.

X.

UPÂZANA.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 :—The phrase 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀 which frequently occurs in the Vendidâd, being erroneously translated into Pahlavi by 𐭬𐭩𐭮𐭭 𐭥𐭢 𐭬𐭩𐭮𐭭 𐭥𐭢 (mæm zanishnîh maem zanishnn = 'lashing stripes') has led for centuries many people to believe that one kind of the punishments inflicted on criminals in the time of the Vendidâd was of the nature of lashing stripes, and that also not only in the number of one or two dozens but rising to hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands. (!). This has brought undeserved discredit upon the teaching of the Vendidâd which is stigmatised as a code of barbarous people. Not only this wrong idea of lashing stripes was prevalent before the light of modern researches was thrown upon the Avesta, but it is even sometimes found in the writings of some of the learned scholars of the present time. But this error of the Pahlavi translator has erelong been detected and corrected by some of our esteemed savants and scholars through the help of the study of the Avestic grammar. The Pahlavi translator, ignorant of the grammar of the Avesta language, having misconceived the Avesta root 𐬵𐬀𐬎 = Sk. अज्, of the first conjugation, meaning to drive, to be the Avesta root 𐬵𐬀𐬌 which is of the second conjugation, Sk. हन्, to beat, has rendered the phrase in the sense of "lashing stripes". We must, however, dismiss this idea for ever, because the right root is 𐬵𐬀𐬎, Sk अज् of the first conjugation, which with the prefix 𐬀𐬯 (near, towards) means 'to drive to', 'to bring near', 'to produce'. And, therefore, the phrase means "one should drive the droves," i.e. "one should bring so many domestic animals as fine inflicted on him for his crime." This fact is also well-known that in the Avestic times cattles were

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the medium of value. (Compare Avesta [illegible], Sk. पशु, Latin 'pecus', German 'Veh', English 'fee, &c."). There is no wonder then that the fines of punishment or atonement inflicted on criminals were in the shape of cattles. Now different kinds of cattles may be of smaller or greater value, and it may be asked which kind of cattles the culprit was to pay as his fine. To determine this kind of fine remained in the hands of the administrator of justice, which must have been written in some other law-book, now unfortunately lost to us.

There are some other learned translators who have understood the root [illegible] to mean "to drive away noxious animals." If that was the real meaning, the phrase would have been [illegible]. Again, it is very difficult to determine the driving away of noxious animals. For, among the noxious animals, there are some which are deadly ferocious like the lion, the tiger, the wolf, and so on, as well as very insignificantly small creatures like the ant, the bees, and such others. Therefore, the only conclusion we can come to is that the above-said phrase means nothing but fine in the shape of cattles. Latterly when the medium of value came to be changed from cattles to coins, fine may have been determined in the shape of so much money or by its equivalent thing or things or by act of public utility at the discretion of the judge or the high-priest, whoever he may have been.

XI.

CATTLE-URINE USED IN THE PURIFICATION OF CORPSE-BEARERS.

(*Vendîdâd VIII, paras* 12-13) :—

Another unfortunate blunder on the part of careless reciters and hasty translators has brought an unmerited censure upon the teaching of the Vendidâd. It is in regard to the urine to be used in the purification of the corpse-bearers. The original Avestic text of the Vendidâd distinctly prohibits the use of human urine and allows only the use of the urine of small and large cattles like the sheep, goats, cows, oxen, for the purpose. Then follow some words, which not being properly understood, are conceived to be an exception to the prohibitive command. They are in the Avesta [illegible]

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Correcting 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 into 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 the meaning is not 'except' as is taken by some translators, but it is "but that (urine)", and understanding the meaning of 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍 here in the sense of a synonymous appellative for 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍 as we have shown above in Nôte V, and 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍 as causal of the root 𐬀𐬎𐬎 = 'to urine', the translation of the passage in question is as under :—

"But that (urine) (must be brought directly) by two (persons), who are men or women of the Zoroastrian faith ;—they shall make those (cattles) to urine, with which those corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and body."

XII.

THE TREATMENT OF THE AVESTIC "AYAÔZHDYA," PAHLAVI "AYÔKBAR", *ie.* AN UNPURIFIABLE AND, THEREFORE, PERMANENTLY SEGREGATED PERSON.

In Vendidâd III. paras, 14-21, there is the treatment of a person, wherein occur these two words 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 and 𐬀𐬎𐬎. This has given rise in Pahlavi-Pâzend and Persian Ravâyets to a technical term "Ayôkbar," erroneously understood by tradition as well as all translators to mean a person who knowingly or unknowingly touches or carries *alone* a dead body, and consequently has to undergo penal servitude for life, and who, when quite old, is to be flayed alive and beheaded (!!) But in my humble opinion the real meaning of it is not so. For, in Venidâd VIII, paras. 97-107 such a person is spoken of as purifiable. Hence, "Ayaozhdya" or "Ayôkbar" means either one who on account of his unclean profession has to remain permanently segregated, as well as one who is employed in carrying as well as disposing of 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 (dead matter, dead persons, corpses and all sorts of filthy impurities) ; or a culprit who is condemned to undergo the punishment of penal servitude for life and is compelled to remain always segregated and be employed in the work of the disposal of dead bodies, dead matter, and in such other public scavengering works. This meaning which I assign to "Ayaôzhdya" and "Ayôkbar" is arrived at by me after comparing Vendidâd III, paras 4-21 ; Vendidâd VI, paras 46-51 ; Vendidâd VII, paras 23-27 ; Vendidâd IX, paras 47-57 ; Vendidâd XVIII, paras 8-12 ; wherein certain persons are called 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬍 (Ayaozhdya), i.e. unpurifyable, and, therefore, permanently segregated.

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Who are these "Ayaozhdya"? They are as follows :—

(1) The professional carriers and disposers of corpses (Vendidâd III, paras 14-21). (2) Those who do not abstain from eating the flesh of carcasses of animals (Vendidâd VII, paras 23-27). (3) Professional castraters of animals (𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎-𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 ; 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 Pers. گرد, balls, the testicles, and 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 to cut ; i.e. a castrater of animals ; (?) (Vendidâd VII, para 24). (4) Those who carry on the professions of removing the diseased blood from bodies, such as the appliers of leeches, those who carry on the profession of venesection, those whose profession is that of cutting diseased parts of bodies, with lancets, &c., and such others (?) (𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀-𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀, from 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 Pers. زلو (?) leeches, and √𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀, to cut) (Vendi âd VII, para 24). (5) The professional remover of dead matter, such as pus, &c., from the eyes, like the swollen eyes, &c. (Vendidâd VII, para 27). (6) One who mixes dead matter, and filthy impurities with water and fire (Vendidâd VII, para 25). (7) A false purifier, who pretending deceitfully carries on that profession, but who does not know the rites of purification according to the Mâzdayasni religion, and consequently is condemned to undergo the punishment of penal servitude for life, and hence is permanently segregated (Vendidâd IX, para 47). (8) An "Ashmôg," or heretic, a heterodox, a perverter of the true religious doctrines, a false Athravan (priest), condemned to undergo the punishment of penal servitude for life, and hence permanently segregated (Vendidâd XVIII, paras 8-12).

How and where such persons are to remain ? The rule about it is given in full in Vendidâd III, paras 14-21. It is as follows :—

"Any or every person (except the above-mentioned 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀) shall not carry that which is dead. But if one betakes himself to the profession of carrying (and exposing) the corpses or that of coming in contact with the dead matter (issuing) from the nose, eyes, the tongue, the mouth, sexual organs and hinder parts (as well as the culprits condemned to undergo the punishment of penal servitude for life), they (all men of such professions and culprits)—(because) on their horny overgrowth (such as nails, hair, scales, pores, &c) the Drûj-ê-Nasush (the invisible evil effect caused by dead substances) continually falls upon, —thenceforth become ever and ever "Ayaozhdya," (i.e. impossible to be every now and then purified by a complete ceremonial ablution, and, therefore, they are to be permanently segregated so long as they carry on those professions or undergo the

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punishment of penal servitude). Oh Maker of the corporeal world! Thou Holy One! Where shall be the place of that person whose avocation is that of disposing of the dead substances? Then answered Ahura Mazda that (place) of this earth, wherein is the least water, the fewest plants, is the cleanest and dryest, and that way is the least gone over by flocks and herds, (there shall be away from it) fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundle Baresma, and pure and religious persons. Oh Maker of the corporeal world! Thou Holy One! how far away from the (sacred) fire, how far away from (sacred) water, how far away from the consecrated bundle, Baresma, how far away from pure and holy persons? Then answered Ahura Mazda, thirty paces from the (sacred) fire, thirty paces from the (sacred) water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundle Baresma, and three paces from pure and religious persons. There in that (sequestered) place of this earth shall the Mazdâ-worshippers erect for him enclosures (or walls) (to dwell in), and those worshippers of Mazda shall stand behind with food and clothings (*i. e.* shall stand out of the enclosure while giving them food and clothings). The food shall be most hardening (*i.e.* there must be fewest of luxuries, tending to enervate, for such persons) and the raiment shall be most worn out. This food they shall eat and these clothings they shall put on, until the time when that person grows old or decrepit or without the strength of procreation. (*Note* :—If in the interval at any time a person wishes to quit the unclean profession, or if the culprit who undergoes the punishment of penal servitude for life be released, he may be purified with appropriate ceremonial ablutions [Compare also Vendidâd VIII, paras 97-107] and allowed to mingle with all; but if not, he may be treated as follows). When that person becomes old or decrepit or without the strength of procreation, then (that person shall be treated thus) the worshippers of Mazda shall have already built apart on high grounds a residence, a strong domed cabin, very narrow, much like a turret, of the extent of a hide, for such (segregated) person; whence he may give (expose) corpses (to be deavoured) to the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures of *Spentâ-mainyû*, such as the vultures and other birds; he being told (ordered by the Mazdayasnians) thus :—'Take care of this (earth) (*i.e.* take care that dead bodies and bones may not be scattered about in earth, water, trees, &c. and defile them), and (in return for it) all sins of thy evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds shall not remain (on thee) (*i. e.* will be absolved).' And

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if he may have committed other evil deeds, Patet (repentance) alone is his penance; for although one may not have committed any evil deeds, Patet (repenting by humble confession of one's proneness to sin) is (good) for him for ever and ever."

NOTES. Construe 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 = Pers. مبر = shall not carry; and 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 = Pers. هر کسي=کسي any or every person (except those enumerated above as 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀). 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 does not mean here *alone*. Construe 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 = comes in contact with dead filthy substances. Compare 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀-𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 = comes in direct contact with dead substances, and Pahlavi 𐬵𐬀𐬫𐬀 *hamrîd*; 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀-𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 = comes in indirect contact with dead substances, and Pahlavi 𐬯𐬀𐬫𐬀 *patrîd*. Also compare Persian ریم = pus, ریمن and پلید = filthy, all derived from the Avesta √𐬭𐬌𐬵 to ooze out. 𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀 = horny overgrowth. The word is allied to Avesta 𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀, nails, and Sanskrit शृंग, horn. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 = Pers. درشت, hardest, most hardening (i.e. there must be fewest of luxuries, tending to enervate, for such persons). 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀. Compare Pers. تنگ = narrow. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀. Compare Avesta 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 = a tower, a turret, a minaret. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀, residence, from √𐬯𐬀 = Pers. ماندن, to dwell. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀, Pahlavi 𐬯𐬀𐬫𐬀 *pôçt*, Pers. پوست Skin, hide. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀, Pers. کمر a dome, a cupola, Pahlavi 𐬯𐬀𐬵 *kamâr*, the head (of an evil being), the dome resembling the head. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 is a mispronounced and miswritten word for 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 = they shall build, from √𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀, to build. Compare Yasna, Hâ LVII, para 21, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀; Meher Yasht, para 44, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀. Pahl. وسپوهرکان. *Karkâç*, Pers. کرگس a vulture. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 for 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 corpse, and the root 𐬯𐬀, Sk. अश् to eat. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀, Vedic अवाः [=रक्षसि, ऋग्वेद १, ६, २७, ७,] take care thou; protect thou, watch thou. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬱𐬀, does not remain, disunites, is absolved. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 penance, punishment, expiation, atonement. Compare Sk. प्रायश्चित्त.

This rule for the treatment of all persons who are 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 (permanently segregated persons) is again referred to in Vendidâd IX, 47-57, where the punishment of a false deceitful purifier, who does not know the rites of purifying according to the Mâzdayasni religion and carries on that profession, is spoken of. In the description given therein this rule is refarred to in other words as follows :—

... ...

(Para 49) "What is his punishment? Then answered Ahura Mazda, (when) these Mazda-worshippers fasten the ties of any (corpse), (and) first bind its both hands, and (having brought the corpse to the last place) nude it of its clothings, then he (the culprit, i.e. the false purifier condemned to undergo the punishment of

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penal servitude for life), who is confined in the moded cabin, shall give (expose) the corpse to vultures, &c.

NOTES. [illegible]. Compare Vendidâd VI, para 46 [illegible] = they shall fasten (the corpse). [illegible]. Compare Vendidâd VIII, para 10, [illegible], denuded (and) without clothes.

Again the same rule about the [illegible] is referred to in Vendidâd XVIII, para 10, where the intense hatred towards the *Ashmôgh*, the heretic, the heterodeox, the perverter of true religious doctrines, is shown thus :—

" He who sets free this man (*Ashmôgh*) when caught (distressed) in difficulties and brings him into ease, does no better deed than this that he makes himself fit for undergoing the punishment of remaining in the domed cabin (i.e. He becomes [illegible])."

CONCLUDING REMARK.

This paper has grown rather long, and we must now stop here. Besides the dozen subjects treated herein there are others also very important and interesting relating to the Zoroastrian Religion met with in the Avesta and other sacred writings, which require to be thoroughly investigated into. A great deal, no doubt, has been done up to now in this field, yet much remains to be done ; in as much as we are still far from having thoroughly correct texts and rightly reasonable translations, commentaries and explanations. Let us, therefore, employ our time and energy with double vigour in pursuit of the true knowledge of our Zoroastrian religion by the right ways.

Bombay, 15th June 1913.

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THE STORY OF CAMBYSES AND THE MAGUS, AS TOLD IN THE FRAGMENTS OF CTESIAS.

BY

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In history, as elsewhere, the advantage usually remains with the first comer, even if his report should prove to be far from the truth. Thus, with regard to the rise of the Achæmenian empire, the picturesque narrative of Herodotus has prevailed almost to the present time, and has given to the figures of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius a traditional coloring from which we can scarcely free them even in the light of our better knowledge. Nor have the discovery and interpretation of the Old Persian inscriptions released us from consulting the Greek historians; for the official record is only a part of history, and the impression that the events have left in tradition is almost as important. For this tradition, as it is found in Greek writers, Herodotus is indeed our chief authority, but there is another account, which, though less known and less valuable, still deserves attention. I refer to the fragments of the *Persica* of Ctesias, a Greek who was physician at the court of Artaxerxes II in the early years of the fourth century B. C. This work, which he wrote with the design of rivalling his predecessor Herodotus, was in twenty-three books and related the history of Assyria, Media, and Persia down to his own day.[1] It enjoyed considerable popularity in ancient times, but at length it

1. Our information about the life of Ctesias and the contents of the *Persica* is derived mainly from the fragments of the work itself and from the two following notices.

Photius, *Epitome*, Chap. 1 (in Gilmore, *Fragments of the Persica of Ktesias*, §33, p. 122, London, 1888) 'There was included in my reading a work of Ctesias of Cnidus, the *Persica* in twenty-three books. In the first six, however, he deals with Assyrian and pre-Persian history, and it is only from the seventh book on that he narrates Persian affairs. In the seventh, eighth, [ninth], tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth he tells about Cyrus, Cambyses, and the Magus, and about Darius and Xerxes. In nearly all points he gives an account opposed to that of Herodotus, whom he even accuses of being a liar in many particulars and whom he calls a deviser of fables. Not only is Ctesias later than Herodotus, but he declares that he was either an eyewitness of most of the events that he relates, or else had heard directly from the Persians themselves

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was lost in the general shipwreck of Greek literature during the Middle Ages. Before its disappearance, however, it had come to the notice of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century A. D., a man of wide learning for his time, who had the fortunate habit of making written summaries of what he read. There are preserved to us in a collection, the so-called '*Library*' or *Myriobiblon* of Photius, and among them is a rather lengthy epitome of the last seventeen books of Ctesias, which contained the history of Persia.

From this summary by Photius, and from numerous references found in ancient authors, we know the general character of the history of Ctesias, although the details are for the most part irrevocably lost. According to his own statement,[1] he based his account on the 'royal parchments'[2] or official annals of Persia; but his chief interest seems to have been in the scandals and tragedies of the court, in marvels told of far off lands, and in tales of romance and adventure. Nevertheless, the seventeen years that he spent at the court of Artaxerxes II must have rendered him familiar with the customs of the Persians and their point of view, and it is only reasonable to suppose that his history contained much of Persian tradition, though doctored to suit Greek taste.[3]

in cases where personal observation was impossible, and that these were the sources from which he composed his history. He not only contradicts Herodotus, but differs also with Xenophon the son of Gryllus in some points. He flourished in the time of Cyrus, son of Darius and Parysatis and brother of the Artaxerxes to whom the Persian kingdom passed.'

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 2, 32, 4 (=Gilmore, *Persika*, [illegible] 330, p. 98). 'Ctesias of Cnidus lived at the time of the expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes. He was made prisoner and on account of his knowledge of medicine, was taken into the service of the king, with whom he continued to be in favour for seventeen years. This writer says that he investigated the particulars contained in the royal parchments [illegible] the Persians according to [illegible] their laws kept a record of ancient events, composed a history [illegible]s, on which [illegible] from these records, published it to the Greeks.'

B. C. [illegible]m another passage in Diodorus (14. 46. 6) we learn that Ctesias brought his history down to 398-397 Persian. We know from circumstances mentioned in the concluding portion of the *Persica* that he was at the satisfac[illegible] court at least from 401 to 398, but the exact dates of his seventeen years' sojourn have not been 1910.[illegible]torily determined. (The statements of Prašek in his *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, 2. 11, Gotha, 1906 [illegible]re not borne out by our present evidence).

1. See the passage of Diodorus quoted in the preceding note.

many 2. For this use of parchment compare the statement of Herodotus (5. 58): 'Even yet in my own day [illegible] of the barbarians write on such parchments.'

1. 6[illegible] 3. See Gilmore, *Persika*, General Introduction and pp. 120-121; Prašek *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, ban[illegible]7; 2. 11; but Marquart, in his dissertation *Die Assyriaka des Ktesias* (published in *Philologus, Supplement-*[illegible]*d* 6. 501-658), passes a more unfavorable judgment upon the credibility of Ctesias.

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As the fragments have never been translated into English,[1] it seems appropriate to offer a specimen to Oriental scholars who are interested in the ancient history of Irân; and I have chosen the portion relating to the reign of Cambyses and the usurpation of the Magus (Chaps. 9-14 of the *Epitome* by Photius, numbered as §§ 40-45 in Gilmore's edition),[2] partly because the Epitome is rather detailed at this point, and also because the account of Cambyses that Herodotus gives is largely derived from the bitterly hostile Egyptian tradition[3] and especially needs to be compared with other sources.

TRANSLATION.

40 (9). The twelfth book [of the *Persica*] begins with the reign of Cambyses. This king, on succeeding to the throne, sent the corpse of his father [Cyrus] by Bagapates the eunuch to Persia for burial,[4] and carried out the other arrangements that his father has made.[5] The men who had the greatest influence[6] with him were Artasyras the Hyrcanian[7] and, among the

1. It is my hope some time to publish a complete translation, which I am preparing under the guidance of my friend Professor A. V. W. Jackson of Columbia University.

2. Besides Gilmore's edition, *The Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, London 1888, which is the most generally accessible, I have consulted that by C. Muller, appended to Dindorf's edition of Herodotus, *Herodoti Historiarum Libri IX.....Ctesiae Cnidii Fragmenta*, Paris, 1844, and the text of Photius in *Photii Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1824, from which I have corrected Gilmore's text in one or two instances.

3. See Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 269-271.

4. The tomb of Cyrus was at Pasargadae, in Persia proper or Fârsistân, and is probably to be identified with the ruins there known as the 'Tomb of the mother of Solomon'. The references to it in classical authors and the archæological evidence are collected in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 283-293; and compare Herzfeld, *Pasargadae*, in *Klio* 8. 36-43. From other passages of the *Persica* (§§44=13, 50=19, 75-44-46), it appears to have been customary for the chief eunuch to escort his master's body to its final resting-place, which was at Pasargadae in the case of Cyrus and Cambyses, but near Persepolis in the case of the later Achaemenians, and to remain at the tomb until summoned away by the new king.

5. Ctesias had just said (§39=8) that Cyrus on his deathbed appointed Cambyses to be king, made his younger son Tanyoxarces lord of the Bactrians, Choramnians, Parthians, and Carmanians, and carved out satrapies for his stepsons Spitaces and Megabernes.

6. It is characteristic of the courtier Ctesias to mention the favorites of each ruler.

7. This Artasyras, according to Ctesias (§§50-51=19-20), continued in favor until the end of Darius' reign and was the father of Artapanus (Artabanus), the favorite—and murderer—of Xerxes. His own father may have been the Artasyras who was ruler of the Hyrcanians under Astyages and deserted the latter for Cyrus (see Nicolaus Damascenus in Gilmore, *Persika*, p. 119, and in *Historici Graeci Minores*, ed. Dindorf, 1.63). Marquart (*Die Assyriaka des Ktesias*, p. 628) thinks that Artasyras, who is not mentioned by Herodotus, is altogether unhistorical, and it is at least likely that Ctesias has exaggerated the importance of his position, which was probably that of captain of the bodyguard.

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eunuchs, Izadbates[1] and Aspadates and Bagapates. The latter had been his father's favourite after the death of Petesacas.[2]

Cambyses made an expedition against Egypt[3] and its king Amyrtæus.[4] He overcame Amyrtæus,[5] for the eunuch Combapheus, who had great influence with the Egyptian king, surrendered the dikes[6] and betrayed the Egyptian cause, with the stipulation that he should be made governor of Egypt. This agreement, which Cambyses had made with him, first through Izadbates, the cousin of Combapheus, and afterwards himself by word of mouth, was in fact carried out.[7] Cambyses captured Amyrtæus alive, but did him no

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1. So Marquart reads (*op. cit.*, p. 623, n 437), interpreting the name as **yazata-pàta*; but the form 'Izadbates' has a suspiciously modern sound. The Mss. of Photius read 'Ixabates' or 'Izalbates'.

2. In §36=5 Ctesias has related how Petesacas treacherously left Astyages to die in the desert and was himself cruelly put to death by Amytis, the daughter of Astyages and wife of Cyrus.

3. Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae*, 13. 560de,(ed. Kaibel, 3. 235-236, Leipzig, 1890), has preserved Ctesias' account of the cause of this expedition, as follows. 'The expedition of Cambyses against Egypt was likewise caused by a woman, accordig to Ctesias. For, as he says, Cambyses, hearing that the Egyptian women were the best of all to mate with, sent to Amasis, king of Egypt, and demanded one of his daughters in marriage. Amasis, however, would not give one of his own for fear that she would receive the rank of a concubine and not that of a wife, and he sent instead Nitetis, the daughter of Aprias, who had lost the throne of Egyyt in consequence of his defeat by the Cyrenians and had been killed by Amasis. Cambyses was pleased with Nitetis and becoming very piqued (?) learned from her the whole story. He was entreated by her to avenge the murder of Aprias and was thus persuaded to make war on the Egyptians.'

This story is also found in Herodotus (3. 1), who says that it was current among the Persians. The Egyptian version, which made Cambyses the son of Nitetis, was rejected by Herodotus (3. 2), but wss adopted by Deinon, a later writer on Persian history, (see Athenaeus, 13. 560e,f). Nitetis could not have been the daughter of Aprias, who was killed nearly forty years before Cambyses came to the throne, but some such deception may actually have occurred (cf. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, 2. 150, n. 2, Leipzig 1905).

4. A curious mistake on the part of Ctesias, for the king at the time of the Persian invasion was Psammetichus III. About 450 B. C. an Amyrtaeus was leader of an uprising in Egypt (see Herodotus, 2. 140; Thucydides, 1. 110), and another appears about 400 B. C. asking of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty, so it is possible that Ctesias may have known of an earlier prince bearing the name (perhaps a son of Psammetichus?).

5 These words, omitted in Gilmore's and Muller's editions, are supplied from Bekker's Photius.

6. The reference is obscure, but may be to the city of Memphis, in which the Egyptian forces took refuge (Herodotus, 3. 13), and which was protected from the Nile by dikes (id., 2. 99).

7. Herodotus knows nothing of Combapheus and his treachery, and states (4. 166) that Aryandes was appointed governor of Egypt by Cambyses. Prašek (*Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, 1. 251) suggests that Combapheus is to be identified with Uzahorsutennet (Uzá-hor-res-neit), admiral under Amasis and Psammétichus, and afterwards in high favor with Cambyses and Darius (see his autobiographical inscription in Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, 3. 360-362).

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harm beyond deporting him to Susa together with six thousand Egyptians of his own choice ;[1] and he subjugated the whole of Egypt. The Egyptians' loss in the battle[2] was 50,000 men, the Persians' 7,000.

§ 41 (10). A certain Magus[3] named Sphendadates,[4] who had committed some crime and had been flogged[5] by Tanyoxarces,[6] came to Cambyses with the accusation that the latter's brother Tanyoxarces was plotting against him, and alleged, as a proof of his defection, that he would not come if he were summoned.[7] Cambyses thereupon directed that his brother should come, but the latter delayed, as another matter required him to stay. The Magus now indulged in his accusations more openly. Amytis, the queen-mother,[8] who suspected the actual designs of the magus, warned Cambyses not to believe him ; but, in spite of his pretenses to the contrary, he believed him absolutely.

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1. According to Herodotus (3. 15), the Egyptian king was spared by Cambyses and might even have been made viceroy, but he was afterwards detected in trying to raise a rebellion and was put to death. See also Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 256, 271 ; Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, 2. 146-149.

2. Near Pelusium (Herodotus, 3. 10, 11). The numbers given by Ctesias as the losses on each side are of course utterly untrustworthy.

3. Ctesias agrees with the Behistûn Inscription of Darius (col. 1, §11) in mentioning only one magus, whereas Herodotus (3. 61) and Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, (1. 9) name two.

4. This, Avestan Spentô-dâta,' Made by the Holy One', was probably the priestly name of the Magus. His true name Gaumâta (Bh. Inscr., *loc. cit.*) is not given by any classical author except Justin, *supra*, who calls the *two* Magi Gometes and Oropastes. Herodotus, *supra*, has the names Smerdis and Patizeithes.

5. According to Herodotus (3.69) the ears of Smerdis had been cut off by Cyrus on some serious charge.

6. This name, which is applied by Ctesias and also by Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, 8. 7. 11) to Bardiya, the brother of Cambyses, is probably to be interpreted as **tanu vazarka* 'strong in body' (so Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, 2. 136-138), rather than as **tanva-khšathraka*, 'having inferior rule', cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 321-322 ; and Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch s. v. vazarka* col. 1390.

7. Ctesias has already said that Cyrus had appointed Tanyoxarces lord of the Bactrians, Choramnians, Parthians, and Carmanians, *i. e.*, a sort of viceroy of Eastern Iran (§39=8, and cf. n. 9, *supra*),—a statement which is accepted by Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2. 424, but denied by Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, 2. 138-144. Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 244-249, thinks that Bardiya was satrap of Bactria only, but believes that he was really involved in a conspiracy. Herodotus (3. 30) wrongly represents him as accompanying Cambyses to Egypt.

8. Ctesias is wrong in implying that Amytis was the mother of Cambyses and Bardiya, for they were full brothers (Bh. Inscr., col. 1, §10; Hdt., 3. 30) and sons of Cassandane, daughter of the Achæmenid Pharnaspes (Hdt., 3. 2). There is, however, no reason for doubting that Amytis was daughter of Astyages, wife of Cyrus, and, probably, mother of Atossa, cf. Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 237, and Marquart, *Die Assyriaka der Ktesias* pp. 606-608. The part that she plays in the narrative of Ctesias is obviously suggested by the intervention of Parysatis in the strife between Artaxerxes II. and Cyrus the Younger.

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After a third summons from his brother, Tanyoxarces came to the court. Cambyses welcomed him, but nevertheless continued to plan his destruction, although he was anxious to effect it without the knowledge of Amytis. Finally the deed was accomplished through the scheme of the magus, who shared the counsels of the king. He bore a great resemblance to Tanyoxarces and therefore suggested the following plan. Orders were to be issued publicly that he himself should be beheaded for having denounced the king's brother, but secretly that Tanyoxarces should be put to death ; then the magus was to be clothed in the latter's robes and so in his attire pass for Tanyoxarces. Such in fact was the result ; for Tanyoxarces was killed by drinking bulls' blood,[1] the magus was dressed in his clothes, and was taken for him. Nor did anyone know of the facts for a long time, excepting Artasyras, Bagapates, and Izadbates, to whom alone Cambyses had entrusted the secret.

§42 (11). Cambyses summoned Labyzus,[2] the chief eunuch of Tanyoxarces, together with the rest, and pointing to the magus sitting there in his disguise said : 'Do you think that this is Tanyoxarces?" 'Whom else should we suppose him to be?' Labyzus replied in surprise, so completely was he deceived by the resemblance that the magus bore to Tanyoxarces. The magus was then sent out to Bactria and managed everything as if he were Tanyoxarces.[3] After the lapse of five years[4] Amytis was informed of the murder through the eunuch Tibetheus, who had received a beating from the magus, and she demanded Sphendadates from Cambyses. The latter refused to give him up, whereupon she invoked curses on him and killed herself by drinking poison.[5]

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1. For the strange belief of the ancients in the poisonous quality of bulls' blood, see Herodotus, 3. 15, and the article by Roscher in *Neue Jahrücher für Philologie*, 127. 158-162. Herodotus (3. 30) represents the murder as the deed of Cambyses' confidential agent Prexaspes, who either assassinated Smerdis (Bardiya) on a hunting trip or drowned him in the Red Sea.

2. Or, 'Labyxus', according to the reading of another Ms.

3. The statement that Cambyses deliberately substituted the Magus in his brother's place and satrapy can hardly be true.

4 Ctesias must therefore have regarded the murder of Bardiya as taking place before the Egyptian expedition (as the Bh. Inscr. states, col 1, §10), whereas Herodotus (3. 30) puts it after the return of Cambyses from Ethiopia.

5 In Herodotus (3. 32) it is the wife of Cambyses who reproaches him for the murder.

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§ 43 (12). Cambyses offered sacrifice, but the blood did not flow when the victims were slain, and he fell into a melancholy.[1] Then Roxane bore him a child without a head,[2] and he became still more melancholy. The magi explained to him the meaning of the portents, that he would leave no heir to his throne.[3] Then his mother appeared to him in the night, threatening him for his blood-guiltiness, and he became still more melancholy. After his arrival at Babylon,[4] while he was whittling a piece of wood with a knife for the sake of amusement, he wounded himself in the muscle of his thigh and died on the eleventh day thereafter,[5] having reigned eighteen years.[6]

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1. Herodotus (3. 28-30), following the Egyptian tradition, makes the madness of Cambyses result from his killing the sacred bull Apis. It is noticeable that Ctesias, so far as we can judge from the *Epitome*, did not recount this or any other of the outrages that Cambyses is alleged to have perpetrated in Egypt (see Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 267-274)

2. Roxane (cf. Avestan *raokhšna*, 'shining'), whose name is familiar as being that of the Persian wife of Alexander, was probably Cambyses' second wife, who, according to Herodotus (3. 31-32), accompanied him to Egypt and died there of a miscarriage. Herodotus does not give her name, but says that she was Cambyses' sister. With regard to such consanguineous marriages on the part of the Achaemenian kings, see Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gathas*, Appendix I: *The Alleged Practice of Consanguineous Marriages in Ancient Iran*, pp. 218-224.

3. In fact, Cambyses left no children (Herodotus, 3. 66).

4. Herodotus (3. 64) says that Cambyses died at 'Agbatana in Syria', a place otherwise unknown; Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, 11. 2. 2), that he died at Damascus. Certainly Babylon could not have been the place, for it had already submitted to the Magus, as is shown by the contract tablets (see Weissbach, *Zur neubabylonischen und achämenidischen Chronologie*, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62. 631-632). Possibly Ctesias was referring to the fortress Babylon in Lower Egypt, which he is known to have mentioned (see Diodorus Siculus, 1. 56, Gilmore, *Persika*, p. 54, *Fragm.* 8), and which, according to another account, was founded in the time of Cambyses (see Josephus, *op. cit.*, 2. 15. 1).

5. Herodotus (3. 64-65) agrees with Ctesias in regard to the accidental wounding of Cambyses, but says that it happened through the slipping of his sword as he was mounting his horse, and that he lived for about twenty days. The Behistûn Inscription has merely the brief statement (col. 1, §11): *pasâva Ka(m)-bujiya (h)uvâmaršiyuš amariyatâ*, 'afterwards Cambyses died his own death', which has often been interpreted to mean that he committed suicide. See, however, W. Schulze, *Der Tod des Kambyses*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1912, pp. 685-703, who shows by comparing similar expressions in other languages that involuntary death is meant; and cf. also Prašek, *Geschichte*, 1. 275-276.

6. Ctesias may have reckoned the reign of Cambyses from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B. C., when for a time Cambyses seems to have been regent there (Prašek, 1. 243), but it is more likely that 18 is a mistake of the Mss. for 8, the number of years assigned to Cambyses by Berossus and the Ptolemaic Canon, the best authorities (see Prašek, 1. 246-247). Herodotus (3. 67) says that he reigned seven years and five months.

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§ 44 (13). Before Cambyses died, Bagapates and Artasyras had planned that the magus should become king, and he did so upon the decease of Cambyses.[1] Meanwhile Izadbates had taken the corpse of Cambyses and was conveying it to Persia.[2] After the magus had become king under the name of Tanyoxarces, Izadbates returned from Persia. After telling the whole story to the army and exposing the magus, he took refuge in the sanctuary, but was dragged forth and beheaded.[3]

§ 45 (14). Thereupon seven distinguished men among the Persians conspired with one another against the magus: namely,[4] Onophas,[5] Indernes,[6] Norondabates,[7] Mardonius,[8] Barisses,[9] Ataphernes,[10] and Darius the son of Hystaspes. After they had exchanged pledges, Artasyras was added to their

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1. Of course, as the Behistûn Inscription (col. 1, §11) and Herodotus (3. 61-67) both show, the rebellion of the Magus broke out before the death of Cambyses.

2. Cf. n. 8, *supra*.

3. In Herodotus (3 74-75) it is Prexaspes, the murderer of Bardiya, who from the top of a tower proclaims the truth to the Persian host and then dashes himself to pieces.

4 The list of the seven conspirators is one of the least satisfactory portions of Ctesias' narrative; on comparing it with the official list preserved in the Behistûn Inscription (col. 4, §68) and with that of Herodotus (3. 70), we find that in some cases Ctesias has evidently confused father and son, while in others the names have probably been corrupted in the Mss.

5. '(H)utâna, son of Thukhra,' in Bh. Inscr.; Otanes in Hdt. Ctesias has substituted for him his son Onophas or Anaphes (see Hdt., 7. 63). Similarly the father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes, is called Otanes by Herodotus (7, 61), and Onophas by Ctesias (§51=20).

6. 'Vidarna, son of Bagâbigna, in Bh. Inscr.; Hydarnes in Hdt. His son was likewise named Hydarnes (Hdt., 7. 83).

7. This name (Old Persian **arvanta-pata*, 'protected by the Swift One,' cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 235-236) probably corresponds to 'Ardumaniš, son of Vahauka.' in Bh. Inscr., for whom Herodotus has substituted Aspathines (Âspacanâ of the tomb-inscription of Darius, cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 96, Leipzig, 1911). Where Ctesias found his (N)orondabates is not known, but see a suggestion in Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, 1. 226 [58].

8. 'Gatb(a)ruva' son of Marduniya,' in Bh. Inscr.; Gobryas in Hdt. Ctesias has confused him with his son Mardonius, the famous general of Xerxes, both here and in §51 (=20), where he speaks of 'Mardonius the Elder.'

9 This name is perhaps a corruption of Bagabisses (so Hoffman-Kutschke *Iranisches bei den Griechen*, in *Philologus*. 66 (1907), pp. 186-187), and would then correspond to 'Bagabukhša, son of Dâtuhya,' in the Bh. Inscr. and to Megabyzus in Hdt.

10. 'Vindafarnâ, son of Vâyaspâra, in Bh. Inscr.; Intaphrenes in Hdt.; Artaphrenes (!) in Aeschylus, *Persae*, pp. 775-777.

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number, and then Bagapates, who had all the keys of the palace. Through him the seven gained entrance to the palace and found the Magus sleeping with a Babylonian concubine. On seeing them he sprang up, and, not finding any weapons at hand (for Bagapates had secretly removed them all), he broke a golden chair in pieces, seized one of its legs, and defended himself with this, but at length he was stabbed to death by the seven.[1] He had reigned seven months.[2]

1 Herodotus (3. 76-79) is silent as to Artasyras and Bagapates, and makes the Seven force their way into the palace without help from within and slay the *two* Magi after a desperate struggle. Aeschylus, in his *Persae, loc. cit.*, assigns the chief role to Vindafarnâ, saying: 'Him(the usurper) with guile the brave Artaphrenes slew in the palace, sided by friends who made this their duty.' Darius himself (Bh. Inscr., col. 1, §13) says merely: 'I with a few men slew that Gaumâta the Magus, and the chief men who were his followers. At the stronghold named Sikayauvatiš, in the district named Nisâya in Media, I slew him; I dispossessed him of the kingdom.' Probably, therefore, the co-operation of the palace officials is an invention by Ctesias.

2 So Herodotus (3. 67); and the Babylonian contract tablets seem to indicate a reign of the same length, cf. Weissbach in *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 62. 631-636. A further discussion of the chronology of this period will be found in an article which I expect shortly to publish in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

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A FEW AVESTA AND PAZEND MAXIMS OF ADVICE.

BY

Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia.

The following familiar quotations from the Avesta literature do not lay any claim to completeness, as in the present collection many beautiful passages are omitted which are often too long for quotation, and because in order to attain some completeness or perfection in this direction, one should have to quote the *whole* of "the famous Gathas of the Zend Avesta, rhythmical sermons which breathe irreproachable morals[1]." However an attempt has been made in the present case to collect such literary gems of beautiful maxims and sententious sayings as would tolerably furnish us with rules of conduct to be guided by in daily life. Again, the Avestan and Pazend texts only have been laid under contribution in this collection and the Pahlavi is entirely left untouched, as its vast literature abounds with all manner of practical proverbs which would form a voluminous collection in itself. The quotations given below have been translated literally and in several cases corresponding beautiful thoughts from various authors have been furnished. The Pazend quotations have all been taken from "Pazend Texts" collected and collated by me and published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchâyet.

Ahura Mazda.

Glorification and Propitiation of the Almighty.

(1)

Y. 51 § 3.

Thou, O Mazda, art the foremost guide.

(2)

Y. 45 § 4.

The all-seeing Ahura is not to be deceived (by any one).

(1) The Origin of Persian Poetry by Prof. Darmesteter.

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(3) ...

Y. 1 § 1.

Who has created us, who has fashioned us, who has been nourishing us, who is the most bountiful spirit.

(4) ...

Y. 51 § 18.

Grant me that, O Mazda, which is a source of joy to Thee.

(5) ...

Y. 51 § 20.

May we be the seekers of Mazda's rejoicing and may we pay our homage (to Him) with humility.

(6) ...

Y. 53 § 9.

O Mazda ! such is Thy power and kingdom that Thou bestowest the best (of blessings) on the poor living with righteousness.

(7) ...

Y. 12 § 1.

I attribute all good things to Ahura Mazda, the good, endowed with good wisdom, holy, resplendent and glorious ; for whatever is best is His.

(8) ...

Y. 39 § 4.

Thus, O Ahura Mazda, what has been thought, uttered and done by Thee is good.

(9) ...

Y. 51 § 6.

Ahura Mazda gives better than the good to that one who in order to please Him offers Him praises.

(10) ...

Y. 45 § 10.

Him we desire to approach with the prayers of our piety.

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(11) ۔۔۔

Afflictions are the best blessings in disguise.

(1) 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵

(2) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Tehmuras Fragments § 77.

The holy liberality and bounteousness that reign between brethren in the faith.

Cf.—The homely proverb: Charity begins at home.

(3) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Yathâ Ahû Vairyô.

He who is a pastor or nourisher of the poor accepts (as it were) the sovereignity of Ahura.

Cf. Pope:—

For since kind heaven our realm has blest,
Give it to heaven by aiding the distrest.

(4) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Y. 60 § 5.

May charity conquer stinginess in this house.

(5) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 .... 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Y. 66 § 7.

He who is niggardly—may torments approach him.

Cf. the proverb:—

"He that has no charity deserves no mercy."

(6) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Y. 52 § 3.

Good charitable actions and good righteous actions are superior and better, and later on (they will be) affording help and protectiou for a long time.

(7) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

Y. 45 § 7.

The generous who are living now, who have lived and who shall be hereafter shall seek His blessings.

(8) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

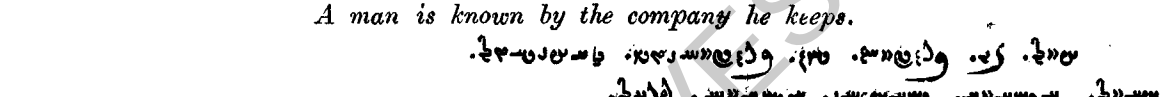
Zoroastrians! to perform lawful and timely good deeds and to forego unlawful and untimely evil deeds. Perform here good works of industry and make the needy needless.

Cleanliness is next to Godliness.

Y. 48 § 5.

Purity is best for man from his very birth.

A man is known by the company he keeps.



Y. 45 § 6.

That one himself is wicked who is best to the wicked; that one himself is righteous who is friendly to the righteous.

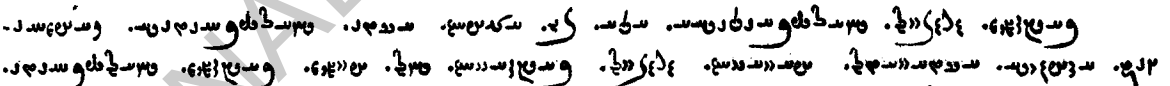
Cf. the following proverbs :—

(1) He that walketh with the virtuous is one of them.

(2) Birds of a feather flock together.

(3) Who friendship with a knave hath made
Is judg'd a partner in the trade. —Gay

A clear conscience.



Vd. 10 § 19.

O Righteous Man! Make thy conscience pure. Any one in this material world can acquire purity of conscience who cleanses his own conscience with good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

A contented mind is a continual feast.

(1)

Y. 43 § 15.

A contented thought is best.

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(2) [illegible]

Y. 10 § 13.

The mind of the (contented) poor is as great as that of the rich.

Cf. Shakespeare :—

Poor and content is rich and rich enough.

Death will have his day.

(1) [illegible]

Vd. 19 § 29

He goes the way established by Time and which is both for the wicked and the righteous.

(3) [illegible]

Aogmaide, p. 357.

Fate has come ; it cannot be concealed.

(3) [illegible]

Aogmaide, p. 352.

How is it that men take no provisions for that unavoidable journey on which one must go once for all, for all eternity?

(4) [illegible]

Aogmaide, p. 352.

There comes a day, O Spitama Zarathushtra, or a night, when the flock leaves the master or the master leaves the flock or the soul (leaves) the desirable body ; but his virtue which is of all existences the greatest, the best and the finest never parts from a man.

(5) [illegible]

Aogmaide, p. 354.

To everyone comes the unseen and deceiving Astivâhâd (Demon of Death)

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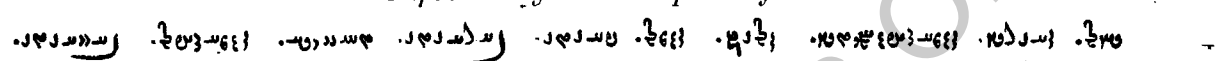
who accepts neither compliments, nor bribe, who is no respecter of persons, and who ruthlessly makes men perish.

Do unto others as you would others should do unto you.

Benam-i-Izad, p. 209.

Do not do that to any one which is not possible for yourself.

Unpaid duty is best paid of all.



Vd. 4 § 1.

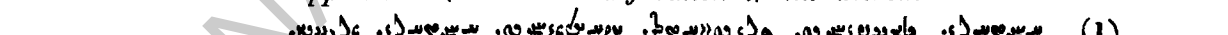
He that does not do his duty by the man towards whom he is bound by duty, becomes a thief of that duty by robbing him of it.

Early to bed and early to rise,
Makes a man healthy wealthy and wise.

Vd. 18 § 26.

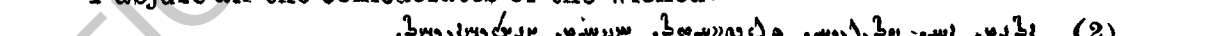
One friend tells another bed-fellow lying on the couch : "Rise up. (The crowing of the cock) rouses me from sleep." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter paradise.

Suppression of Evil and abjuration of the wicked.

(1) 

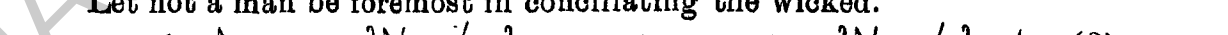
Y. 49 § 3.

I abjure all the confederates of the wicked.

(2) 

Y. 43 § 5.

Let not a man be foremost in conciliating the wicked.

(3) 

Y. 8 § 6.

May the holy rule at their will, may not the wicked rule at their will.

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(4) [illegible]

Y. 8 § 5.

Make the holy man a soveregn (over Thy creation); may the wicked be stripped of power.

(5) [illegible]

Y. 49 § 9.

Let not the truthful speaker assume chieftainship through the wicked.

(6) [illegible]

Y. 53 § 8.

Let evil doers be foiled.

(7) [illegible]

Y. 51 § 8.

Woe to the wicked.

(8) [illegible]

Y. 30 § 11.

Long suffering to the wicked.

(9) [illegible]

Y. 47 § 5.

The wicked gets his share far away from Thy love.

(10) [illegible]

Y. 46 § 11.

Whom(the wicked) their own soul and their own conscience had hardened

(11) [illegible]

Y. 31 § 20.

O ye wicked! your (guilty) conscience will drag you through your actions to the (dark) world, *i.e.* hell.

(12) [illegible]

Y. 46 § 6.

Whoso has the power and will not go to him (the wicked in order to punish him) shall verily go to the abode of the Druja.

(13) [illegible]

Visp. 22 § 2.

Those who are righteous understand good righteousness, but the wicked are

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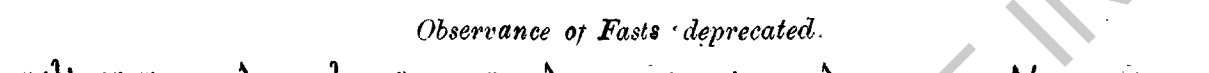
ignorant of it. May we not reach them (the wicked). Such a person may not get superiority (over us) through his thought, word, deed, or through any course of conduct whatsoever.

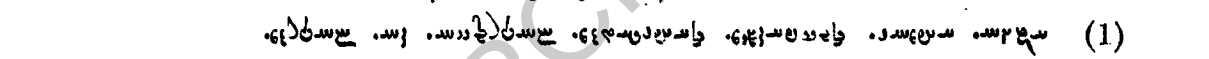
Observance of Fasts deprecated.



Vd. 3 § 33.

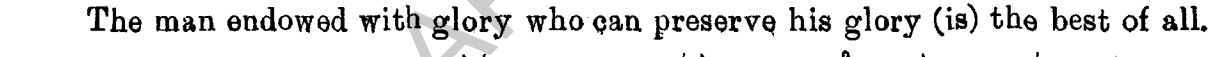
The maxim should be borne in mind: None of those who abstain from food is able to perform great works of holiness, to perform great works of husbandry, and to procreate powerful children. By eating, the whole material world lives, by fasting it dies.

A field of glory is a field for all.



(1) Y. 43 § 2.

The man endowed with glory who can preserve his glory (is) the best of all.



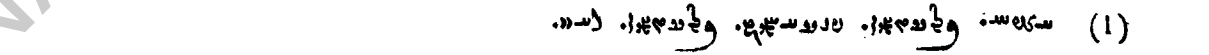
(2) Y. 53 § 6.

Inglorious greatness is harmful to men.

(3) Yt. 10 § 105.

The man without glory, led astray from the right way, grieves in his heart.

Friendship.



(1) Ashirwâd, p. 113.

Walk with friends with the approbation of friends

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(2) [illegible]

Y. 1 § 24.

O Zarathushtra! thou shouldst protect for ever the man friendly to thee from an unfriendly foe. Do not give up that friend unto the stroke (of that foe) and unto unbearable calamities causing destruction.

Cf. Shakespear :—

The friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
Grapple to thy soul with hooks of steel.

Be equitable towards friends and foes alike.

[illegible]

Afrin Paimâni, p. 113.

Fight with equity with your foes; walk with friends with the approbation of friends.

God is the God of Order.

(1) [illegible]

Y. 47 § 2.

Mazda himself is the father of the righteous order.

(2) [illegible]

Y. 50 § 10.

O Mazda Ahura! The stars, the sun and the aurora bringing day-light are all revolving in righteous order for Thy praise.

Cf. Shakespeare :—

The heavens themselves, the planet and this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office and custom in all line of order.

God's will be done.

(1) [illegible]

Y. 29 § 4.

So shall it be to us as He shall will.

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(2) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Y. 8 § 5.

Mayest Thou, O Ahura Mazda, rule at Thy will over Thy creatures.

(3) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Y. 49 § 12.

O Ahura Mazda! acting in accordance with Thy wish and beseeching for what is best, I will pray Thee with praises.

Good Government.

Whatsoe'er is best administered is best.

(1) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Y. 51 § 1.

Good government is an allotment most helpful and pleasing.

(2) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Y. 48 § 5.

Let good kings rule over us, let not evil monarchs rule over us.

(3) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Afrin Dahman, p. 89.

May the good rue over us, may the wicked be stripped of power.

Cf. The following proverbs :—

(1) Govern thyself and you will be able to govern the world.

(2) He is unworthy to govern who governs not himself.

(3) He that is hated o' his subjects cannot be a king.

(4) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Y. 41 § 2.

May we for ever attain to Thy good Kingdom, O Mazda Ahura.

Handsome is that handsome does.

𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎

Yv. 51 § 8.

Salvation to him who practises righteousness.

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Health is Wealth.

(1) [illegible]

One thousand times health, ten thousand times health-

(2) [illegible]

Y. 9 § 19.

The second blessing I ask of thee (Haoma) is this body's health. The third blessing I ask of thee is long life.

Honesty is the best policy.

(1) [illegible]

Honesty is good, is best.

(2) [illegible]

Y. 29 § 5.

No harm to the honest liver.

An honest man's the noblest work of God.

(1) [illegible]

Aogmaide. § 30

Better and greater than all I created the righteous man who has received from me the true praise of righteousness in the good religion.

(2) [illegible]

Nam Setâyeshna p. 159.

Praise and homage be unto that righteous Lord who made man superior to all other creatures of the world on account of his reasoning faculty.

Cf. Dryden :—

Ay ; these look like the workmanship of Heaven,
This is the porcelain clay of human kind,
And therefore cast into these noble moulds.

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There is no true holiness without humility.

(1) ꣡꣡꣡

tama Zarathushtra, it is that wherein one sows most corn, grass and fruit bearing trees, where one waters the ground that is dry and drains that which is wet.

(5)

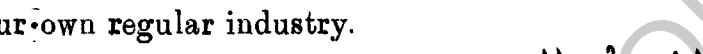
Visp. 15 § 1.

Let good deeds of husbandry be done here.

(6)

Afrin Pemâni p. § 13.

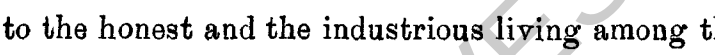
Eat of your own regular industry.

(7) 

Y. 29 § 5.

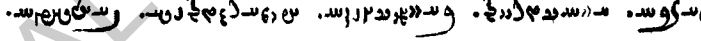
No harm to the honest and the industrious living among the wicked.

A young idler, an old beggar.

(1) 

Vd. 3 § 28-29

O man ! Thou, who dost not till me with the left arm and the right and right arm and the left, shalt ever stand at the door of another amongst the beggars.

(2) 

Y. 31 § 16.

Never, O Mazda, shall the deceitful lazy (lit. the theiving nomad) have a share of the good creed.

Evils of Intemperance.

Y. 10 § 8.

All other toxicants (besides Haoma) incite wrath of the bloody spear.

Cf. the proverb:—

Intoxication is a temporary madness.

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lie has no legs.

(1) 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌

Vd. 19 § 46.

The false-spoken lie has no legs.

(2) 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌

Y. 53 § 6.

Sever the connection of your body with the Druj (lie).

(3) 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌

Y. 53 § 6.

Beware of the path of the Druja (lie) and its progress.

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime.

(1) 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌

Y. 30 § 9.

May we be such as those who made this world progressive and prosperous.

(2) 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌

(2) 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌

(3) [illegible]

Y. 49 § 3

I prefer the leadership of the good mind.

(4) [illegible]

Y. 53 § 5.

Obtain the life of the good mind through the teaching of the religious laws.

Avoid the company of the miser.

(1) [illegible]

Do not associate with a miser.

(2) [illegible]

Y 47 § 4,

A (good) man having only a little will be in love towards (*i. e.*, be generous towards) the holy, but the wicked man, having much (wealth) and power will regard himself as poor.

Cf :—(1) Whose plenty made him poor.—Spenser.

(2) Poor and content, is rich and rich enough.
But riches, fineless, is as poor as winter
To him that ever fears he shall be poor—Shakespeare

From Nature to Nature's God.

(1) [illegible]

Y. 1 § 16.

Homage and obeisance unto these places, lands, pasture-lands, abodes, springs of water, waters and land, plants, this earth and yon heaven, unto the holy wind, unto the stars, the moon and the sun, the endless natural lights, unto the whole creation of Spenta Mainyu, and unto the lords of holiness, male as well as female.

Cf. with this, Yasna 44.

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Acquisition of Knowledge and Wisdom.

(1) ...

Vd. 4 § 45.

During the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, he should, in holiness and humility, sit perseveringly for the increase of knowledge and for holding it with holiness...and thus (shall he sit) until he can learn all the texts which the former Aethrapaitis (teachers) had studied.

Cf.—Learning by study must be won,
'Twas never entailed from sire to son.—Gay.

(2) ...

Yt 16 § 2.

O truest Chista (Knowledge)! if thou art in advance of me, stay, for me; if thou art behind me, overtake me.

(3) ...

Vd. 18 § 6,

Him thou shalt call an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra, who, throughout the whole night, seeks for joy-producing knowledge, delivering him from affliction, comfort-bestowing at the Chinvat Bridge, obtaining (the desires of) the world, making him attain to purity, making him attain to the best thing of the Best Existence (Paradise).

The Sanctity of Marriage and the evils of Celibacy.

(1) ...

Vd. 4 § 47.

O Spitama Zarathushtra! verily I say unto thee: 'A married man is far

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superior to the Magavas passing their lives in celibacy ; he who keeps a house is far above the houseless ; he who has children is far above the childless.

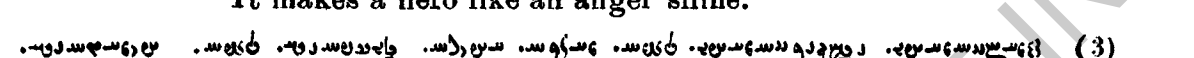
(2) 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬌

(3) 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬀

(2) 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬱

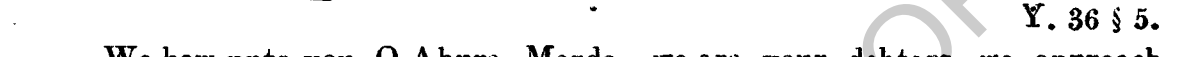
Cf. Waller :—

Seeming devotion does but guild a knave.
That's neither faithful, honest, just nor brave ;
But where religion does with virtue join,
It makes a hero like an angel shine.

(3) 

Y. 36 § 5.

We bow unto you, O Ahura Mazda, we are your debtors, we approach unto you with all good thoughts, words and deeds.

(4) 

Y. 58 § 3.

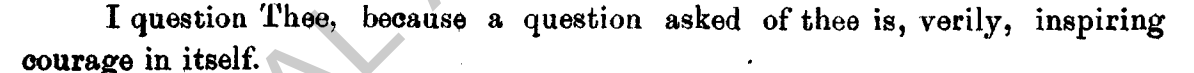
O Ahura-Mazda, we feel joyful in Thy prayer, we wish to offer our prayers (to Thee), we are engaged in paying attention to our prayers, we confide our person and property to (Thy) worship.

He that nothing questioneth, nothing learneth.

(1)

Y. 43 § 10.

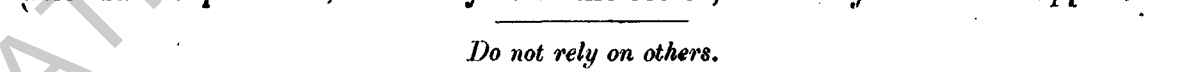
I question Thee, because a question asked of thee is, verily, inspiring courage in itself.

(2) 

Yd. 18 § 7.

Question me, O righteous man ! of me who am the Maker... because if thou wilt ask me questions, thou mayest be the better, thou mayest be the happier.

Do not rely on others.



Y. 9 § 25.

With self-help, one becomes independent (lit. rules at his will.)

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Amendment is repentence.

(1) 𐬥𐬀𐬨𐬌 𐬯𐬌𐬚𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬌 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥

(5) [illegible]

Y. 43 § 8.

Verily, may I be to the wicked, a powerful tormentor, but to the righteous may I be a mighty rejoicer.

(6) [illegible]

Y. 43 § 16.

May righteousness be energetically powerful.

(7) [illegible]

Yt 21 § 3.

He who praises righteousness in the fulness of faith and with a devoted heart praises me who am Ahura Mazda.

(8) [illegible]

Y. 51 § 10.

As for myself, I praise righteousness; may it come with thy good blessing.

(9) [illegible]

Y. 51 § 13.

The righteous man's creed (or conscience) will truly crush down that of the wicked.

(10) [illegible]

Y. 30 § 3.

Those possessing good sense chose righteousness, not so the evil-knowing.

(11) [illegible]

Tehmurasp Fragnents § 41.

The righteous is exalted and the ungodly is tormented.

(12) [illegible]

Tehmurasp Fragments § 103

He is not mighty, O Zarathushtra, who is not mighty in righteousness.

(13) [illegible]

There is only one path—that of righteousness. All other paths are no paths.

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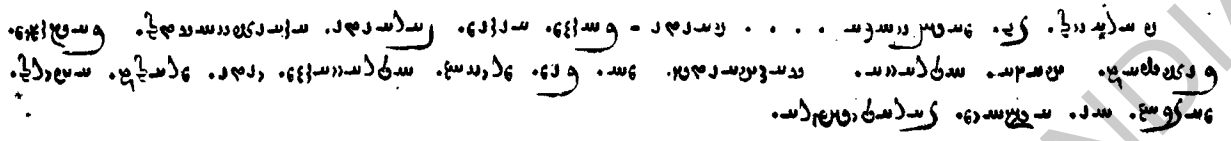
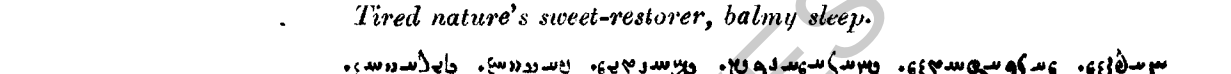
Saint abroad and a devil at home.



Vd. 16 § 1.

There is many a man who puts on the Paiti-dâna (mouth veil) hypocritically and without being acquainted with the Religion and calls himself an Athravan (priest). "Do not call him an Athravan, O holy Zarathushtra" thus said Ahura Mazda.

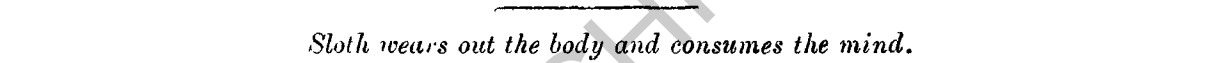
Tired nature's sweet-restorer, balmy sleep.



Visp. 7 § 3.

We praise sleep, Mazda-made, gladdener ot herds and men.

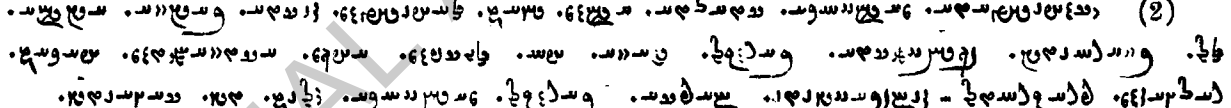
Sloth wears out the body and consumes the mind.



Vd. 11 § 9.

I shall chase away Bushyâsta (Sloth), which makes one lean. I shall chase away Bushyâsta (Sloth), the long-handed.

(2)



Vd. 18 § 16.

Arise, O men, praise the best purity, smite down the Daevas. (If not) the long handed Bushyasta (Sloth), who lulls to sleep again, the whole material world as soon as the day breaks and men are wide awake, will rush towards you. O man! it does not behove you to sleep for a long time.

The Soul.

(1)

Chithrem Buyât, 3.

He has gained nothing, who has not gained the soul.

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(2) ꯑꯦꯃ꯭ꯑꯦꯟ꯭ꯏꯖꯥꯗ꯭ꯄꯦꯔꯥꯞ꯭ꯄꯦꯔꯥꯞ꯭ꯄꯦꯔꯥꯞ

(3) ꯑꯦꯛꯁꯣꯟꯗꯥꯡꯗꯣꯡꯏ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 40 § 15.

Woe to him who oppress us (the righteous).

(4) ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 457.

Woe to the wicked.

(5) ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 51 § 8.

Woe to the wicked, Salvation to him who upholds righteousness.

Spiritual food and raiment.

ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 55. 2.

Which Gathas (*i.e.* religious texts) are our guardian and defenders and our spiritual food. They are both food and clothing to our souls.

The tending of the cattle

(1) ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 10 § 20.

Praise to the cow: (good) words (be spoken) for the cow, victory to the cow, food and pasture for the cow. Let us work for the kine for they yield us our food.

(2) ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯟꯅꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯥ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯥ

Y. 11 § 1.

The cow curses her driver thus: Childless he thou, followed by evil fame, thou who dost not give me food but fattenest me for thy wife and children and for thy own belly (sustenance).

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(3) [illegible]

Y. 39 § 1.

Who (the cattle) wish to live for us ; who exist for them (*i.e.* men) and they (*i.e.* men) exist for them (*i.e.*) the cattle.

Cf:—

He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast :

Coleridge.

Thankfulness unto God for His bounty.

(1) [illegible]

Benam-i-Izad, p. 209.

Be cheerfully thankful for whatever reaches you.

(2) [illegible]

Nâm-Sitâyishn, p. 159.

I am grateful unto the greatest of Beings who has created (all) and who is the Terminator (of all).

(3) [illegible]

Y. 36 § 5.

We bow unto you, we are indebted unto you, O Ahura Mazda.

Cf : (1) For that our Maker has too largely given,
Should be returned in gratitude to heaven.—Pomfret.

The triad of thought, word and deed.

(1) [illegible]

Vispa Humata Prayer.

All good thoughts, good words and good deeds lead to the best Existence. All evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds lead to the worst Existence.

(2) [illegible]

Y. 11 § 17.

I praise good thoughts, good words and good deeds with my thoughts

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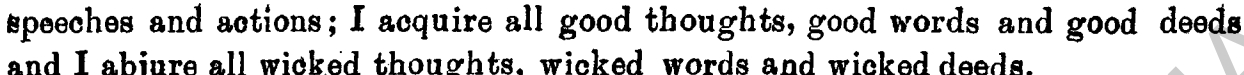
speeches and actions; I acquire all good thoughts, good words and good deeds and I abjure all wicked thoughts, wicked words and wicked deeds.

(3) 

Tehmuras Fragments § 57.

Of the mind, good thoughts; of the tongue, good words; of the hand, good works (make up) the virtuous life.

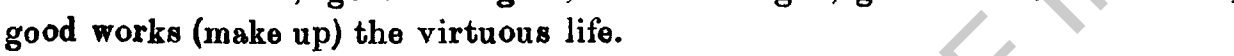
True greatness.

(1)

Tehmuras Fragments § 103.

O Zarathushtra! he is not great who is not great in righteousness.

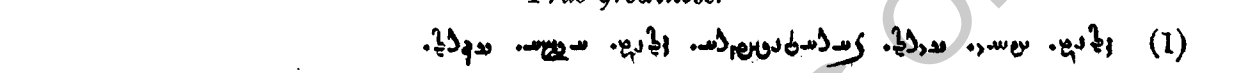
Cf.—Man is his own star, and that soul that can
Be honest, the only perfect man.—Fletcher.

(2) 

Afrin Paimani p. 113.

Be more celebrated than your father.

Truthful Utterance.

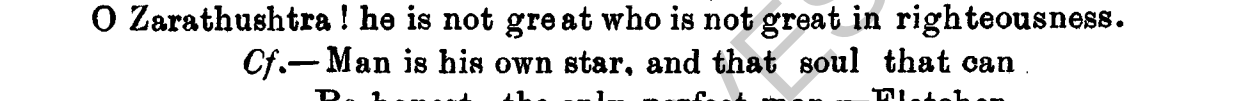


Yt. 11 § 3.

A truthful word is efficacious and victorious.

Cf. Truth is the highest thing that man mav keep—Chaucer
Tell truth and shame the devil—Shakespeare.

Search for Truth



Yt. 12 § 9 &c.

If thou be, O holy Rashnu (Truth) on the Arezahi region.....in the sea Vourukash..... in any place of this earth.....on the mount Hara Berzaiti, we praise thee, we glorify thee.

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Cf. the proverb :—

Truth lies at the bottom of a well.

Union is Strength.

(1) 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌

Afrin.

Let us be united in strength, let us be united in strength with the holy.

(2) 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌

Nirang, p. 203.

I heartily wish that all those who tie the Kosti on the seven regions of the earth and the virtuous may be united in strength with me (i. e., be my helpmates.)

Cf :

Distress and ruin on divisions wait,
But Union is the bond of every state.

Bewick.

Virtue is her own reward.

𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌

Y. 53 § 9.

O Mazda, such is Thy power and kingdom that Thou bestowest the best (of blessing) on the poor but righteous liver.

Cf.

The only amaranthine flower on earth.
Is virtue, the only lasting treasure Truth.

Cowper.

Waste not, Want not.

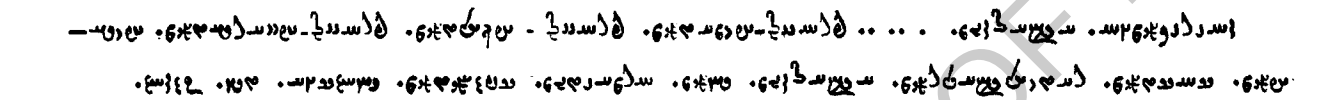
𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌

much as an Asperena's weight, nor so much as an Avachina's weight, neither even so much as a spinster lets fall in spinning.

Cf:—

" Who heeds not a penny, shall likely never have any."

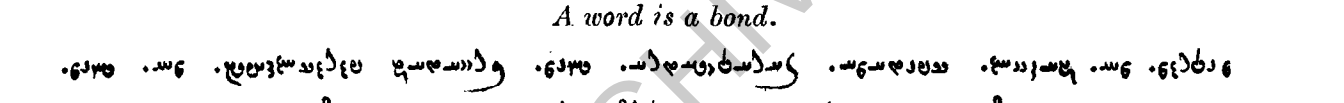
A perfect woman, nobly planned.



Aiwi Sruthrem Gah, § 9.

The righteous woman, rich in good thoughts, good words and goods deeds, well instructed and accomplished, obedient to her husband and chaste and such as Armaiti the bounteous is and such as other female angels are.

A word is a bond.

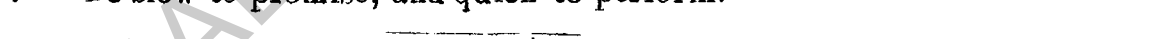


Yt. 10 § 2.

Do not break the contract, O Spitama, neither the one you have made with the unfaithful, nor the one with one of the faithful correligionist ; for the contract with both the faithful and the unfaithful is verily alike.

Cf :—" Be slow to promise, and quick to perform. "

Fair Words break no bones.

(1) 

Zend-Pahlavi Glossary.

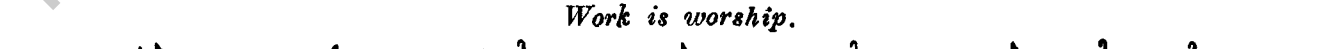
A word, well-examined, is beautiful.

(2)

Nerang Kusti buridan p. 177.

Speak respectfully to men and women.

Work is worship.



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ALLUSIONS IN PAHLAVI LITERATURE

TO THE

ABOMINATION OF IDOL-WORSHIP

BY

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York City.

While engaged in preparing an article on 'Idols and Images, Persian,' for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* I have naturally been led to give some attention to the subject in its bearing upon Sâsânian times. This has further led me to make a collection of the principal allusions in Pahlavi literature to the abomination of idol-worship as wholly abhorrent to the pure spirit of Zoroastrianism that is in keeping with its ideal conception of the divine. For that reason it may not be inappropriate to choose this particular topic for presentation in the Jubilee Memorial Volume of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa, and to give the results of my studies so far as they relate to the chief works in Pahlavi.

Before turning to the Pahlavi passages, however, I must emphasize that the Persians from the earliest antiquity had no idols in the sense of representations of the godhead set up as objects of worship ; nor does Zoroaster refer to them. If, moreover, Darius and the other Achæmenian kings caused to be carved above their bas-relief effigies in stone a half-figure representing Aüra-Mazda as floating in a symbolic circle and handing to the king a ring as the emblem of sovereignty, it is nevertheless a motive borrowed from Assyrian and Babylonian art and was doubtless chosen for the special purpose of appealing to the non-Persian conquered nations, who were more anthropomorphic in their ideas. This fact I have discussed elsewhere (see *The Monist*, 9. 168-169, Chicago, 1899) and have also pointed out the reasons for not supposing (as has been done) that the conventionalized form, thus borrowed, represents the *fravaši*, or idealized spirit of the King. Nor is any exception formed to

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the general truth by the fact that there is in Sâsânian times a mounted figure of Ormazd (known by his name occurring in the attached inscription) carved in stone at Naqsh-i-Rustam to represent the deity in the act of bestowing the crown upon Ardashîr (for references, see Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 169, and E. W. West, *Pahlavi Literature,* in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2. 97). Idolatry played no part in the history of the religion.

We may now turn to the general references to idol-worship in the Pahlavi books. Among the early allusions to the Iranian enmity against idol-worship are those that refer to the conflict between the ancient King Kaî Khûsrau (Av. Kavi Haosravah), who is supposed to have lived about 800 B. C., and his arch-foe Afrâsîâb of Tûrân (Av. Tûirya Fraŋrasyan). A discussion of the location of the scenes of this combat, which I have visited in my journeys through Iran, will be found in *Persia Past and Present*, p. 73,137-143, in connection with Lake Urumiah, Ganzak, Shîz, as associated with the great fire-temple Âdhâr-gushnâsp which supplanted the idolatrous shrine or shrines of demon-worship.

For convenience it may be well to select as a beginning the passages in the Bûndahishn, as being a work based on the ancient Dâmdât Nask of the Avesta, though its final reduction belongs approximately to the ninth century A. D.

BÛNDAHISHN.

The first reference to Kaî Khûsrû's destroying the idol-temples on Lake Chêchast, or Lake Urumiah, with the aid of the fire Gûshnâsp, is found in Bd. 17-7. The Pahlavi text transliterated, with the Pâzand equivalents of the Aramaic logograms of the Huzvârish included in parentheses, is as follows (comparisons being made between the editions of the Bûndahishn by N. L. Westergaard, p. 41, Copenhagen, 1851; F. Justi, p. 41, Leipzig, 1868; M. R. Unvalla, p. 48, Bombay, 1897; and the facsimile of the T. D. manuscript No. 2 by B. T. Anklesaria, p. 125, Bombay, 1908):—

Bd. 17.7. *Âtârŏ Gûš[n]asp*[1] *vad* (*andâ*) *khûtâîh Kaî-Khûsrûbî pavan* (*pa*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *khadâînak* (*aînak*) *panâhkih gêhân hamâk kart;*

1 The text of the Great Iranian Bund. p. 125, correctly reads *Gûšnaspŏ*.

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amat (ka) Kaî-Khûsrûbî a [û] z d ê š -c â r[1] *î Var Cêcast hamak kand*[2] *madam (avar) val (ō) bûš î asp-aš nîšast û târtûm barâ (bē) zatŏ rûšânŏ kart vad (andâ) aûzdêš-câr avarûnat (khand).*

'The fire Gûshnasp, until the reign of Kaî-Khûsrûb, constantly gave the world protection in the way *described*; *and* when Kaî-Khûsrûb was demolishing the i d o l - t e m p l e of Lake Cêcast it settled upon the mane of his horse and drove away the darkness, until he destroyed the ido-ltemple."[3]

A second allusion to idolatry in the form of the worship of evil spirits or demon-worship,[4] implying, images, is found in a denunciation of the veneration paid by the Hindus as idolators, recorded in Bd. 28.34=Gt. Iran. Bd. p. 186. The text reads :

Bd. 28.34=Gt. Iran. Bd, p. 186. *Bût šêdâ (dêv) zag (avŏ) munaš (kê-š) pavan (pa) Hindûkân parastênd, apaš (v-aš) vâj-aš*[5] *pavan (pa) zag (avŏ) î bûtŏ-gâh*[6] *mâhmânŏ cîgûn Btūō-asp*[7] *parastêt.*

' The demon Bût[8] is he whom they worship among the Hindus, and his prayer is in the *bût* (*i. e.* goblin)-shrine abode, just as one worships Bû tâsp.'

---

1 This word is given in Gt. Iran, Bd. p. 125 as *aûzdêš-zâr*, which is found elsewhere in Pazând. So below. On the etymology of the first part of this compound word for idol-temple, and the various readings for it in the Pahlavi texts, see West and Haug, *Glossary of the Ardâ Virâf*, p. 48, *s.* v.. *aûzdistâr*. The second element, when given as *-câr* may possibly be associated indirectly with Av. *cara*, and explained as ' service'; when given as *-zâr*, we might perhaps doubtfully think of Pers. *zâr*, as alluding to the ' groaning' or howls of the idolators. But this is a mere suggestion.

2 For *kand* the text of Gt. Iran. Bd. p. 125 has *ap rn ntŏ*, (*i.e. avarûnat*) as in the next sentence.

3 Compare also West, *Pahlavi Books Translated*, in *S.B.E.* 5.63-64. I have here rendered *auzdêš-câr* by the sin gular as ' idol-temple' in comparison with the kindred passage *zag (avŏ) aûzdêš-câr* in Dk. 7.1.39, cited below.

4 For some references to the us e of these terms in general, see West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, in SBE. 47. p. XXVII. § 50 end.

5 So probably the word is to be read as ' prayer' though West (SBE. 5.111 n. 6) reads *vakhš*, ' growth.'

6 So preferably, though West (*loc. cit.*) and Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, 2.259,n.4, read *bûtîhâ*, 'idols'.

7 Thus Darmesteter (*loc. cit.*) reads as a compound, *Bûtâsp*, and explains the identity of the name alluded to.

8 On this demoniacal name compare the full etymological references given by Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *bûtay-*, col. 968; comparisons with Pers. *but*, ' image, idol,' and Skt. *bhûta*, ' spectre, goblin, devil,' are of course familiar.

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DÊNKART.

The Dênkart, which is largely based on very old Avestan material, contains several allusions to idol-worship and the sin of idolatry.

In the first place there is recorded in Dk. 7. 1. 19 an antique legend of Takhmûrup, whom tradition places in the fourth millennium B. C., as an opponent of idol-worship—*aûzdês parastakîh*. (For text and translations *cf.* M. R. Unvala, *The Pahlavi Dinkard, Book VII, Lithographed*, p. 5-6, Bombay 1904; D. M. Madan, *Pahlavi Dinkard*, 2. 594-595, Bombay, 1911; D. D. P. Sanjana, *The Dînkard*, vol. 13. 8, London, 1912; E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, in SBE. 47. 8). The passage reads:

Dk. 7, 1. 19. *Min* (*az*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *âkhar* (*pas*) *matŏ val* (*avŏ*) *Ṭakhmûrupŏ î zên-âvand; apaš* (*v-aš*) *vânîtŏ pavan* (*pa*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *gadâ* (*khûrah*) *šêdâ* (*dêv*) *û anšûtâ* (*mart*) *îvatak* (*bad*) *û yâtûk û parîg; apaš* (*v-aš*) *lakhvar* (*avâz*) *ramîtuntŏ* (*afgand*) *a û z d ê s- p a r a - s t a k î h û rûbâkênêtŏ bên* (*andar*) *dâmân niyâyishn û parastakîh i Dâtâr.*

'After that (the glory) came to Takhmûrup, who possessed arms; and he conquered through that glory the demon and evil man, the sorcerer and enchantress; and he cast out idol-worship and propagated among the creatures the reverence and worship of the Creator.'

A second allusion in the Dênkart (7. 4. 72) to idol-worship (*aûzdês parastîânîh*) refers to the witchcraft practised by the monster Dahâk, sovereign of Babylon, who is supposed to have reigned as usurper over Irân in the third millennium B. C.; the religion of Zoroaster abolished this heinous sin. The passage runs (cf. Unvala, p. 55; Madan, 2. 639; West, tr. SBE. 47.66-67).

Dk. 7. 4. 74. *Aêvakŏ cand mandavam* (*cîš*) *î vat-jamâs î Dahâkŏ pavan* (*pa*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *yâtûkîh bên* (*andar*) *Bâpêl kart yakâvêmunât* (*astâd*); *anshûtâ* (*mart*) *pavan* (*pa*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *nîyâzânîh val* (*avŏ*) *a û z d ês-p a r a s t î â n î h matŏ yakâvêmûnâtŏ* (*astâd*) *homand* (*ast*); *vakhš marencišnŏ ŝ gêhân yahavûntŏ* (*bût*); *pavan* (*pa*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *î pêrûzkar dênŏ gûbišnŏ î Zartûhašt zag* (*avŏ*) *patêrakŏ zag* (*avŏ*) *yâtûkîh frâz gûftŏ, hamak vašûf*[*t*]*-hastŏ û akâr-hâstŏ.*

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One *marvel* is, some things of evil deceit which Dahâk had done in Bâpêl (Babylon) through sorcery; man through that seduction had come to idol-worship; *and* its growth was the destruction of the world; *but* through the words of the triumphant religion which Zaratusht proclaimed in opposition to that sorcery, it is all dispersed and disabled.'

A third allusion in the seventh book of the Dênkart (7. 1. 39) recalls the demolition of the idol-temple on the shore of Lake Cêcast by Kaî-Khûsrû, as alluded to above (See Madan, 2. 598-599; Sanjana, text, 13. 15, transl. 13. 16; West, SBE. 47. 14).

Dk. 7. 1. 39. *Matŏ val (avŏ) Kaî-Khusrûî î Sîyâvakhšan; pat-aš vânêtŏ û zatŏ Frangrâsîyâk î Tûr î yâtûkŏ, apaš (v-aš) ham-vašutakŏ Vakyiragânŏ Kêrêsavazd û hân (ân) kabad (vas) gêhân-marencenêtâr saryâtar; û âyûkht val (avŏ) zag (avŏ) a û z d ê s-c â r*[1] *î madam (avar) bâr î Var Cêcastŏ makhituntan (zadan) škastan, zag (avŏ) î škaftŏ drûjîh.*

'It (the glory) came to Kaî-Khûsruî, son of Sîyâvaksh; through it he vanquished and smote Frangrâsîyâk of Tûr, the sorcerer and his fellow-miscreations (namely) those of Vakyir, Kêrsêvazd, and many other vile world-destroyers; and he joined in[2] the destruction *and* demolition of that idol-temple[3] on the shore of Lake Cêcast, that which was frightful fiendishness.'

A fourth passage in the Dênkart, found in the sixth, or preceding book (6. 275), alludes to the disappearance of idol-worship (*aûzdêš-parastišnîh*) as no sign of lack of faith, but the contrary (Cf. Sanjana, text, vol. 12. 5, transl. vol. 12. 5).

Dk. 6. 275. *Apašân denâ-ic (în-c) ângûn dâštŏ: aîgh (ku) a û z d ê s-p a r a s t i š n î h barâ (bê) âvîsâîyêtŏ, mainûg vîrûyišnîh andak levatâ (avâ) barâ (bê) vazlunêd (šavat).*

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1 Madan's text, 599, has *aûzdês-zâr*; Sanjana, p. 15, transliterated by the usual *aûzdês-câr*.

2 Or 'applied himself to.'

3 On the singular number *zag auzdêš-câr* 'idol-temple' see note 3. p. 726.

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'It is considered by them in this manner also: that should idol worship be annihilated, no faith in the good spirits will hereby disappear."[1]

The above references are the only important ones I have thus far found in the Dênkart.[2]

BAHMAN YASHT.

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, based on old Avestan sources, even though its final redaction may belong to a period less than a thousand years ago, may next be cited. There are two special passages (Byt. 3.30,36-37) in which Pêshûtanû, the illustrious son of Vîshtâsp, with divine sanction and under the inspiration of Mithra as well as aided by the sacred fires, destroys the idol-temple(s) (here written *auzdêst-zâr*) which were the abode of demons.

The first of these references is Phl. Byt. 3.30. (Compare the text of Kaikobâd Ádarbâd Dastûr Nosherwân, *The Pahlvi Zand-i-Vôhûman Yasht*, text, p. 17-18, transliteration, p. 21-22, Bombay, 1900; and the translation by West, SBE. 5.227).

Phl. Byt. 3. 30. *Frâz sâtûnêtŏ (? âiat) Pêšyûtanû î Vištâspânŏ pavan (pa) hamâk-khvârîh âtarŏ Frôbâg âtarŏ Gûšnaspŏ âtarŏ Bûrzên-Mitrô val (avŏ) a û z d ê s t - z â r î vazûrg nišîmak î darvand Ganrak Mînûg darvand Aêšm î khrû- drafš û hamâk šêdâânŏ (dêvân) û drûjânŏ vat-tûkhmakânŏ ; val (avŏ) zag (avŏ) î zûfartûm (?)[3] dušâhû yâmtând (rasîdand) ; barâ (bê) âvarnatŏ (?khad[4]) zag (avŏ) a û z d-ê s t - z â r pavan (pa) hamkûnišn i khûp-khvârîh (?)[5] Pêšyûtanû î bâmîk.*

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1 On this passage compare the translation and note by Sanjana, vol. 13. p. 5.

2 I may add that I consider the reference to *mahîg karpŏ*, 'fish form,' in Bd. 7. 1. 34 (*cf.* Sanjana, vol. 13. 14; West, SBE. 47. 13) to be a simile rather than an allusion to an image.

3 Reading uncertain; Nusherwân, *op. cit.*, p. 21 transcribes as *zôfâêtûm*; but *cf. zôfar* in West and Haug, *Gloss. Ardâ Virâf*, p. 150, paralleling with Av. *jafra*, 'deep.'

4 The transliteration of these four words is uncertain.

5 The suggested reading as *hamkunišn î khûp-khvârîh* is quite uncertain: Nosherwân *op. cit.* p. 21 reads as one word and transcribes by *ham-kôkhsišnŏih*; West, SBE. 5-227 translates as 'by the exertions of the illustrious Pêshyôtanû.'

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'Forth advances Pêshyûtanû, son of Vishtâsp, with the all-glorious fire Frôbâg, the fire Gûshnasp, *and* the fire Bûrzên-Mitrô to the great i d o l - t e m p l e, the abode of the wicked Evil Spirit, the wicked Aêshm of the bloody banner and all the fiends of evil seed; unto that deepest *abysm* of hell they come; destroyed is that i d o l - t e m p l e through the co-operation, right-glorious (?) of Pêshyûtânû, the illustrious.'

In the second passage in the Bahman Yasht (3.36-37) is found a continuation in the form of a spiritual injunction to Pêshûtanû from Mitrô to destroy idol-temples (*aûzdêst-zâr*), as follows (Nowsherwân, text, p. 18, transliteration, p. 22; West, SBE. 5.229) :—

Phl. Byt. 3.36-37. *û varg vadunêt (kard) Mitrô î ſarâkhô-šatr*[1] *val (avŏ) Pêšyûtanû î bâmîk : aîgh (ku) barâ (bê) avarûn (khand) barâ (bê) mœkhêtûnêtŏ (zat) zag (avŏ) a û z d ê s t - z â r î šedân (dêvân) nišîmak Sâtûn (?) - . . . û madam (avar) yâmtûnêtŏ (rasîd) Pêšyûtanû î bâmîk û âtârŏ î Frôbâg û âtârŏ î Gûšnasp âtârŏ î Bûrzên Mitrô î pêrûzkâr ; barâ (bê) makhêtûnêtŏ (zat) zag drûj î kabad (vas) aôj barâ (bè) avarûnêtŏ (khand) zag (avŏ) a û z d ê s t - z â r (? ?)*[2]

' And Mitrô of wide realms raised his voice to Pêshyûtanû, the illustrious: " Destroy and smite the i d o l - t e m p l e of the demons, the abode of Satan(?) - . . .[3] And there approaches Pêshyûtanû the illustrious, and the fire Frôbag, the fire Gûshnasp, and the fire Bûrzên Mitrô, the victorious; he will smite the fiend of excessive might, he will destroy that i d o l - w o r s h i p.'[4]

MAÎNÛG-Î KHRAT.

Idol-worship and idolatry are referred to in four different passages of the old Pahlavi book Maînûg î Khrat, which may possibly date from the sixth century A.D.

1 This is transcribed by Nowsherwan, *op. cit.*, p. 22, as *farâkhô gâôtô*.

2 The reading of this word is very doubtful; Nowsherwân, p. 22, reads as two words, *aôj vastarênd*.

3 The transliteration of this Pahlavi word is problematic.

4 On the translation 'idol-worship' refer to the footnote 3 to Bd. 17, 7.

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The first of these allusions is the familiar reference to Kaî Khûsrû's destroying the idol-temple (*aûzdês-câr*) on Lake Cêcast, Mkh, 2.93-96. (Compare the Pahlavi text ed. D.D.P. Sanjana, *Dînâ.î Maînû î Khrat*, p. 9, Bombay, 1895 ; the Pâzand text ed. E.W. West, *Mainyo-i Khard*, p. 8, Stuttgart and London, 1871 ; and the translation by West in SBE. 24-15).

Mkh. 2.93-95. *Man* (*až*) *a û z d ê s - p a r a s t i š n î h û šêdâ* (*dêv*)-*yazakîh rakhîk*(*dûr*) *pahrêž*; *maman* (*ci*) *pêtâk aîgh*(*ku*) *hat* (*agar*) *Kaî-Khûsrûbŏ a û z d ê s - c â r î pavan*(*pa*) *Var î Cêcast lâ*(*nû*) *âvarunt* (*khand*) *homanât* (*hâd*), *dên* (*andar*) *dênâ* (*în*) *sê raghkû* (*hazâr sâl*) *Hûšêtar û Hûšêtar-mâh û Sûšâns—mûn* (*ke*) *gvît gvît* (*jad jad*) *pavan* (*pa*) *kalâ* (*har*) *raghkû* (*hazâr sâl*) *rûêšman* (*sar*) *man* (*až*) *valmanšân* (*êšân*) *aêvak yâtûnêt* (*aêd*) *mûn* (*ke*) *kalâ* (*har*) *kâr î gêhân lakhvâr* (*avâž*) *vîrâst û mitrôanŏ-drûjânŏ û a û z d ê s - p a r a s t â n ŏ î dên* (*andar*) *kešvâr barâ* (*bê*) *makhŝtûnêt* (*avazaned*) *—adênŏ* (*â*) *patîyârak aêtûnŏ stahmaktar yêhevânt* (*bûd*) **humanât* (*hâd*), *aîgh* (*ku*), *rêst-âkhezŏ û tanû î pasîn kartanŏ lâ* (*nê*) *šâyastŏ hûmanât* (*hâd*).

'Abstain far from i d o l - w o r s h i p and demon-sacrifice, because it is declared that: "If Kaî-Khûsrûî should not have destroyed the i d o l - t e m p l e on the Lake of Cecast, then in these three millenniums of Hûshêtar and Hûshêtar-mâh and Sûshâns—of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again every affair of the world and utterly destroys the breakers of pledges and the i d o l - w o r s h - i p p e r s — the adversary [i. e. Ahriman] would have become so much more oppressive, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and the body hereafter.'

The accomplishment of the same event is likewise referred to in Mkh. 27. 59. 61 (*cf.* Phl text, Sanjana, 47 ; Pâzand text, West, p. 32 ; transl., West, SBE. 24-64).

Mkh. 27. 59-61. *û man* (*až*) *Kaî-Khûsrûb sûtŏ denâ* (*în*) *yehevânt* (*bûd*), *cîgûn avazatanŏ Frâsîyâk û avrûntanŏ* (*khandan*) *î a û z d ê s - c â r î pavan* (*pa*) *Var î Cêcastŏ*.

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'And the advantage from Kaî-Khûsrûb was this, namely the smiting of Frâsîyâk and the destruction of the i d o l - t e m p l e on the Lake of Cêcast.'

The next reference is a brief one to the desecration of the earth by building an idol-temple (*aûzdês-câr*), Mkh. 6.7 (*cf.* Phl. text, Sanjana, p. 59; Pâzand text, West, p. 15; transl, West, SBE. 24.29). The text reads :—

Mkh. 6.7. *Caharûm, mûn (ke) a û z d ê s - c â r pâtaš vâdûnd (kunand),*

'The fourth (place of desecration of the earth) *is that* in which they make an i d o l - t e m p l e.'

The fourth reference in Mkh. 36.10 is to the heinous sin of him who worships an idol (*cf.* Phl. text, Sanjana, p. 53; Pâzand text, West, p. 37; transl., West, SBE. 24.31) :—

Mkh. 36.10. *Haštûm, mûn (ke) a û z d ê s - p a r a s t î h.*

'Eighth (among sins, is that) which is i d o l - w o r s h i p.'

ARTÂ-VÎRÂF NAMÂK.

There is a single significant allusion to idol-worship (written as *aûzdês-târ* for *aûzdês-câr*) in the Book of Ardâ Vîrâf, Av. 68.11. The reference is to idolatry on the part of a wife whose husband belongs to the true religion of Zoroaster. Her consort is supposed to rebuke her in the world hereafter (*cf.* Phl. text, Sanjana, p. 56; Pâzand text, West, *Ardâ Virâf*, p. 99, 191). The words of the reprimand read as follows :

AV. 68.11 *až-aṭ a û z d ê s - c â r*[1] *parastêd.*

'Then thou didst worship (in) i d o l - t e m p l e s

SHÂYAST LÂ-SHAYÂST.

The Pahlavî treatise Shâyast lâ-Shayast (9, 2, 3), which was compiled sometime in the seventh century A.D. from far older writings (*cf.* West, SBE, 5. p. Lxv) alludes to the evil that arises to a priest 'who passes away in idolatry' (or 'passes over into idolatry—*a û z d â y a k î h*)—see the translation by West *Pahlavî Texts transl.*, in SBE. 5. 209.

1 The Phl. text here reads *auzdês-târ*, with which Pahlavi variant compare note 1. p. 276.

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Shlsh. 9. 2, 3. 'The priest (*âsrûk*) who passes away in idolatry (*aûzdâyakîh*)[1] thou hast considered as desolate (*vîrân*); and there is a high-priest (*dastôbar*) who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *he is as* a non-Iranian (*anâîrân*) country.[2] It is declared that when a supreme high-priest (*zaratûštrôtûm*) passes away in idolatry, an apostate (*aharmôk*) will be born in that dwelling, and a rumour of this calamity is uttered by that supreme high-priest.'[3]

KARNÂMAK Î ARTAKHSHÊR I PÂPAKÂN.

In the Pahlavi prose-romance Kârnâmak î Artakhshêr î Pâpakân (prior in date to 600 A. D.) there is a tale of Ardashîr's overthrow of an idolatrous monster who ruled over Kîrmân and was known as the 'Worm' (*Kêrm*). The story has parallels with the Old Testament Apocrypha narrative of Bel and the Dragon.[4] With reference in general to the abomination of idolatry (*aûzdês*) as a practice created by Ahriman, the first passage (7.3) reads (*cf.* D. D. P. Sanjâna chap. 7. 3, text, p. 34, transl., p. 31, Bombay, 1896 =E. K. Antiâ, chap. 12.7, text, p. 32, transl. p. 28, Bombay, 1900,=Kaikobâd Adarbâd Dastûr Nosherwân, *Kârnâmak*, text p. 20, transliteration p. 12, Bombay, 1896 and compare especially Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Artachšîr î Pâpâkân*, in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge z. Kunde d. idg. Spr.*, 4.55—56, Göttingen, 1878).

Krmk. Artakhš. Pâpak 7.3 (Sanjânâ)=12.7 (Ântiâ)= § 98 (Nosherwân). *Gazaštak yehevûnât* (*bâd*) *Ganrak Mênûg î darvand, mûn* (*kê*) *denâ* (*în*) *aûzdês aêtûnŏ cîr û patîyârand kart yekêvemûnât* (*astâd*), *aîgh* (*ku*) *aêmandên* (*hambên*) *martûm î kûstîhâ man* (*až*) *dênŏ î Aûharmazd û Amšaspandânŏ nîyâzân kart yekevemûnêt* (*astêd*).

'Damned be Aharman the wicked, who has made this idol-

1 West, footnote 2, observes that it may mean 'passes over into idolatry.'

2 West observes (note 3) that the Dastur read *anâîrân* instead of *vîrân* in the preceding sentence.

3 See West, SBE. 5.309.

4 See Jackson, *Notes O. T. Apocrypha*, in *Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs*, p. 95-97, New York, 1911 (see below).

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a t r y so powerful and adverse, that all mankind of the regions has made a renunciation of the religion of Aûharmazd and the Amshaspands.'

The description of the ruse by which the dragon monster was slain (see Kârnâmâk, 7.11-12 ; 8. 1-11) contains several allusions to idol-worshippers (*aûzdês-parastakân*) and the annihilation of idolatry ; compare the translation of the section in *Essays as a Testimonial to C.A. Briggs*, p. 95-97, previously cited.

SHATRÔÎHÂ Î AÊRÂN.

The Shatrôîhâ î Aêrân, 7, states that the accursed Frâsîâk *i. e.* Afrâsîâb transformed each of the sacred shrines of Samarkand into an i d o l - t e m p l e (*aûzdêst-câr*)—see Jamaspji M. Jamasp Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, 1. p. 12, Bombay, 1897 ; transl. J. J. Modi, *Shatrôthâ-i-Aîrân*, p. 57, Bombay, 1899 ; text and transl. by E. Blochet, *Liste géographique des villes de l' Iran*, in *Recueil de Travaux relatifs á la Philologie*, 17. 165, 168, 171, Paris, 1903. The passage runs as follows :—

Shatr. Aêr. 7. *Akhar* (*pas*) *Frâsîâk î Tûr kalâ* (*har*) *aêvak nišîmak î šedâân* (*dêvân*) *a û z d ê s t - c â r bêšn* (?) *pataš kart.*

'Afterwards Frâsîak of Tur made every single (fire-shrine) into a dwelling of demons, an i d o l - t e m p l e of hatred (?)'.[1]

JÂMÂSP NÂMAK.

The incomplete Pahlavî Jâmâsp Nâmak, or Book of Jamâspî (6. 1; 7. 3-4), written probably some time before 900 A. D., and purporting to give answers of some questions put to the Sage Jâmâsp by King Vîshtâspa, contains in its Pâzand and Persian versions two or three allusions to idolatry.

The first of these allusions is found in a section of the Pâzand version (6.1) referring to the time when i d o l a t r y (*aûzdês*, written in Pâz. *ôzdêš*) shall be finally eradicated from the world. The text, which begins in Pahlavî and turns into Pâzand, runs thus (see J. J. Modi, *Jâmâspî, Pahlavi, Pâzend, and Persian Texts*, Bombay 1903—p, 73, Phl. Pâz. ; p. 87, Pers.; p. 102, Guj. ; p. 113, Eng. transl.).

1 The reading *bêšn* is uncertain ; other suggestions might be offered. Blochet has a somewhat different text and renders (p. 165) 'un temple de courtisanes.'

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Jâmâsp nâmak. Pahl. Pâz, 6. 1. *Pûrsêtŏ Vîstâspa Śâh aîgh* (*ku*) *axar* (*pas*) *man* (*až*) *zag* (*avŏ*) *amat* (*ka*) *maînug*[1]—*Pûrsêt Vastâspa Śâh ku pâs âyâ ānî ki maînyô dâstûrā ôî Erān šâhâr âêândâ ānî heñd ā z d î š* (i.e. *aûzdês*) *zanend.*

'King Vîshtâspa asked: After that which is [the time] when the spiritual comes? [*Pâzand*] King Vîshtâspa asked when after that time of the spirit will the Dastûrs come to the country of Irân and smite i d o l a t r y ?' [The answer is that this will take place when the three last millenniums of the world come to pass]-

The second is an allusion to the worship of images and spirits by the Chinese.

Jâmasp Nâmak Pâz. 7.3 (*cf.* Modi, p. 76,) *Cînâštân šahar bâzârakŭ...b u t p e r ê š t ênend.*

'The country of Chînâstân is great...they worship images [i.e. spectres, sporks, idols].'[2]

The third is a reference to idol worship by the Tâjîks (Arabs)[3] and the people of Bârbârîstân.

Jâmâsp Nâmak Pâz. 7.4 (*cf.* Modi, p. 77). *Tâzîgānd u Bârbagānd* [read *Bârbârîstân*] *šahar...ā z d î š* [*i.e. aûzdês*] *perêštênend.*

'The countries of Tâzîgānd and Bârbârîstân...they worship i d o l s.'

C o n c l u s i o n. The above selection completes the list from the nine or ten principal works in Pahlavî that touch upon the abhorrence of anything like idolatry in the eyes of the true worshipper of Ormazd. I hope later in the Hastings Encyclopædia, alluded to above, to bring out the references in the Greek and Latin classics regarding this topic in their relation to the religion of Irân; also to take notice of the practical absence in the Avesta of any special reference to idol-worship; and finally to show that the Persians were in harmony with their Arab conquerors in this respect as to idol-worship throughout Muhammadan times. But even should the present list be augmented through the finding of additional allusions, it seems certain that such *addenda* will tend only further to prove the ideality of Zoroastrianism in this regard.

1 Thus far the Pahlavi; the question is then taken up in Pâzand and continued.

2 On the word *but* see above p. 276 note. 8.

3 The name Tâjîks probably includes the tribes of Central Asia as well as their conquerors from Arabia who may have retained some traces of pre-Islamic idolatry that were observed by the tribes they conquered.

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TIME AND ITS DIVISIONS IN THE AVESTAIC AGE. DAYS AND THEIR DIVISIONS.

BY

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The discussion going on amongst the Zoroastrians about the commencement of their year led me to study carefully the whole subject of Time and its divisions in the Avesta. This disclosed to me many new ideas. Part of the result of the study I have already laid before the public in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume and now I place the remainder before them, so that other students of the Avesta may improve on it.

Time which is continuously growing old itself and making old and decrepit others is, in Avesta, very aptly named 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬀 (zravâna = Gr. Chronos = Pers. زمان *time* = Ar. زمن, *a period of years*), a presen participial noun from an obsolete root 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎 (zrva) = Sans. जॄ, ज्रि, द्रू, *to grow old, become decrepit; to make old or decrepit* [comp. Av. 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬋 (tere) and 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬎 (taurv) = Sans. तॄ and तुर्व्, *to surpass, overcome, overpower* and Sans. कृ and कृव् (pres: part. कुर्वत्, and कुर्वाण), *to do*; दृह्, दृंह्, धृ, and धृ, *to stand firm*; द्रु, द्रुह्, ध्रु, घूर् and घूर्व्, धुर्व्, *to hurt*; Av. 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬋 (pere) = Sans. पॄ and पर्व्, पूर्व्, , *to fill.*] From the corresponding Sanskrit word जरण signifying *old, infirm* and also from Av. 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎 (zaurvâ = Sans. जरा), another word derived from the same obsolete root, implying *decrepitude*, it appears that 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬀 (zrvâna) originally indicated 'an old person', as 'Time' was represented by the ancient Greeks. From this original meaning the word came to signify not only '*time*' but also '*old or ancient time*' as in 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀 *in infinitely ancient time* (Vd. XIX. 9.); and 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎-𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀 (zrvo-dâta), *made in olden time* (Vd. XIX. 19). In these examples we find 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬀 (zrvâna) contracted to 𐬵𐬁𐬭𐬍 (zrvan), corresponding to Sans. जरिन्, *old, ancient*; *an old man.*

'An arbitrarily fixed recurring division of time' is named 𐬭𐬀𐬞𐬌 (ratu) = Sans. ऋतु, *any settled point of time, a fixed time, time appointed for sacrifice*

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and other regular worship, right time, from 𐬎𐬁𐬙𐬀 (eret. obs.)=Sans. ऋत्. *to domineer*=Lat. ordior, *to ordain*; e. g., 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀 *during the period of Hamaspathmaedya* (Yt. 13,49); 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬑𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀 *in the Gâh (time) Hâvan* (Y. IX. 1.): comp. Lat. ordo, *a series of time, a succession of time.* However, 𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ratu) and 𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬀 (zrvâna) are sometimes used promiscuously for each other; as, 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 *for a period of three years* (Vd. XVIII. 9.); 𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬨𐬀 *in the gâh (time) Rapithwin* (Y. IX. 11.): 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 *the Gâh Rapithwin* (Y. II. 4).

Daytime.—𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ayan, *day time*) is found only in the accusative plural form 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ayãn). The stem 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (azan) or 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (asna)=Sans. अहन् *a day*, is used in other declensions. Both these words 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ayan) and 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (azan) are derived from roots bearing the same meaning. The former from 𐬀 (i) or 𐬌𐬀 (ay)=Sans. इ or अय् and the latter from 𐬵𐬭 (az)=Sans. अह्, both meaning *to go or move.* Primarily they signify 'the time when the sun is *moving* in the sky, i. e, from sunrise to sunset.' If we take the root 𐬵𐬭 (az) to be akin to Sans. अज्, *to drive*, in which sense the root is often used in Avesta, 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (azan) would signify 'the time when the sun *drives* his horse in the sky,' and the sense remains the same. 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (aurvat-aspa, *having a swift horse*) is the common epithet of the sun; and in the Persian astronomy the sun is figured as riding on horseback. अज् like अह्, also means '*to go*' which is the primary meaning, and *to drive, to urge, to move on,*' the secondary one. Both these Sanskrit words appear to be derived from an obsolete original अञ्ज् = Av. 𐬵𐬭 (az). 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (azan) or 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (asna), like its Sanskrit kindred अहन्, seems from its derivative 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (asnya) to be used also in the secondary sense of 'a nycthemeron.'

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ayaré) is the third word for '*daytime*' (v. Zand-Pahalvi glossary by Dastur Hoshangji, p. 42, 4). It is derived from the root. 𐬭 (ir)=Sans. इर्, *to go*, and ईर्, *to go, move, rise.* In *Vd. ii.* 41. 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 (ayaré) seems to signify *a nycthemeron.*

The fourth word for '*daytime*' is 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 (uziraṇh), which also is derived from the same root 𐬭 (ir), and the fifth word is 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀 (arem-pithwa). I will say more about these two words further on.

Night-time.—'Night or the time from sunset to sunrise', when the sun *disappears* or is apparently *made an end* of, is called 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨 (khshap)=Ved. क्षप्,

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=Pers. شب. Its more common form is 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬌 (khshapan) derived from an Avestaic obsolete root 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱 (khshap)=Sans. क्षप्, *'to destroy, make an end of, finish, to weaken'*. Similarly in Av. 𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬹𐬎𐬎𐬌 (nakhturu, *nocturnal*) the noun 𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬹𐬎 (nakhtu)=Ved. नक्, नक्त =Sans. निश =Lat. nox, noctis=Gr. nux, nuktos=Ger. nicht=Fr. nuit=Eng. night, is derived from Av. 𐬑𐬀𐬵 (nas)=Sans. नश्, *'to disappear; to perish'*. In Sanskrit the radical 'k' reappears in नक्षयति and निनंक्षति.

Nycthemerons.—𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀 (ayara) and 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀 (khshapara) are the derivatives of 𐬀𐬌𐬭 (ayan) and 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬌 (khshapan) respectively. They both mean *'a nycthemeron.'* The following passage, however, clearly shows that 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀 (khshapara) indicates a nycthemeron ending with 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬌 (khshapan):—

𐬀𐬭𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬹𐬱𐬀𐬌

In the Gâthâ, however, it is divided into (1) 𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬌 or 𐬌𐬨𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬌 (ushâ or ushaṇh =Sans. उषा, उषः, *dawn*), (2) 𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬵𐬌-𐬞𐬌 (arem-pithwa), and (3) 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬨 (khshap), as appears from the following verse :—

𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬨 𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬵𐬌-𐬞𐬌 𐬞𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬉

Who (is he) who (has made) dawns, daytimes and nights? (Y. XLIV. 3.)

𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬵𐬌-𐬞𐬌 (arem-pithwa, *the day-time*) literally means 'the time when the sun is present' ; from 𐬞𐬌 (arem)=Ved. अरम्, *near, present*, and 𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬵 (pithwa)=Sans. पीतु, पीय, *the sun*. In the later Avesta, it seems to have been contracted into 𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬙𐬌𐬵𐬌 (rapithwa), *the side where the sun is near or present, south*.

From Vd. XXI. 3, it appears that the nycthemeron was afterwards divided into (1), 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬭𐬌 (uziraṇh), *day-time*, (2) 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬞𐬌 (arezaṇh), *the time of evening twilight or dusk*, (3) 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬨 (khshapan), *night*, and (4) 𐬌𐬨𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬌 (ushaṇh), *time of morning twilight or dawn*. 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬭𐬌—(uziraṇh) (literally means 'the time when the sun is up'; from 𐬭𐬌 (uzir)=Sans. उदेर्, *to rise*. 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬞𐬌 (arezaṇh) primarily indicates 'silvery light', and hence *the evening twilight*. It is akin to Sans. अर्जुन, *white* ; *silvery*; and derived from an obsolete root 𐬞𐬌 (erez)=Sans. रज्, *to shine with silvery light*. From 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬞𐬌 (arezaṇh), *the evening*, we have 𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬞𐬌 (arezahi), *the country of the evening twilight, i.e., west*. Corresponding to this we have Lat. Argestes=Gr. Argĕstēs, *a western wind* Similarly the morning twilight is deemed to be of golden colour, and the east is deemed to be the side of the morning twilight; hence, in Lat. Aurora, (aurea hora, golden hour) signifies *the morning, the time just before sunrise; the east*. Another word derived from the above root is 𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬞𐬀 (erezata)=Sans. रजत=Gr. arguros= Lat. argentum, *silver*. Gr. argos, and arges (argetos) *shining* ; *white* ; and Gr. argilos=Lat. argilla, *white clay*, are all kindred to the above.

For ceremonial purposes a nycthemeron is divided into five parts, commonly known as ' gāhs ' and called in Avesta 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬀 (asnya), a word formed by adding the partitive suffix 𐬌𐬥 (ya) to 𐬀𐬎𐬌 or 𐬀𐬎𐬀 (azan or asna, *a nycthemeron*). Another Avestan word for these divisions is 𐬜𐬀𐬞𐬀 (gāthā)=Pahl. 𐭲𐭭 =Pers. گاه or گه . The word is found used in this sense in Nirangastān. The primary meaning of 𐬜𐬀𐬞𐬀 (gāthā) is, as is well known, a 'poem.' Hence, in aftertimes, it came to signify the existing five poems of Zoroaster and his contemporary grand disciples. When 'the five Epagomenæ'

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were named after the five poems, they also became known by this name. This denomination seems to have suggested the idea of calling also the five divisions of a nycthemeron by the same name. These five divisions are designated 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Hāvani), 𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Rapithwina), 𐬎𐬁𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Uzayeirina), 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬱𐬭𐬎𐬀 (Aivisrūthrema), and 𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Ushahina).

The above is the order in which they are mentioned in Yasna, which shows that in religious matters a nycthemeron is deemed to begin with the 'gāh' 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Hāvani); and the practice of the Zoroastrians, which conforms to it, supports this view. It is further strengthened by the Sanskrit word सावन which is akin to Av 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Hāvani) and signifies *the day from sunrise to sunrise. (Vide, Sūrya Siddhānta, XIV. 18)*; from the root 𐬵 (hu) = Sans. सु, *to prepare the soma juice, to perform sacrifice with soma.* The primary meaning of the Av. 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Hāvani) is *of or relating to the preparation of the Haoma juice, of or relating to the performance of the Haoma ceremony.* From this it is clear that these divisions were originally made for religious purposes.

But we find five civil headmen or officers successively rising in rank mentioned in Yasna with the five 'gāhs' in the order of their succession; *viz.*, 𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌 (nmānya, *the head of a house*) with 𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Ushahina), 𐬯𐬌𐬎𐬌 (visya, *the head of a village*) with 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Hāvani), 𐬵𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬌 (zantuma, *the head of a district*) with 𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Rapithwina), 𐬛𐬀𐬴𐬎𐬌 (dakhyuma *the head of a country*) with 𐬎𐬁𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Uzayeirina), and 𐬵𐬀𐬡𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬭𐬎𐬌 (Zarathushtrotema, *an ecclesiastic most like the Prophet Zoroaster*) with 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬱𐬭𐬎𐬀 Aivisrūthrema). This shows that the divisions were also used in civil affairs, but in this the nycthemeron was taken to commence with Ushahin Gāh instead of with Hāvan Gāh as above. Thus it appears that the Zoroastrians during their sovereignty had separate civil and ecclesiastical days as well as years. It is, however, strange that in Nirangastān, a ritual, the latter order is adopted in the description of the Gāhs.

𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬌 (Hāvani ratu) implies as explained above, *the time or period ending with or relating to the performance of the Haoma ceremony.* This rite forms a part of Yasna proper, which is performed only in this Gāh. We also find in Yasna *IX.* an account of the prophet Zoroaster celebrating Haoma in this Gāh 𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌 (Rapithwina) signifies *ending with or relating to midday, the time when the sun is near*, from 𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬎𐬭𐬀 (rapithwā,

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midday) a contracted form of 𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬨𐬌𐬎𐬀 (arém-pithwā), described above. 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 (Uzayeirina) means *ending with* 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (*Uzayara*) *the time of going out or expiration of the day-time, afternoon.* 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬯𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬎 (Aiwisrūthrema) indicates *relating to the most assiduous singing;* comp. Sans. अभि श्रवण, '*repeating Vedic texts, while Brâhmanas are sitting down to a Srâddha.* 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 (Ushahina) indicates *ending with dawn*, from 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵 (ushaṇh), *dawn.*

An interesting description of the periods of the Gāhs in the Avastan language is given in Nirangastān with its translation in Pahlavi. It seems to be the oldest one and, probably, of an age prior to the Sassanian period. The Avestan passages are given below with their translation:—

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 (p. 74, 23)
𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥

From whence does the right-time worship of the Ushahin Gāhs proceed? From midnight. It goes around upto sunrise.

𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (ratū-frish) = 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀-𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (ratu-fritish), = *right-time worship* : from 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (ratu), *right-time*, and 𐬎𐬭𐬌 (fri) or 𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬌 (friti), *act of pleasing, regaling; praise, worship;* a gerund of the verb 𐬎𐬭𐬌 (fri) = Sans प्री, '*to please, delight, gladden, cheer, regale*'.

In 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬌 (sachaiti), the root 𐬱𐬌𐬵 (sach) = Sans शंच्, *to go;* comp. 𐬯𐬌𐬭𐬌-𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬵 (pairi-jas) = Sans परिगा, to reach

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 (p. 91, 24)
𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥

Whence does the right-time worship of Hāvan Gāhs proceed? From sunrise. It goes round upto the middle of the first half of the daytime ; thus in summer, and in winter upto the middle of the second half of the day-time.

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬀 (frayara) and 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬥 (uzayara) are the two halves of the daytime. They are members of the next group of divisions of a nycthemeron.

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌 (hamatha) is apparently a corruption of 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯 (hama) a word occuring in Vendidâd in several places with its correlative, 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬌-𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌 (aiwi-gāme).

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 (p 102, 8)
𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥

From whence does the right-time worship of Rapithwin Gāhs proceed?

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From midday. It goes round upto the middle of the second half of the day-time.

Here 𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 (rapithwā,-*midday*) stands for 𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬔𐬌𐬀 (maidhya frayara, *middle of the first half of the day time*) used in the previous paragraph, and, therefore, implies *the beginning point of midday* (the middle portion of the day-time), and not the whole period.

𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬔𐬌𐬀 𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬔𐬌𐬀 𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬔𐬌𐬀 (p. 103, 22)

From whence does the right-time worship of Uzayeirin Gāhs proceed? From the middle of the second half of the day-time. It goes round upto the dusk.

𐬵𐬌-𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬨𐬌-𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌 (hū-frāshmo-dāiti), *the first of the four parts of night, dusk, evening twilight.* It will be further described in the next group of divisions of a nycthemeron.

𐬵𐬌-𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬨𐬌-𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌 𐬵𐬌-𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬨𐬌-𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌 𐬵𐬌-𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬨𐬌-𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌 (p. 106, 6)

Whence does the right-time worship of. Aiwisrūthrem Gāhs proceed? From (the beginning of) the dusk. It goes round upto the midnight.

𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬑 (Vakhāt) is apparently here inserted through mistake.

In the above passages, it may be noted that where the periods. 𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 (Rapithwa, *middle portion of the day-time*) and 𐬵𐬌-𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬨𐬌-𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌 (hū-frāshmo-dāiti, *the time of evening twilight*) are used to demarcate the beginning or end of the Gāhs, they mean only the commencement of their respective period.

It is also noteworthy that the periods of the several Gāhs described in these passages are different from those now accepted, probably, on the authority of the Pahlavi writings. The daytime is here as well as in the present practice of the Zoroastrians divided into three Gāhs, *viz.* Hāvan, Rapithwin, and Uzayeirin. But, whereas here the two twilights, dawn and dusk, form parts of night and are excluded from the daytime, in our present mode of calculating the Gāhs they are included in it, and, therefore, dawn is considered a part of the Hāvan Gāh, and dusk that of the Uzayeirin Gāh. Again, we see in the above description of the Gāhs that the Hāvan-gāh extends only as far as the middle of the first half of the daytime, whereas it is now considered to last upto the noon, the end of the first half of the daytime.

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As shown above, the nycthemeron has been divided for religious ceremonies from very ancient Avestan time into five parts commonly known as Gāhs; but the following passage in the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary edited by Dastur Hoshengji shows that for ordinary use it was also divided in the Avestan age into six parts, two of the daytime, and four of the night-time (including the two twilights):—

(p. 42.)

Ayare, (daytime), half of which is named *frayar* and half *uzyar*. Of *uzyār*, half is named *rapithwin* and half *uzirin*; and in winter the portion of *rapithwin* merges into Hāvan. *Kshapa*, night. There are four divisions of night. The first division is *hū-frāshmo-dāiti*, (Pah. hū-frāshmo-dāt). The second division is called *erezaurvaesa*, (turning of the pious.) These are the two parts of Aiwisruthrem. The third division is called *ushā-surā*, (the brave *Ush*,) in which comes in the Ushahin Gāh. The fourth division is *raōchaṇhãm-fraγaiti*, (advent of the light, which is *hosh-bām* (dawn). It is also called Hāvan-gāh. (Av.) the first daytime is of twelve *hathras* (hours), (Pah.) twelve *hasars* are that of the first daytime. There are twelve *hasars* (hours) in that part of nycthemerons which is daytime; 18 of the mean (hāsars) and twenty-four of the smallest.

From this passage we learn that 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀 (ayare, *day-time*) was, for civil purposes, divided into (1) 𐬉𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀 (frayara) and (2) 𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀 (uzayara); and 𐬑𐬵𐬀𐬥 (kshapan, *night-time*) into (1) 𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬀 - 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬥𐬀 hū-frāshmo-dāiti), (2) 𐬀𐬭𐬁𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬹𐬎𐬀 (erezaurvaesa), (3) 𐬱𐬎𐬀 (ushā) and (4) 𐬭𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥 𐬐𐬀𐬜𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬀 (raochaṇhãm-fragaiti).

Instead of the Avestan form 𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀 (uzayara) only its Pahlavi transliteration 𐬎𐬵𐬭 is given in the text. But we have seen the original word in one of the passages of Nirangastān quoted above.

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(frayara) and (uzayara) are both derived from the root, (ir)=Sans., इर् or ईर्, *to move, go*, by adding the prefix (fra)= Sans. प्र, *forward*, to the one, and (uz)=Sans. उद्, *out, away*, to the other. The former implies *the period of moving forward of the sun in the day-time, i.e., the forenoon from sunrise up to noon*, and the latter signifies *the period of going away of the sun, i.e., the afternoon from noon up to the sunset.*

In (hū frāshmo-dāiti) one is tempted to compare, (frāshma) with Sans. प्रशम, *rest, composure, extinction*. But प्राश्म and not प्रशम is the proper Sanskrit form for Av. (frāshma). There is, however, no such word found in Sanskrit. I, therefore, take this word to mean *shining, lustre*, from the root (ash)=Sans. अष to *shine* and (dāiti)=Sans. दाति, *cutting, destroying*. The whole word would thus literally signify *the time of destruction of the sunshine* and aptly represent *the evening twilight*, the sense in which, as mentioned above, it is used in Nirangastān.

(erezaurvaesa, *the period from the end of evening twilight* to *midnight*) is composed of (ereza) and (urvaesa). The former seems to be another form of (arezaṇh, *evening twilight*), and the latter which means *end* is probably akin to Sans. उद्वेष्टन *an enclosure, a fence.*

(ushā) signifies here as well as in Gāh 5, 5. *the period from midnight till the break of dawn*, though Sans. उषा means *dawn, twilight* and *night*. In this place it is qualified by (surā, *brave*), and in Gāh 5, 5 by (srirā, *beautiful*). (roachaṇhām fragaiti, *going away of lights* or *stars, day break, morning twilight*) is considered here, like (hū-frāshmo-dāiti), a part of night. In Gāh 5, 5. this part is named (ushaṇh=Sans. उषस्, *morning twilight, dawn*) and treated, as in Nirangastān, like a division of the Ushahin Gâh.

(fragaiti) is derived from (fragā)=Sans. प्रगा, *to go away*, where (fra)=Sans. प्र signifies *forth, away*.

In my paper in the Cama Memorial Volume, it has been shown that (aghrem ayare, *the first day-time*) mentioned in the above passage is the day-time of the Jamshedi Naoroz. The length of twelve hours of this daytime extends from sunrise to sunset only, which fact indicates that the twilights are not included in the significance. This conclusion is further strengthened by the

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inclusion of [illegible] (hū frāshmo-dāiti, *dusk*) and [illegible] (raochaṇhām-fragaiti, *dawn*) in [illegible] (khshapa, *night*) as its first and last divisions in the above passage.

In the Pahlavi commentary we are informed that [illegible] (uzayara), the second half of [illegible] (ayare) consists of the Rapithwin and the Uzayeirin gāhs and the first two divisions of night form the Aiwisruthrem gāh. According to this, therefore, the Uzayeirin gāh ends and the Aiwisruthrem begins at sunset as stated in Nirangastān, and not after the evening twilight as now believed. The Ushahin gāh, however, is said in it to commence at midnight and end at day-break and Hāvan-gāh to be another name for the morning twilight. So far it supports the present practice of the Zoroastrians. Unfortunately no mention is made here of the gāh or gāhs of the forenoon. I think the original periods of the gāhs were altered in the Sassanian times probably for the convenience of certain ceremonies, and the two twilights were transferred from the night to the daytime.

My further dissertation on this subject has already been published in the Cama Memorial Volume, where I have treated of the Zoroastrian Months and Years with their Divisions in the Avestan Age. But I take this opportunity to correct an error in it I have said there that some of the names of the months now used by the Zoroastrians 'are found, used in the Pahlavi inscription of Darius Hystaspes.' This is not correct, but I was led into this mistake by the incorrect transliteration of the inscription given in the "Method of Reading Cuneiform Texts by A. De Gobineau," translated from French into English and published by Mr. Muncherji Cowasji L.

For the meanings of the Sanskrit words in the whole of this paper I am chiefly indebted to Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary.

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SOME ZOROASTRIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES VIEWED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF FAITH CURE.

By

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If there is anything like animal magnetism and if animal magnetism has the power to impart healing qualities to persons and things, some of the books on the Zoroastrian religion are the first that teach us how to call it into play and to utilise it as a health restorer for invalids under the influence of religious rites and ceremonies. If health-giving breath can do anything in producing strength, energy and health in a patient, some of the books on the Zoroastrian religion are the foremost that enjoin its development in curing patients and in driving away sickness and diseases from the animal world of materialism. If animal magnetism is at the bottom of mesmerism, and if mesmerism is, with all its branches, the means by which one can attain to the highest stage of spiritualism, conspicuous among other religious books stand some of the books of the Zoroastrian religion as the best supporters of its practical use in purging this material world of its darkness and lifting the human mind from its gross environments to the higher plane of spiritualism.

Who can tell what other purposes will be served by the practice of religious rites and ceremonies in connection with the Yazashna, Vendidâd and Daroon performances where in such articles as metallic Baresmans, mortars, plates, and blazing flames of fire are used together with the recitation of the tuneful and rythmical phrases and words of the holy Manthra, but that of exciting the animal magnetism ? The different handlings of the metallic Baresmans, the ringing of the mortar, the chimes of the tuneful and rythmical chant of the sacred words of the Manthras (though it is a sorrowful fact, that the real Manthra, the keynote to success, is not at hand now, neither is the recitation done as has been enjoined by the prophet), and last, but not the least, the blaze of the burning fire, will combine

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to produce, in one way or another, the animal magnetism which consists in a " very subtile fluid pervading the whole nature" by, perhaps, putting it into vibrations which will impart healing qualities to the articles of food and drink, *i.e.* water, milk, fruits, etc. which are always present on such occasions, and placed, so to say, within the zone of its influence.

That the recitation of the Vendidad, Yasna, Daroon Baj, etc. together with the ceremonies accompanying it, is not the mere invention of the priestcraft but an established practice based upon the solid cult of the religious belief from a very remote time in the history of the Zoroastrian religion, the very text of the Vendidad and Yasna gives us a convincing proof. The Dinkard, the Shayest la Shayest, the Saddar and other works enjoin the performance of liturgical ceremonies with the recital of sacred texts as meritorious acts.

Now, taking the contents of the Vendidâd, for example, into consideration, one may say that, with the exception of a small portion, it does not contain any homage, prayer or offering, but contains the religious tenets and sanitary laws, the recitation of which in a lonely place and at mid-night benefits none. On the other hand we should not think that these practices have come into use without the idea of giving any benefit to others. Then, if the recitation of such long and arduous texts as those of the Vendidâd and Yasna is not meant for the exercise and development of health-giving breath, for what else is it meant?

The Dinkard tells us, that Zoroaster, at the time of his advent, offered blessings upon king Gushtasp, Peshotan, Jamasp and Aspendiar by giving them articles of food which he consecrated by the performance of the Daroon ceremony, and by putting them perhaps within the zone of animal magnetism, which he produced by his recital of the words of the Manthras and by the different handlings of the Baresmans and other things used in the performance of the Daroon ceremony. By virtue of these blessings, king Gushtasp fell into a trance. The veil was lifted up from before his mental eyes. His soul travelled through the spiritual world, got the full knowledge of the next world and returned here. Jamasp was endowed with the knowledge of the past, present and future. His mind penetrated into futurity. He became aware of every thing that was to happen in the future. The Shahnameh tells us that whenever king Gushtasp

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came into difficulty he sought for the advice of Jamasp, as the latter was aware of the future result of the case. The book Jamaspi is quite familiar, not only to the Zoroastrian community, but also to Mahomedans who have strong faith in it. Peshotan became immortal and according to the belief of some, is still living and will appear at the end of a certain millennium, when the Zoroastrian religion will be revived and restored to its first perfection and purity by him. Aspendiar, the son of king Gushtasp, became Ruin-Tan (روئین تن) bronze-bodied *i.e.* too strong for the period he lived in, so much so that no weapons of war produced any effect upon him (*vide* the Shahnameh).

Again, the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great (331 B.C.) which led to the destruction of the Zoroastrian religion, is quite familiar to us. Later on, in the reign of king Ardeshir Babekân (226 A. D.), when the desirability of restoring the Zoroastrian religion to its original perfection was felt, a plan was hit upon. Throughout the length and breadth of Persia, a holy man was sought for, who could communicate with the spiritual world and revive the religion. Dastur Ardâ Virâf was the man who was selected out of 40,000 people. The Ardâ Virâf Nameh says, more or less, to the following effect: Out of 40,000 men Ardâ Virâf was selected as one fit for the championship. He was made to lie down, after performing necessary religious services, in a place surrounded by other *mobads* who were engaged in performing the Yasna, Vendidâd and Daroon ceremonies. He fell into a trance. His soul is alleged to have left his body, travelled through the spiritual space, and after getting perfect knowledge and experience of the next world, returned after 9 days to the body.

Still later on, in the reign of Shapur II (309-319 A. D.), when, owing to various causes, there sprung up in the realm many sectarian controversialists and religious factions by whom the foundation of the Zoroastrian religion was sapped up and was made to collapse, by a royal order, a meeting of all the different existing sects was held for religious discussion. It was then that Dastur Adarbad volunteered to restore and revive the religion. He successfully passed through the ordeal of having some molten brass poured upon his breast without receiving any harm, which convinced the other controversialists about the correctness of the orthodoxy and led to the unity of faith in the realm. Âzar Kaivan also is said to have performed wonders.

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Let us turn to the page relating to modern usages and customs in the Zoroastrian Code of religious rites and ceremonies. We see that these religious performances tell their own story and reveal the real purposes for which they were brought into use at first. The Ardibehesht Yasht gives preference to the medical treatment by holy words. Now, we know that the efficiency of words does not depend upon the simple writing of the words—mere black marks made of ink on a piece of paper,—but it depends upon the proper utterance and correct articulation of words linked together in such a way as to regulate the breath, which will produce the desired effect. This belief is corroborated by the fact of the statement that words and phrases when wrongly uttered and pronounced will not produce the proper effect. Any how, this much is certain, that the success of the operation lies in the thoughts and feelings which are generated somehow in the mind of the operator and which direct the utterance of the words in a way needed for the purpose; for, otherwise, a parrot or a gramophone would do the same as a Mobad or Dastur is expected to do when praying. Members of the Zoroastrian community generally get, on some solemn occasions, their food and drink consecrated by the priests who are believed to be capable of imparting to them some secret healing qualities.

METHOD OF CONSECRATION.

A mobed consecrates the food and drink by putting them within a space, separated from the rest of the adjoining ground by some distinguishing marks, supposed to be under the influence of the secret and sacred energy which he brings into operation by the recitation of the sacred words of the holy texts, such as the Vendidad, Yasna, Daroon and of other passages of the scriptures, together with the performance of the religious ceremonies which always accompany such recitations. The food and drink thus consecrated should be partaken of by none else but a Zoroastrian. A touch or even a look of an alien (called Darvand) will destroy the efficacy of the consecration. But this is not all. In Persia, such exercises and performances are carried on to a far greater extent.

A FEW HEALING RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND CEREMONIES OBSERVED IN PERSIA.

The methods of curing diseases and pains by recitation of the holy words have not altogether died away in Persia. They are still more or less in vogue

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there. For example (1) patients suffering from general sickness, ague, ordinary fever, diseases of nervous system, headache, insanity etc. are occasionally brought under the treatment of priests who recite on them the Ahunavat Gatha, Atish Nyayish, Ardibehesht Yasht, Behram Yasht and Afsoon-e Shah Faridoon. (2) Imbecility and barrenness are sought to be cured by the recitation of Yasna and Vendidâd with religious ceremonies accompanying them. (3) Again, general sickness and troubles in giving birth to a child are cured by the recitation of Vendidad and Behram Yasht.

THE METHODS OF CURE.

(1) Regarding the first case, services are rendered by two, three, four, or even forty mobads, praying together. The invalid is seated first and the mobads, should the number be large, sit in a circle, linked together by joining their hands. (Nowadays they keep themselves linked together by means of a thread, a Kasti or even a stick, being ignorant of the fact of the production of the electric or magnetic power which they are going to produce jointly upon the sick man). A small sacer containing some barley, some marjoram (آویشن), some bugloss (گاوزبان) and a small piece of sugar candy, is put before the officiating priest who is seated next to the invalid. A small piece of alum is kept on the body, generally on the head, of the invalid during the recitation. Fire is burning in the middle of the circle or at a little distance from it. The first officiating priest keeps himself in touch with the patient under treatment, by holding his or her thumb between the thumb and the first finger of his own right hand. At the same moment, all begin the recitation. At the intervals of certain cæsura, the head priest takes up some quantity of the marjoram and barley together with the piece of the sugar candy into his right hand and blows the barley and marjoram with the puff of his mouth on the invalid. This operation is repeated at certain intervals. At the end of the recitation, the head priest passes both his hands over his face, which performance is imitated by others including the invalid also.

During the recitation of Afsoon-e Shah Faridoon, which is the general complement of the services, the piece of alum is taken out from the body of the invalid and put into fire. This, after being melted and hardened in the fire, is supposed to assume the shape of the man, animal, spirit or other thing supposed to have caused the disease. The bugloss which is now believed

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to possess the power of curing the disease, is prepared like tea, sweetened with the piece of sugar candy that was operated upon, and given to the patient.

The above explained operation is not only peculiar to Zoroastrians alone. Even Mahomedans and Jews occasionally submit to it.

2. As regards the second case, the invalid is not present at the time of the performance of the ceremony, but the water, milk or other articles of food put within the sphere of its influence and supposed to have had acquired the efficacy of curing the disease, is given to the invalid. The service is accompanied with full ceremonial performances.

3. In the third case, again, the same things as in the first and second cases are required, *i.e.* bugloss, sugarcandy and some water. Here the invalid must be present. He or she is made to sleep within the scope of the influence of, so to say, the magnetic power, and the priests, should they be more than one, which is generally the case, sit close together, excepting one who sits apart engaged in performing the ceremonies accompanying the Vendidad. At the completion, the consecrated articles are given to the invalid. The Vendidad services are rendered at midnight.

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THE CELEBRATION OF THE GÂHAMBÂR IN PERSIA.

By

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Gâhambâr (a season festival) is considered among the Irani Zoroastrians as the most sacred and meritorious festival. This festival which occurs six times every year, lasts for five days. During this festival a general air or feeling of holiness, purity and piety pervades throughout, among Zoroastrians in Persia. Every possible precaution is taken to keep all sorts of dirt, polution and filth away from the residences and the vicinity.

FIRST DAY CELEBRATION.

The first day celebration is the most characterestic of its kind in creating devout feelings in the minds of the Zoroastrian community as a whole. Early in the morning of the first day of the Gahambar, all the priests that have attained to the stage of Naozat (Nâver) assemble in the hall of the Atesh Behram. Here, the Zaotar (the solemnizer) and his assistant the Râthvi, having made the preliminary sacerdotal performances in connection with the Visparad ceremony in its most elaborate form, are ready to solemnize, along with the congregation of the priests, the Visparad services.

The priests, after rendering their preliminary services stand side by side, all joined together by means of Kustis (they should join hands, it seems, but ignorance of the real fact has led to indifference) forming with the Zaoti who is standing inside the sacred precinct.

The service begins, all commencing at the same moment. The Zaoti continues his recitation without break, while the congregation recite, off and on, alternately halting at different stages and again reuniting with the Zaoti at other points. On reaching a certain point of recitation, the congregation conclude their services and break up, while the Zaoti, the officiating priest, continues his recitation up to the end and concludes his services later on.

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Now, the water, milk and the Haoma juice, thus consecrated are considered to possess the great virtue and efficacy of giving health and strength to the body and mind, and every one tries his best to have a drink of them. This service is called the "Vaj-i-Yashte Gahambar" and is the most essential and important step towards the introduction of the Gâhambâr.

PERFORMANCE OF GÂHAMBÂR.

While speaking of the Gâhambâr, I may perhaps be permitted to digress a little from the subject-matter and dilate somewhat upon the purport and method of establishing a Gâhambâr.

The very word Gâhambâr conveys the noble idea of charity in its sacred meritoriousness, which, it is incumbent upon every good and worthy Zoroastrian, male or female, to cultivate, cherish and utilize.

To celebrate the Gâhambâr, a Zoroastrian purchases a piece of productive land, some water, or an estate, which he or she perpetuates in entail and leases to a tenant on condition that the rent or the produce should be spent every year on the same day of the same Gâhambâr and in the same place and in the name of the same donor or testator, by the nominee or administrator by way of charity, in the shape of dry fruits and loaves of bread to be distributed to the poor and needy.

Now on the appointed day in the places where the Gâhambâr is to take place necessary preparations are made, which are the following.

(1) Dry fruits such as almonds, figs, dates, raisins, jujubs etc., the mixture of which is called Lork (لرک), to the amount of from 14 to 70 lbs. are prepared.

(2) Small loaves of bread called Loovog (لووگ) to the number of 1,000 to 2,000 are made.

(3) All the available fruits of the season are got ready.

(4) Other eatables, cooked or uncooked are prepared.

(5) A small quantity of fresh fruits and eatable vegetables and an egg are sent to the house of the diocesan priest (موبد هوشت Mobad-i Hoosht) who consecrates them by putting them within the sacred precinct and offering ceremonious Daroon prayer upon them, and returns them. This consecrated "myazd" which is called Var Daroon

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(دردروں) is mixed with a large quantity of fruits and vegetables, called châshni (چاشنی) that have been prepared before hand. This châshni is exposed on a large tray along with other fruits and articles on the precincts where the Gâhambâr is to take place.

On that day at a certain hour, all those people of the adjoining districts, villages and towns, males and females, young and old, who can afford to come, resort to the place of the Gâhambâr. Mobeds are also invited to consecrate the above mentioned articles of food and to offer blessings upon the donor and the people of the house.

METHODS OF CONSECRATION.

Within a small space occupied by the mobads, are placed all those dry and fresh fruits and other eatables. One of the mobads who acts as an officiating priest has the dry fruits put before him. All the fresh fruits are cut into two halves. Another priest acting as a Râthvî stands in front of the solemnizer and the Afringan-e Gâhambâr is commenced by the officiating priest and recited jointly by all the priests present. Here the service of another man called Dahmobed[1] is called in. When the officiating priest reaches the point "Afrinâmi Khshathryane", he takes up two of the five blades of the myrtle which are always required for the ceremony on such occasions, giving one to the Râthvî and keeping the other in his own hand. At this juncture the Dahmobed calls out in a loud tone "Afrinâmi", in answer to which the whole congregation raise up the first fingers of their right hands, individually, in token of agreement with the officiating priest in his praise of the King of the time, because the formula "Afrinâmi" is in praise of the king and is intended to show the fidelity, loyalty and attachment of the ancient Zoroastrians to their kings.

Again the officiating priest, when coming up to the word "Vispokhâthrem" takes up another two blades of the remaining myrtle giving, as before, one to the Rathvi and keeping the other for himself. At this juncture again the Dahmohed vociferates "Vispokhâthrem" and raises up his middle finger in pursuance of which all the lay people do the same, thereby showing that they are unanimous with the officiating priest in his prayers. But the priests including the Râthvî

1. Dahmobed is a man appointed publicly to perform minor duties and services in connection with Gâhambâr, Marriage, Funeral and other public ceremonies.

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join the solemnizer by holding one another's hands, or by other means, keeping pace all the while, with one another, in the recitation of the formula, thereby meaning that they are supplementing the strength of the mind of the solemnizer by that of themselves, in producing the desired purpose. When nearing the end of the "Afrinâmi" formula, the officiating priest effecting three rounds of the "Nanah[1]," jointly with the Râthvi, over the dry fruits, concludes it by "Ashem Vohu" which is again called out by the Dahmobed. The Dahamobed while uttering "Ashem Vohu" raises his two up-lifted fingers to his mouth and then to his forehead. This operation is imitated by the lay audience, while the priests disjoin their hands and get themselves separated from one another.

Again when the officiating priest commences with the "Hamâzore Dahmân" which always accompanies the "Afrins," he offers both his hands, palm to palm, which the Rathvi receives within both of his hands, both uttering at the same time the words "Hamazoor beem, (*i.e.*, we may have our strength joined together)". The Rathvi goes also to every priest offering his hands to receive his which he accepts by stretching his hands to him.

As regards the lay people, the Dahmobed presents the small censer on which sandal wood, etc., is burning, before all of them, vociferating at the same time the words "Hamazoor beem." At this offering, every one passes one or both of his hands over the fire and then over his face.

Afterwards the Dahmobed distributes the dry fruits among all the people present, after which there come some people of the house and distribute loaves of bread among them, giving every one a loaf.

1 "Nanah" is a small metallic decanter-shaped instrument mounted on four legs, and is always used in Jasan and Gahambar ceremonies by the officiating priest. It should be always filled up with water.

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THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA.

By

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When any man is on the point of death, a priest or a layman is called who recites Patit Pashimani and puts two or three drops of consecrated Nirang in his mouth. The moment the soul departs, the body is put aside with his two hands and feet folded, the hands on the bosom one over the other, so that the corpse represents the form of a triangle. The body is considered polluted and unholy, and everyone shuns touching it.

At this time, along with all the relatives, the Dahmobed[1] is informed of the occasion. The Dahmobed, as a part of his duty, sends two Mordashoois (those who wash the bodies of the dead), to the place to wash the body. Should the dead one be a man, two male Mordashoois are sent ; otherwise two female ones.

WASHING OF THE BODY

The Mordashoois, after rendering their preliminary prayers get themselves joined by means of a Kasti. One of them, who has to wash the body, puts on woolen gloves. The other one pours cow's urine from a brass spoon upon the body. After the washing is done, the body is sewn into a very clean and white but worn-out sheet, and a Kasti is kept with it. A pair of scissors is also kept upon the bosom of the dead.

SAGDID

After the washing is over, a dog—any kind of dog—is led to the dead body to have a look at it.

FUNERAL PROCESSION.

All the relatives and friends, males and females assemble at the house. Priests are also sometimes called in. From four to eight undertakers (پیش گامان),

1 See my article on Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies viewed from the point of view of faith cure,

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who have been sent together with the Gâhân (bier), by the Dahmobed, are also present. The corpse, being put on the bier, is taken in a procession out of the house to the Zad-o-Marg[1] (زاد مرگ). The corpse is escorted, on the way, by all the nearest male relatives, a man carrying a lighted lamp in his hand and another man holding a censer on which is fuming sandalwood and boi (کال). It is followed by priests, if any, and other distant relatives and friends, joined two by two. Formerly, it was the custom to call, so to say, a Zoroastrian band party, composed of a player on a hautbois, and two drummers to play a funeral anthem in front of the procession. There was a time, when a near female relative of the deceased, taking in her hands one or two pieces of the dresses that had been worn by the deceased, used to wave them right and left in front of her head and utter some pathetic words. This practice was called Taazia (تعزیه). But now these practices are out of fashion.

ZADO MARG

In the Zado Marg[2], priests, friends and relatives of the dead, male and female, and undertakers from 16 to 32 according to the weight of the dead body, are present. All the priests recite Yashte Gâhân which consists of the Ahunavat Gâh of Zoroaster. The undertakers are fed with bread, wine and arak.

After the priests have finished their recitation, the dead body is taken out of the Zado Marg from the other door, in just the same kind of procession as before, with the exception that no lamp or censer of fire is now carried before the procession. The procession, proceeding to a certain place, stops. The escort, so to say, together with the bier and few priests who are to follow the corpse to the Dakhmah proceed on their way. All the remaining priests, finishing their "Iristanâm" formula which they have been reciting repeatedly, sit on their legs with the two fingers of their right hands resting on the ground. At this juncture they begin the 'Yasnemcha' formula, and coming up to 'Sraoshahe' they raise up their fingers from the ground and make a pass or a kind of manipulation of the

1 Zado Marg is a public building with two doors, situated in the midst of the Zoroastrian locality. All the corpses of the adult are first taken to the Zado Marg where they are laid in state. All the friends and relatives of the dead resort at the time to this place to pay respects to it. Of the two doors one is meant for ingress and the other for egress.

2 In almost every house there is a somewhat spacious hall whose level stands about a yard or two higher than the common level of the house, and whose roof stands conspicuously over it. It is here, in this hall that all the performances in connection with the religious ceremonies are made.

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hand for every word, from the right side to the left of their heads above the ear till the 'Sraoshahe' formula is at an end. Then they finish their prayer and separate. The lay party imitates the priests in all the above process all the while. Returning to their respective houses they stop at the door. Water is brought to them with which they wash their hands and faces, throwing a handful of it over their heads behind, signifying thereby that they have taken a bath. They then enter the house.

AN EXTINCT CUSTOM.

Formerly, when a son lost his father, he had his right arm tied with a handkerchief for the first three days, but this practice is long since discontinued.

GOING TO THE DAKHMAH.

As the Dakhmah is situated at a distance of from 9 to 21 miles at different places and villages, it is hard to go there on foot. So, those who want to pay further respects to the dead and his family, go to the Dakhmah riding on a donkey or a horse.

Custom requires that every one should take with him some food, which, on such an occasion, consists of two or three loaves of bread, some boiled eggs and potatoes, cheese, legume, a bottle of wine, a bottle of arak, and some fresh fruits. The use of meat is prohibited for the first three days of the occurence of the death for the nearest relatives descended from the father's side.

The relatives and friends of the dead begin to arrive at the Dakhmah half an hour later than the arrival of the dead and continue till 4 p.m. One of the halls, out of several that are built there for the purpose, is carpeted. In this hall every one takes his seat with the chief mourner. All the table cloths (سفره) are spread in the middle, a man is selected as a *sâki* (ساقی), who distributes wine to others from all the bottles of wine and arak placed before him. This party (مجلس) continues in this way, chatting, eating and drinking for about two or three hours. Everyone, who participates in the drink, first of all calls out the chief mourner by name and speaks to him some words of condolence, and drinks to the memory of the deceased. He ends with the following prayer :—

خدا بیامرزاد روان نیاگان و پدران و مادران و بامسان و ممسان و فرزند تازه روان
و هرکس که میگوئیم یا نمیگوئیم—

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Khodâ Byamorzâd Ravân-i Nyagâno Pedarâno Madarâno Bamasâno Memasâno Farzandi Taza Ravân va Har kas ke migooyim ya namigooyim.

"May God forgive the souls of your ancestors, fathers, mothers, grand-fathers, grand-mothers, your newly-departed child and the souls of whomsoever we mention or we don't mention."

In this way, at different intervals, two, three or more rounds of drink go on. Then, at about sun-set, the party breaks up and every one, having performed a short prayer, returns home.

THE PLACE IN THE HOUSE WHERE THE DEAD BODY WAS LAST PLACED.

The place, where the dead body was last placed before its removal to the tower, is kept quite clean and washed, and care is taken that no one should tread there for three days and nights. A special man is kept to do certain petty duties required for the purpose. There, three bricks of clay are so arranged, as to form a bridge with both the ends open, *i.e.*, two of the bricks are kept standing edge-wise at some distance from each other and the third one is placed flat over them to form the bridge. In front of this so-formed bridge a pair of scissors is kept open cross-wise stuck into the ground. A censer of fire, on which is fuming some sandal wood or boi (کال) is placed there. A bowl of fresh water into which is put some silver ornament, is kept there also. Some fresh fruits of the season with some green blades of myrtle or branches of other trees or some flowers are kept there. A burning lamp is also present. During the day these articles are removed and at the dusk again they are kept there. This practice continues for three nights and ceases at the dawn of the fourth day. For the first three nights, one, two or more priests and laymen recite Sarosh Yasht-i-Sare Shab, there.[1]

DAKHMAH (د خمه).

In Yezd, there are two principal Dakhmahs, *i.e.*, the old Dakhmah (د خمه کهنه) and the new Dakhma (د خمه نو). The old Dakhmah consists of a large oblong-sloping flat space, at the top of a mountain, the floor of which is of natural mountain stone. It is surrounded all round by a clay wall beyond the reach of a)

1. Formerly, it was a custom, that some people, and especially school boys, went there every night and recited 'Saroshyasht'. The third night they were given a loaf of bread and some Myrobalans (ارده). But this practice is more or less discontinued.

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man or carnivorous animals. A small inlet through the wall, which opens and closes by a heavy stone door allows ingress and egress. This large area is divided in the middle by means of a clay wall into two parts, the upper part being used as the Dakhmah and the lower one serving as Astodân. Corpses are put side by side until the whole space of the Dakhmah is occupied. Then the work of taking the corpses to this Dakhmah is stopped. Afterwards the work of Dakhmah-roobi (دخمه روبی) (cleaning the Dakhma) begins. The two Nasâ-sâlârs holding a pannard, begin to remove the bones and along with them any clothes by means of iron bars and spoons and spits, and throw them through the inlet to the lower part which is called Astodân. The blood and other impurities are also cleaned by cow's urine. During all the time of cleaning the Dakhmah, mobeds offer prayers. After the work is done, the door is kept closed at least for 6 months and the fresh corpses are taken to the new Dakhmah. The new Dakhma is a circular area enclosed within a wall and is just similar to the Tower of silence in Bombay. This one is built at the summit of a lofty mountain at a distance of 1000 steps from the old one. When the new Dakhmah is filled up the old one is re-opened.

ATESH SOOZ. آتش سوز

At about 300 steps from the foot of the mountain upon which the Dakhmah is built a special room is provided in which the fire of the Dâdgâh is kept. Through a loophole made through the wall of this room light is thrown upon the Dakhmah from a lamp that is kept burning there every night. Outside this room a hearth is so built that it throws the light of the fire that burns there during the first three nights of the occurence of the death, upon the Dakhma.

Generally, for the first, and some times for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd nights, Mobeds are sent there to recite 'Yashte Gâhân' throughout the night on behalf of the dead.[1] A man called Dakhmabân (the guardian of the Dakhmah) stays there always to take care of the fire and to do other minor duties. Here many halls, kitchens and stables have been prepared by different persons, by way of charity, for the accommodation of those who come to the Dakhma on different occasions.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES FOR THE DEAD :—

The following are the religious ceremonies for the dead.

1. Whenever mobeds are called to the Dakhmah to offer prayers the ladies of the house also go there and prepare meals for them.

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1 (a) Rawâno-Barsem (روان و برسیم) by which is meant the performance of Baj-i Daroon-i Sarosh on behalf of the dead, just at the time of the departure of the soul.

(b) Three Yazeshni and three Vendidâde Sarosh, accompanied with religious rites and ceremonies, one, on every one of the first three days and nights of the occurence of the death.

(c) An extra Yezeshne Sarosh known as Yashte Shabgirah in the morning of the third day and, in connection with it, what is known as 'Shabgirah' at the midnight of the third day.

On the occasion of the Shabgirah the following articles should be produced :—

(1) Jâmae Ashodâd or Sidr (جامہ اشودا د—سدر). This consists of about 21 yards 5 inches of a white linen cloth (کرپاس). This cloth is made into a complete suit of dress consisting of a shirt, trousers, a cap, and four small bags, two to serve as hand gloves and two as stockings, all of which are sewn together. Should the dead one be a woman, an extra piece is provided for the head gear, and if he be a man, a piece for the waist shawl (شال کمر) is added.

(2) A Kasti

(3) All the available fresh fruits of the season.

(4) 33 boiled eggs.

(5) 16 loaves of bread. Out of these, four consist of small round discs or cakes with projected edges on the circumference to represent the sun. Four are so made as to represent the moon with 3 projected edges. Four are ordinary small daroons and 4 are loaves of a larger form called 'Loovag'. The two first sets together are called 'Daroono Manu'.

(6) Some boiled 'Sirosedab'.

II Sehom (سیم), the third day of the occurance of the death.

In the afternoon of the third day one or more priests arrive in the house of the dead and recite Patet Pashimani on behalf of the dead.

The general characteristics of Sehom, Chahâroom, Daha, Sirozah, Rozah, Sâl, Gahambar, in other words, of all the religious occasions, are as follows :—

(Note) Shabgirah consists of four Daroons.

Note.—In Persia on the occasion of Sehom and Chahâroom, priests are not paid. They go there of their own accord considering it a meritorious act.

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(1) The utmost purity and cleanliness.

(2) The indispensable presence of the following articles :—

(*a*) A censer of fire (کرم آتش) on which is fuming some sandal wood or some boi.

(*b*) A bowl of fresh and clean water.

(*c*) A cup of wine.

(*d*) A vessel containing some pounded *sir* (garlic) and *sidab* (rue) which is prepared by being boiled together over a fire in some vinegar into which is thrown some pounded mint and some ૩૨૬ (زرد چوبه)

(*d*) An egg that has been baked by being put under fire and which is cracked by being struck against the stone of the large sofa (صفه بزرک).[3]

(*e*) Some fresh fruits and vegetables of the season.

(*f*) Some flowers or green leaves.[1]

CHAHAROM, THE 4TH DAY.

At the dawn of the fourth day, mobeds and behdins begin to arrive in the house of the dead, the Dahmobed also being among them. The diocesan priest takes the Vardroon, which, in this case, consists of the fruits, vegetables and eggs upon which the 'Shabgirah' has been offered, to the house of the dead.

PREPARATION AT THE TIME OF CHAHAROM.

In addition to the preparation described above, a small cakes (لووک) to the number of from 200 to 500 are prepared. Some eatable vegetables with which the Vardroon is mixed and which is collectively called 'châshni' are distributed over the loaves of bread by being put on each of them.

PRAYING.

" At the dawn just when it is twilight the Dahmobed vociferates :—

O Behdins! recite two Sarosh Bajs, the first on behalf of yourselves with the recital of the 'Ahmâi Raeshcha' formula, the second one on behalf of the

1 The Dahmobed who is present on this and similar occasions, first of all calls upon the people of the house and asks them to prepare the above mentioned articles. Now-a-days, in addition to these articles, other varieties of food, cooked and uncooked, and drinks are prepared.

On all the religious occasions when foods are produced for ritual the most important thing, after the prayers and ceremonies are performed, is to collect a small portion from all kinds of food and put it aside as a share of dogs to whom it is given afterwards. This task forms a part of the duty of the Dahmobed.

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dead person omitting the 'Ahmâi Raeshcha' formula." Then the prayer begins. After they have recited 'Baj̃e Sarosh' twice, the mobeds stand up to perform their Kasti ceremony when all the Behdins imitate the same. Then the mobeds sit down on their legs with their belts or waist shawls[1] put in front of them. Now one of the priests initiates the 'Kardae Dahmân' and other priests join him at a certain point, the Dahmobed asking the Behdins at the top of his voice, to be quiet and pay attention. All the time while the Dahmân recitation is going on, the congregation have the back parts of their left hands that they have covered with their sleeves kept over their mouths. Now the priests get upon their feet and pray 'Khorshed and Mehr Nyâyish', the Behdins imitating. After that, all sit down. At the 'Afrinâmi' and 'Vispokhatrem' formulæ the same operation, as described elsewhere, is done. The officiating priest coming up to the recitation of 'Ashem Vohu' puts the fore and middle fingers of his right hand on the ground, keeping on his recitation. Arriving at the 'Yasnemcha' formula he raises up his fingers and makes some right and left passes opposite the upper part of his head, and finishes the 'Dahmayao' formula, all the mobeds and behdins doing the same. Next the Dahmobed passes the censer of fire in front of them all, who make a pass over the fire with their right hands and shake them upon the ground downwise. Further, the Dahmobed asks the congregation in a loud voice to recite each 21 'Yathâ Ahus' and 12 'Ashem Vohus.' Then the loaves of bread are distributed among the behdins. The Dahmobed then collects, from all kinds of food, a morsel for dogs.

The Dahmobed hereafter goes to every one and asks "How many Avestas will you offer on behalf of the dead?" He thus counts, by the string of beads he has in his hand the number of the Avestas which everyone has shown his willingness to offer. Women generally, and sometimes even men undertake to offer from 50 to 2000 'Yathâ' or 'Ashem' formula on behalf of the dead. For every priest three Avestas are reckoned. When the priests have finished their prayers and sit down (on their legs), the Dahmobed, drawing the attention of the congregation to himself, vociferates "Khshnaothra Ahurahe Mazdao Ashem Vohu," which all repeat. Then he calls out, for example, "500 Ashem Vohus, 1000 Yathâ Ahus, 200 Avesta Khordahs, i.e. Patet, Hormazd Yasht, Ardibehesht

1 Irani mobeds have always their waists girt up with belts or shawls.

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Yasht, Khorshed Nyayish, and Mehr Nyayish whose virtuous boon may be increased 10 fold, 100 fold, 1000 fold, and 10,000 fold in the court of justice in the presence of the angels Mehr, Sarosh, Rashn and Ashtad and may it reach the path of the soul of such and such a man." Then he continues, repeating three times each of the following formulæ :—

هما وناه جارشنی کرفه افزا یشنی — وناهش خشک و نیست و نفور باد کرفه اش ویش وره سبزوبلند و ارجمند باد — کاهشنی وناه افزا یشنی کرفه — بستن راه دوزخ گشادن راه بهشت — وناه خشک و کرفه سبز باد — کرفه اش بجاده روان فلان کس برساد *

Hama Vanah Jareshni Kerfa Afzayeshni·Vanahesh Khasko Nisto Nafoor Bad· Kerfaesh Visho Vaho Sabzo Bolando Arjomand Bad·Kaheshnie Vahah Afzayeshnie Kerfa-Bastane Rahe Dozakh Goshadane Rahe Behesht·Vanah Khosko Kerfa Sabz Bad-Kerfaesh Be Jadahe Ravane Falan Berasad.

" May all the sins decrease and all the virtues increase. May his sins be dried up, destroyed and annihilated. May his virtues be more, good, growing and dear ; may the sin wane and the virtue wax ; may the road to Hell be closed and the road to Heaven opened ; may the sin dry up and the virtue grow; may the virtuous boon of (all these prayers) reach the path of such a man. " This prayer is repeated by the whole congregation during which all of them shake, downside both of their hands at the mention of sin and raise them upside at the mention of virtue, and conclude it by Ashem Vohu. Thereafter the people disperse.

THE DAHA (THE TENTH DAY).

On the tenth day some cursory preparations similar to those of the 'Sehom' are made. In the morning a Yezeshni ceremony is performed and in the afternoon one or more ' Dahmâns ' according to the number of priests invited are recited and the same operation as those of the 'Chaharom' occasion is performed.

THE SIROZA, THE 30TH DAY

Somewhat elaborate preparations are made. Generally a sheep is slaughtered and roasted in a particular way by hanging it in a firy-hot oven, and a ' Daroone Andâm or Gospand ' is recited upon it. In the morning a "Yezeshne Sirozah" is recited and in the afternoon ' Dahmâns ' are recited with exactly the same performances as those of ' Chaharom'. At night a Vendidâd service is performed.

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THE ROZA, THE DAY OF THE NEXT MONTH CORRESPONDING TO THAT ON WHICH THE DEATH HAS OCCURRED.

The same elaborate preparations of the preceding day continues. Generally guests are invited to entertainment. Among the ladies, custom requires that they should send to the house of the dead, in the night of the 'Sirozah,' a tray containing some quantity of grain such as rice, peas, lentils and sometimes even sugar, tea or other things of the kind. This tray is often accompanied by another tray in which are burning some candles stuck into balls of wet clay that serve as candlesticks.

There was a time when on these two days, dressed forms of men and women connected with the circumstance were made out of some cloth and displayed in the 'Sofahe Bozorg', but now it has gone out of fashion.

In the morning a 'Yezeshne Ashvân' is performed, and in the afternoon some 'Farokhshis' are recited and at night a Vendidâd service is done.

MONTHLY SERVICES.

For the first year, every month on the day in which the soul has departed some brief preparation similar to those of the 'Sirozah,' is made. In the morning one 'Yezeshne Ashavan', in the afternoon some 'Farokhshis' and in the night a Vendidâd service is performed.

THE ANNIVERSARY DAY.

On the anniversary day again very elaborate preparations are made. Generally a sheep is again roasted and guests invited and entertained. The religious ceremonies on this occasion consist of one 'Yezeshne,' some 'Farokshis', and one Vendidad.

ANNUAL SERVICES.

Every year on the anniversary of death, preparations similar to those described above, are made, and the same religious ceremonies, i.e. one Yezeshni, some Farokhshis and one Vendidad service are performed.

The last practice continues for 30 years when it is altogether discontinued.

Note.—On the days following every one of the abovementioned occasions the people of the house go to the Dakhma, and mobeds are also occasionally called there to pray.

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS GATHERED FROM THE PRACTICES AND PERFORMANCES AMONG THE ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA.

(1) The soul of the dead sojourns in this world during the first three days of its departure from the body, haunting, and hovering over, the place it has left, earnestly and anxiously desirous of re-entering the body.

This belief has led to the following practices:—

(*a*) Recital of the Patet Pashimâni on behalf of the deceased just at the moment of death. This is meant to be taken as if the man himself had repented of his sins.

(*b*) Keeping the place, where the body has been placed before disposal, clean and pure and placing there fruits, fragrant roses and other articles. This admits of no other explanation but that this is done with the special purpose of pleasing the soul that frequents the place.

(*c*) Avoiding the recitation of the 'Ahmâi Raeshcha' formula which is a prayer for the health and soundness of the body. Its recital would cherish the desire entertained by the soul and would prove detrimental to it, as the desire is not to be fulfilled.

(*d*) Preparation of all kind of delicious food at the time of 'Sehom' and 'Chaharom,' in order to please the soul which is believed to be present.

(2) The angel Srosha works as a guide to the soul and it is he who takes the soul to the 'Chinvad Bridge,' and so he, *i.e.* the angel Sraosha, should be pleased.

This is quite clear from the current religious practices, *i.e.* from the moment the soul departs from the body till the dawn of the fourth day almost all the prayers that are done on behalf of the dead,—and many are the prayers done during this short period *i.e.* so many Yezeshnis, Vendidâds, Bajes etc.,—are done only with the express purpose of pleasing the angel Sraosha and gaining his favour for the soul of the dead.

(3) The abode of the soul is not settled during the first year and its destination is not certain.

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At least this is the natural explanation derived from the following practices :—

(*a*) Any prayer that is done on behalf of the dead during the first year of death, is concluded differently from that performed after the expiration of the first year, *i.e.* کرفه اش بجاده روان فلان کس برساد (Kerfaesh Be Jâdae Ravâne Falân Kas Berasâd) "May the virtuous effects of (this prayer) reach the *path* of the soul of such a man"; whereas the wording adopted for the purpose after the lapse of the first year is :— کرفه اش بر بهرت روان فلان کس برساد (Kerfaesh Be Bahrate Ravâne Falân Kas Berasâd) "may the virtuous effects of this prayer be allotted to the share of the soul of such a man." Here the two different words جاده (path) and بهرت (share) clearly show that the soul is still wandering and his abode has not been settled.

THE EXPLANATION OF SAGDID.

Although many an attempt has been made to expound the secrets of this practice, yet perhaps the more correct one will be the following explanation.

This practice seems to be connected with the religious belief of the existence of the two dogs at the Chinvad Bridge whose duty is to guide the souls of the departed to heaven (Vendidâd). From this belief, dogs in general have come to be regarded as having the quality of guiding the souls. Now as the soul is believed to linger behind the body even after it has left it, and as the dogs on the earth are the prototypes of the spiritual dogs in heaven, so the practice of Sagdid was established to cause the soul to be guided by the dog and consequently dogs, on account of this sacred duty that is involved on them, came to be considered as sacred.

Again the suggestion regarding the two spiritual dogs at the Chinvad Bridge seems to be based upon the astronomical phenomena of the heavenly bodies *i.e.* the constellations Canis Major, and Canis Minor, the former being situated just across the Milky Way from Orion, while the latter one lying south-east of Orion which is also situated across the Milky Way.

Mr. Tilak's interesting work on the "Orion" throws much light upon this subject and tries to prove the Milky Way to be the same place,

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considered by many different nations as the passage leading to the next world. For example, according to the Zoroastrian religion, the soul, in order to get to the next world, must cross a Bridge called Chinvad Bridge. Another nation believes that the soul has to cross an ocean in a ship, whereas some hold that the soul must cross a river in order to go to the next world. Now Mr. Tilak in an ingenious and wise way tries to prove that the Chinvad Bridge of the Parsees, the ocean, the ship, and the river of other nations are one and the same.

Therefore, if our reasoning is probable and if Mr. Tilak's explanation is to be received as a correct one, then our Chinvad Bridge is the Milky Way and the two dogs mentioned above are nothing else but the two constellations Canis Major and Canis Minor across the Milky Way.

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THE TIBETAN MODE OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD. SOME SIDE LIGHT THROWN BY IT ON SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE IRANIAN MODE AS DESCRIBED IN THE VENDIDAD.

A STUDY.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.

Introduction.

I had the pleasure of visiting Darjeeling, for about five weeks, in May-June of 1913. While there, I had the opportunity of studying the manners and customs of the Tibetan Bhutias who lived there. I had the pleasure of visiting, for a number of times, their *gompâs* or monasteries and of having long conversations with their Lamas or priests, about the manners and customs of the Tibetans. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Mr. Jamshedji Framji Madon of Calcutta and Darjeeling, not only for his kind hospitality, but for all the conveniences that he kindly placed under his hospitable roof at my disposal for my inquiries and study at Darjeeling.

Among the many interesting subjects that I learnt there, one was that of the mode of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, a subject, of which I had casually read something before. The subject interested me much from the Parsee point of view, because, as said by Mon. L. De Milloué[1] and Dr. Sven Hedin[2], the mode resembled a good deal the Parsee mode of disposal.

Sources of materials.

I learnt much about the Tibetan custom from long conversations at Darjeeling, with Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahdur C. I. E., the veteran Indian Traveller of the last generation who had visited Tibet

1. "Il est encore une autre maniére de pratiquer ces funérailles qui, par leur esprit au moins, se rapprochent beaucoup des usages funéraires des Parsis, méthode plus économique, si elle est moins expéditive" (Bod-Youl ou Tibet (1906) pp. 70-71.)

2. "The vultures here act the same part as in the Towers of Silence among the Parsees of Bombay and Persia" Trans-Himalaya, Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet (1909) Vol. I. p. 378.

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three times, and with Revd. Kawaguchi, the well-known Japanese priest and traveller who had lived and studied at Lhassa for three years. The information from their lips was, as it were, from the first hands, because, on account of their long stay in Tibet, they had opportunities to see for themselves some Tibetan funerals. I also learnt something from the lips of Mr. K. Shempa, the Secretary of the Buddhist community at Darjeeling, and of some Lamas, who had, off and on, visited Tibet. I gratefully remember the courtesy often shown to me by Mr. Sonam Yatzar, the head Lama of the *gompâ* of Bhutia Busti, who is known as Lhadhag Amji, Chhothimba. I have supplemented my information thus derived, with study from the books of the above two Indian travellers[1] and of other European travellers[2].

Division of the subject.

I propose dealing with the subject of my paper under three heads.

I. An Account of the Tibetan mode of the Disposal of the Dead.

II. Points of similarity between the Tibetan mode and the Irânian mode as referred to in the Vendidâd and as practised by the modern Parsees.

III. Some side-light thrown by the Tibetan mode upon the Iranian mode.

I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TIBETAN MODE OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

Four modes of the Tibetan disposal, as referred to by M. L. De Milloué.

M. L. De Milloué says, that four modes for the disposal of the dead prevailed in Tibet: 1 Cremation, 2 Burial, 3 Dissection, and 4 Exposure (L' incinération, l'enterrement, la dissection et l' exposition)[3]. In this division, in the word burial are involved two modes —the ground-

1. (*a*) "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet" by Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E. 1902 (*b*) "Three years in Tibet" by the Shramana Eki Kawaguchi.

2. (*a*) "Lhasa and its Mysteries" by Col, Waddell (*b*) "Trans Himalaya" by Dr. Sven He din (*c*) "Across Thibet", a translation by C. B. Pitman of "De Paris au Tonkin â travers le Tibet inconnu" by G. Bonvalot. (*d*) "Bod-Youl ou Tibet (Le Paradis des Moines)" par L. De. Milloué (Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome douziéme). (*e*) "Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774) and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhassa" by Clements R. Markham. (f) The Budhism of Tibet or Lamaism by Col. Waddel. (g) Diary of a Journey, through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892, by William Woodville Rockhill. (h) Central Asia and Tibet. Towards the Holy City of Lassa, by Sven Hedin. (1903).

3. "Bod-Youl ou Tibet", p. 268.

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burial and the water-burial. His last two modes, *viz.* Dissection and Exposure, are, as it were, the sub-divisions or methods of one and the same mode, *viz.* Exposure.

Six modes prevalent in Tibet at various times.

Looking to the above fact, and to the further fact, that there were other modes prevalent, though not to a large extent, we may say, that almost all the known modes for the disposal of the dead are, or at least, were, at one time, prevalent in Tibet. They are the following :—

1. Cremation
2. Ground-burial *i.e.* simple interrement in the ground.
3. Water-burial *i.e.* throwing the body in water.
4. Exposure, wherein the bodies are exposed—whether with dissection or without dissection—before vultures, dogs and such flesh-devouring animals.
5. Mummifying or embalming the body and thus preserving it—a mode very rarely followed.
6. Cannibalism, or at least that form of it which can be called, as M. L. De Milloué[1] says, *Patrophagie* i. e. eating the bodies of one's parents.

The Four principal modes.

Of the above six modes, the first four are the principal ones, held to be more or less sacred, both by the Hindus and the Tibetans, as they typify the four elements—fire, earth, water and air—of which a man's body is supposed to be made up.

Rev. Kawaghuchi speaks thus of these four modes: " These four processes of disposing of corpses originate from Hindû philosophy, according to which human bodies are believed to consist of four elements earth, water, fire and air, and it is thought that on death they should return to these original elements. Land-burial corresponds to the returning to earth, cremation to fire, water-burial to water, and the bird-devouring to the air, of which birds are the denizens. The bodies of Lamas are mostly disposed of by this last process, while those of a few privileged persons only, such as the Dalai Lama, sub-Dalai Lama and other venerable Lamas, believed to be incarnations of Bodhisattvas, are given a special modeof burial."[2]

1 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 67.

2 "Three years in Tibet" p. 389-90.

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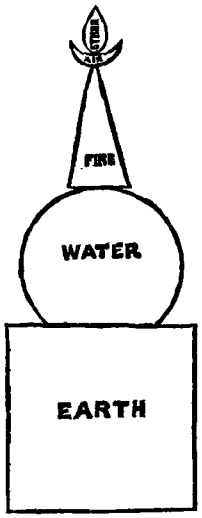
The Tibetans have some monuments which are called *chortens* or relic-tombs.



They are, at times, built on receptacles of the burial-ashes of the bodies after cremation and at times even over bodies buried under ground. The form of these *chortens* represent these four elements. The adjoining figure represents the form of a *chorten*. The four parts, of which the main part of the structure is made, are believed to symbolize the four elements. The upper spire-like form symbolizes ether. The special mode for the special few high Lamas, referred to by Rev. Kawaguchi, is that of mummifying the body and keeping it in a shrine, where people worship it.[1]

Before speaking at some length about the mode of Exposure, with which the Parsees are specially concerned and which is the special subject of this paper, I will say something on the other five modes. A short account of these modes will enable us to understand very clearly the reasons, why these are condemned in the Vendidâd.

1. Cremation in Tibet.

The Tibetans are Buddhists ; and as Buddhism enjoins cremation, one would naturally expect, that Tibetans should prefer cremation as a rule. But, it is not so. It is vary rare. In this connection, one must remember, that before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet long after Gaotama Buddha, the people had their Bon religion.

As pointed out by M. L. De Milloué[2] , Tibet was to Buddhism as Rome was to Christianity. Christianity was born and had flourished in a distant land. From there it went, at a later date, to Rome which then became its centre and the seat of its Popes and its hierarchy. So, in the case of Buddhism. From its cradle and home in India it went, at a much later date when it declined there, to Tibet and made it its centre and the seat of its Popes, the Dalai Lamas, and of its hierarchy. One must note in this connection, that many travellers, who have visited Tibet, its great Dalai Lama and other members of its higher priesthood, have, from several striking points of resemblance in the hierarchies of both, used words like " Popes,cardinals, bishops and prelates " in the matter of the Tibetan hierarchy. Having left its birth-

1 Ibid, pp. 393-94.

2 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 153.

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place, India, Buddhism made Lhassa such a great stronghold, that the great Lama exercises from there his divine authority over a part of China, over Mongolia and Siberia, and even over a part of Russia.

Tibetan Buddhism, mixed up with the elements of the older Bon religion.

Thus, the Buddhism of Tibet, had, mixed up with itself, the elements of the ancient religion of Tibet, known as the Bon religion. No new religion altogether supplants the belief and customs of the older religion of the land where it forces itself and spreads. Zoroaster had embodied in Irân in his Zoroastrianism, much of the ancient Mazdyaçnaism of the Paoiryotkaeshas that was likely to be of use. Early Christianity had to accept some of the ancient customs of the so-called heathen pagans. For example, we know, that, as pointed out by some Christian writers themselves, the Christmas day (25th of December) is not really the day of the birth of Christ. It is more a Zoroastrian Festival corresponding to the Feast of Mithras or Meherangân Jashan. Yet, the early Christians had to adopt it, with some Mithraic forms, as the birthday of Christ. Simillarly, in Tibet, Buddhism, which enjoined and recommended cremation, adopted and continued, with many of the older customs of the ancient Bon[1] religion of the country, the custom of Exposure of the dead, which it had inherited from its very primitive days, when Exposure seemed to be prevalent in the whole of Central Asia.

Why Cremation or Exposure was preferred to Burial.

It is said, that Cremation or Exposure before flesh-eating animals is preferred to Burial on account of the Tibetan belief in the transmigration of the soul. The belief is, that the body must be destroyed wholly as soon as possible. If it is not destroyed immediately, the soul is delayed in the progress of passing into another body or form.[2] Hence they sought either Exposure before flesh-eating animals, or Cremation, because these two modes soon disposed of the body.

1 For the Bon Religion, vide (a) "A brief stretch of the Bon religion", by sarat Chandra Das, in The Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society, 1903. (b) Bod-Youl on Tibet, by L. De Milloue, Chap. VI.

2 "L'ame ou l'esprit du mort ne peut se réincarner tant que les éléments matèrials du corps ne sont pas dissous et rendus à la masse des atoms mondiaux" (Bod-Youl ou Tibet, par. L. de Milloué, p. 269). This belief is quite opposite to that of the ancient Egyptians, who believed, that the longer the body was preserved and remained intact as a whole, the happier the soul. If the body was dissolved, the soul would be, as it were, homeless and would be hurt. Hence it was that, they went at times to the awfully costly process, of mummifying the body. They (a) embalmed the body with costly drugs, (b) put round it a number of strongly drugged clothes, (c) and then put it into a strong box made of seasoned wood, which box

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Why Exposure was preferred to Cremation?

Out of these two, Cremation sooner destroys the whole of the body, and so, it ought to be greatly preferred. But there were three reasons for which it was not generally resorted to.

(*a*) The first reason is, that from very remote times, they have been following the cheap, simple and natural mode for the disposal of the body, which had come down to them with their ancient Bon religion, of which, in spite of their Buddhism, they had preserved many customs.

(*b*) Secondly, they considered Exposure preferable to Cremation, because, besides having the advantage common to it and the Cremation, *viz* immediate destruction of the body, it had the advantage of appealing to their piety. They thought, that by the mode of Exposure, they performed, even after death, the pious act of feeding the animals, which Buddhism asked them to take care of during their lives.

Some intelligent Bhutias, with whom I had the pleasure to talk on the subject, said: "It is a charitable and meritorious act to give our body to be eaten to God's animal creation". Dr. Sven Hedin thus expresses their view of this mode: "The whole aim of this method of disposing of the body is that the deceased may have the merit of giving his body to the birds, which would otherwise be famished. Thus even after his death he performs a pious deed which will promote the peace of his soul"[1]. Horace Della Penna also says that, "the giving of the corpses to the dogs is done as an act of charity, so that after death they may be useful to the living."[2]

(*c*) Thirdly, even if they were inclined towards Cremation, they could not afford to burn the body. Fuel is very scarce in Tibet. All travellers speak of its scarcity. People usually use as fuel for culinary purposes,

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itself had a counterfoil or counterpart of the man's body put on it. (d) The box was then placed in a strong stone sarcophagus. (e) The sarcophagus was buried in a secure place. (f) A tomb was then built over it. (g) Lastly, at times, a pyramid was built over the tomb. All these intricate processes were resorted to, to preserve the body intact as long as possible, under the belief, that, as long as the body was safe, the soul was safe and happy in the other world.

1 'Trans-Himalaya,' Vol. I, p. 378.

2 "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet," by Fra Francesco Orazio Della Penna di Billi (1730), in the "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the journey of Thomas Manning", by Clements R. Markham, p. 340.

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the dried dung of the cattle. These dried dung cakes also are not cheap; and besides that, they would not like to burn their dear ones with this excreta of the cattle.

Rev. Kawaguchi says on this point : "Though cremation is considered as a superior way of disposing of dead bodies, the process is by no means easy in a country where faggots are scarce, for the dried dung of the yak is hardly thought proper for the purpose. Hence cremation is confined to the wealthier class only." [1] George Bogle also says the same thing. He says, " As there is little wood in the country, they cannot afford to burn the dead."[2] Under the circumstances, those, who, following the later injunction of their Buddhism, burn the dead, are few and far between. It is comparitively the rich who do so. As M. L. de. Milloué[3] says, Cremation is "funérailles de luxe" *i e.* "funeral of luxury" for the rich only.

2 Ground-burial. Gronnd-burial is resorted to very rarely. It is not in line with the spirit of the teachings, both of their Buddhism and of their old Bon religion. The Bhutias of Tibet and other adjoining regions, who live in Darjeeling and in its vicinity, resort to burial, as it were, under compulsion. Cremation is costly for them. As they live under British Government, the simple open exposure resorted to by their co-religionists in Tibet, would not be allowed at Darjeeling. Again, water-burial, which they would prefer to ground-burial, because it destroys the body quicker than ground-burial, is not possible, as Government would not permit it from a sanitary point of view. So, they resort to ground-burial. At times, the friends and relatives of a poor Bhutia subscribe amongst themselves a sum to provide for cremation, which they prefer, but that happens rarely. In Tibet proper, burial is exclusively reserved for the funerals of high incarnate Lamas. Owing to their very high position and sanctity, it is believed that their souls have not to wait long for a complete dissolution of the body before re-incarnation.[4] Again, their bodies have to be enshrined for being worshipped by the people. So, in their cases, which are rare, burial is resorted to.

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1 " Three years in Tibet ", p. 389.

2 Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774)... by Clements R. Markham, p. 122.

3 Bod-Youl ou Tibet p. 70. "L'incinération, très coûteuse vu la rareté du bois, n'est usitée que pour les personages de marque et pour les religieux " (Ibid, p. 268).

4 Bod-Yul ou Tibet, par. L. De. Milloué, p. 268.

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3. Water-Burial. This is at times resorted to in districts, away from towns, where there are no proper conveniences for the exposure of the body, and where there are no vultures or dogs. In that case, they throw the bodies in the adjoining rivers or streams, wherein the bodies are soon disin tegreted and devoured by the fishes. The bodies are generally thrown in rivers and streams that are considered sacred, of which there are many. The body is generally cut into small pieces before being thrown into water. Even in case of cremation, they carry the ashes to these sacred rivers or streams and either place them on their banks or throw them into their waters.

4 Mummifying the body. This mode is employed very rarely, and that in the case of the Highest Lamas, the Dalai Lama or the Tashai Lama. Their bodies are embalmed and placed in shrines in their palatial monasteries where they are worshiped by thousands and tens of thousands.

5 Cannibalism, Patrophagie. According to some travellers, the Tibetans had at one time another peculiar mode of the disposal of the dead, which M. L. De Milloué terms Patrophagie.[1] It was a kind of cannibalism. They ate away the body of their departed ones, especially their parents. They believed, that the best place for the disposal of the bodies of their dear mothers and fathers was their own belly. They loved them so much that they considered it a pious filial duty to bury them in their own stomachs.[2]

It is said that, when the Mongols were devastating the eastern countries of Europe, the Pope sent in 1245 A. D., a person named Piano Carpini, as an ambassador, to the Great Khan of the country. The ambassador thus reported of the people of Tibet from what he heard: "The inhabitants of that land are pagans. They have a most astonishing or rather horrible custom, for when any one's father is about to give up the ghost, all the relatives meet together, and they eat him, as was told to me for certain."[3]

The Fransiscan monk Odorico, who travelled in 1328 A. D., in many of the countries of Central Asia,—and among them in the country of Tibet—said that the

1 "Après ces peuples-là sont ceux de Tebeth, dont l'abominable coutume était de manger leur père et leur mère morts, et pensaient que ce fut un acte de piété de ne leur donner point d'autre tombeau que leurs propres entrailles." Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 66.

2 M. L. De Milloué, in his Bod-Youl (p. 66), refers to Guillaume de Rubruquis, as describing this custom among the Tibetans in his "Voyages de Benjamin de Tudelle &c." p. 328, but he himself doubts its existence.

3. Quoted by Dr. Sven Hedin, in his "Trans-Himalaya," Vol. III, p. 312.

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Tibetan priests cut off the head of a dead man and gave it to his son who made a drinking cup out of the skull and always drunk from it in memory of his father. Then the body was cut up and given to eagles and vultures, "who, like the angels of God, conduct the departed to the joys of paradise". [1]

Marco Polo thus speaks of the practice of cannibalism: "Those who operate miracles of this nature are persons of Tebeth (Tibet) and Kesmir (Cashmere), two classes of idolaters more profoundly skilled in the act of magic than the natives of any other country .....They are addicted, moreover, to this beastly and horrible practice, that when any culprit is condemned to death, they carry off the body, dress it on the fire and devour it."[2]

The present practice of using the skulls of men as drinking bowls, and especially as ceremonial bowls, in the Tibetan monasteries and of using human thigh bones as trumpets by the Tibetan Lamas, seems to be a relic of this very ancient custom of cannibalism. Rev. Kawaguchi, the Japanese traveller, says thus, even of the present Tibetans: They "may practically be considered as a kind of cannibals," [3] because, in the midst of the process of cutting the dead bodies before giving them to dogs and vultures for being devoured, the persons who cut the corpse or the "priests prepare tea, or help themselves to baked flour, with their hands splashed over with a mash of human flesh and bones, for they never wash their hands before they prepare tea or take food, the most they do being to clap their hands, so as to get rid of the coarser fragments. And thus they take a good deal of minced human flesh, bones or brain, mixed with their tea or flour . . . . When I suggested that they might wash their hands before taking refreshment, they looked at me with an air of surprise. They scoffed at my suggestion, and even observed that eating with unwashed hands really added relish to food; besides, the spirit of the dead man would be satisfied when he saw them take fragments of his mortal remains with their food without aversion. It has been stated that the Tibetans are descendants of the Râkshasa tribe—a tribe of fiendish cannibals who used to feed on human flesh; and what I witnessed at the burial convinced me that, even at the present day, they retained the horrible habit of their ancestors."[4]

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1 Dr. Sven Hedin's Trans-Himalaya, Vol. III, p. 125. Vide Appendix at the end of this paper, for the original from Odorié.

2 "The Travels of Marco Polo, Marsden's translation, revised by Thomas Wright (1904), p. 135

3 Three years in Tibet, p. 392. 4 Ibid, pp. 392-93.

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I remember having met one day, when on a walking excursion to Rangaroong, about 8 miles from Darjeeling, two begging (भिक्षु क) lamas, carrying over their body all the paraphernalia of a monastery. When asked to pray for me with their musical instruments, one of them began to blow his trumpet (*kang-doung*) made of a human bone. On being asked, why he carried a human bone, he said, it was a bone of a pious lama, and that the souls of dead lamas were pleased when their bones and skulls were made use of by men, especially for religious purposes. According to M. L. de Milloué, they believe, that the more saintly the deceased lamas were, the more harmonious and loud is the sound made by trumpets made of their bones. [1]

According to the authority (Guillaume de Rubruquis), quoted by M L. de Milloué,[2] they like to have with them cups made out of the skulls of their parents and to drink from them, a custom which leads them to remember their parents in the midest of their enjoyments. From two such skulls, joined together, and with parchment attached to them, they also prepare drums (damarou)[3]

We see in the pictures of their gods, cups made of human skulls known as *thod-krag*. In connection with this matter, M. L. de Milloué[4] refers to the Scythians, mentioned by Herodotous, and says, that like them, they drank from the cups made out of the skulls. The Scythians made such a use of the skulls of their enemies and "of their own kith and kin if they have been at feud with them," [5].

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1. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, par M. L. de Milloué, p. 67.
2. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 66.
3. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 67.
4. Ibid, pp. 67-68.

5 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 56; Bk. IV. 65. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the Scordisci that they were very cruel and drank human blood in human skulls (Ils étaent..... cruels ....buvant avec avidité le sang humain dans des cranes (Ammien Marcellin. Berlin edition of 1775. Tome III, p. 85. Bk. XXVII Chap. 4). Herodotus also speaks of an Indian "race called Callatians, men who eat their fathers" (Ibid, Vol II, p. 436. Bk. III, 38). He also speaks of "a tribe eastward of these Indians...called Padæans, who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh ..If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death .. They kill him, and feast themselves on his body. So also if a woman be sick, the women, who are her friends, take her and do with her exactly the same as men...(Ibid. Vol II pp. 489-90. Bk. III 99). A similar custom existed among the Massagetæ (Ibid Vol. I. p 352. Bk. I, 216). The Massagetæ were "a great and warlike nation, dwelling eastwa rd, toward the rising of the sun, beyond the river Araxes, and opposite the Issedonians" (Ibid I, p. 342. Bk. I, 201). "Human life does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice ; offering at the same time some cattle also. After

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6. Exposure.

As said above, the prevalent practice in Tibet is that of the Exposure of the bodies to vultures and dogs, and even to wolves, where vultures or dogs are not available. According to Rai Saheb Chandra Das Bahadur, in one place, "the corpses of the townpeople are fed to pigs, whose flesh, by the way, is said to be delicious[1]".

This mode can be divided into two parts. As said above, M. L. De Milloué speaks of these two parts, as if they were two separate modes. In fact, they are two divisions of the same mode. So, I will speak of this mode under these two heads :

(A) Exposure after Dissection

(B) Exposure proper *i e.* Exposure without Dissection.

(A) Exposure after Dissection.

I shall first speak of the Exposure after Dissection, on the authority of various travellers and scholars.

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the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it ; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed." (Ibid I p. 352. Bk. I, 216). Of a similar custom among the Issedonians, Herodotus says : "When a man's father dies, all the near relatives bring sheep to the house, which are sacrificed, and their flesh cut in pieces, while at the same time the dead body undergoes the like treatment. The two sorts of flesh are afterwards mixed together, and the whole is served up at a banquet. The head of the dead man is treated differently : it is stripped bare, cleansed, and set in gold. It then becomes an ornament on which they pride themselves, and is brought out year by year at the great festival which sons keep in honour of their father's death, just as the Greeks keep Genesia. (These were ceremonial observances at the tombs of the departed, annually, on the day of the deceased person's birth)." (Ibid Vol. III, pp. 22-23. Bk. IV, 26).

Strabo thus refers to this custom among the Massagetæ "They account the best mode of death to be chopped up when they grow old with the flesh of sheep, and both to be devoured together. Those who die of disease are cast out as impious, and only fit to be the prey of wild beasts. ("The Geography of Strabo. Bk. XI, Chap. VIII, 6. Translation by Hamilton and Falconer (1856) Vol. II, p. 247).

Strabo thus refers to the practice among the Derbices "Persons who attain the age of above seventy years are put to death by them, and their nearest relations eat their flesh. Old women are strangled, and then buried. Those who die under seventy years of age are not eaten, but are only buried (Bk. XI. Ch. XI, 8, Translation of Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II p. 258).

Strabo thus speaks of the custom of the disposal among the Bactriani and the Caspii. "Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for this purpose, and whom in the language of the country they call entombers.....Something of the same kind is related of the Caspii also, who, when their parents have attained the age of 70 years confine them, and let them die of hunger. This custom, although Scythian in character, is more tolerable than that of the Bactrians, and is similar to the domestic law of the Cei; the custom however of the Bactrians is much more according to Scythian manners" (Bk. XI, Ch.XI., 3. Ibid, p. 253).

1 "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet," p. 169.

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(*a*) Revd. Kawaguchi's account, as given to me in conversation.

I have collected the following information from the lips of Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, on the 23rd of June 1913, at the Lhassa Villa of Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur. During a part of the conversation on the subject, which was long, Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur also joined us and explained some matters relating to the subject.

On the occurence of death, they consult a Lama for an auspicious day and hour[1] on which the body can be disposed of. The body is generally disposed of, at least three days after death.[2] But, if the day or days after the customary third day, is, or are, inauspicious, the body is kept in the house for even eight or ten days.[3] The country being cold there is no harm in keeping the body at home for a long time. The Lama is consulted as to whether cremation, ground-burial, water-burial or exposure was the most auspicious way for disposal. By looking to the horoscope of the deceased, he generally advises, that the process of exposure was the most auspicious. Again, before the removal of the body, the Lama puts down on a piece of paper the ceremonies that are to be performed by the relatives in honour of the dead[4]. The body is then taken to the funeral ground, which is generally on the rocky side of a mountain. The flesh-devouring birds generally abound there. They are fine greyish white birds. They are held sacred. They are believed to be incarnations of Dakini डकिणी (female celestial angels.) The Lamas then perform some Buddhist ceremonies, wherein gestures and *mantras* (मंत्र incantations) abound. They are believed to carry the dead to a

1. *cf.* The Indian superstition of *panchak* (પંચક), which was prevalent at one time among some of the Parsee women of India also. Panchak (*i.e.* the period of *panch* or five) is believed to be a bad or inauspicious time. If a corpse is disposed of at that time, it is feared, that five persons of the family may die. To avoid that catastrophe, small packets of cloth were made and placed over the bier, under the belief, that each of the packets, (*dhingli* ધીંગલી) would represent a person; and so, the removal of 5 of these may avert the danger of 5 persons of the family being dead and carried to the Towers.

2. *cf.* The Parsee belief, that the soul passes away from the precincts of this world, three days after death.

3. Among the Ancient Irânians, the auspices or inauspices only depended upon the weather. If the weather was bad, the body was kept at home for several days.

4. *cf.* The once prevalent practice among the Parsees, *viz.*, that of the family priest telling to the officiating senior priest, at the *oothmna* ceremony on the third day, what ceremonies *i.e* how many Yazashnas, Vendidâds, Daruns etc. were to be performed during the course of the first year. This practice has now taken the stereotyped form of the "*lâkh bhanâvvi.*"

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higher plane. The Lamas are believed to have some mystic power, by means of which, through their mystical incantations, they can send the deceased to higher planes. Whatever the case may be, the relatives are satisfied and consoled by these ceremonies. The Lamas are generally paid for their services, but the payment is not compulsory or obligatory. They get at least the dress of the deceased. The above ceremoney for the transfer of the soul of the deceased to a higher plane (*Sukhâvati* सुखावति), is called Poâ.

The body is then cut by a set of professional men, in the presence of the Lama and the relatives, the Lama saying the *mantras* during the process. These professional men are called Râgyoba. The Lamas help them in their work with their advice. The body is cut into very small pieces. The bones are crushed in the holes of the rock there. The brain of the deceased and a little *tsamba* (barley flour) are mixed with the pounded bones, to help their being devoured easily by the birds. It is only the hair that remain. When the whole of the body is eaten away by the vultures, the relatives get pleased and believe that the deceased has been received by God. They pay a certain fee, at the place of the exposure, for every body disposed of. This mode of the disposal of the body by vultures is more for those who are comparatively a little rich. The poor cannot afford any fee at this place. So, for them, the mode of disposal is that of exposing the bodies to dogs. These dogs, some of which are very ferocious, are kept away from the city by the police and by the people. The dogs do not require the body to be cut into small pieces. Large pieces do for them.

The poor, who are unable to afford the fee of the ceremonial at the place of disposal, generally perform all the ceremonies at home. They have no ceremonies at the burial place. They perform some funeral ceremonies on the 7th day after death, and do so seven times at the interval of every seven days. It is for one generation, at the utmost, that they perform the ceremonies after one's death.

(*b*) The account given by Rev. Kawaguchi in his Book.

I have given the above description of the mode of the disposal of the dead from my notes of my conversation with Rev. Kawaguchi. Since then, I have looked into his work, "Three years in Tibet," and find, that the description given therein,[1] is well nigh the same. I supplement my above account with some details that I find in the book. He says:[2]

(1) pp. 388-92.

(2) Ibid p. 388.

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"In Tibetan funerals, neither a coffin nor urn is used in which to deposit the corpse. It is simply laid on a frame made of two wooden poles, with a proper space between and two cross pieces tied to them. The rectangular space thus described is filled in with a rough sort of network of ropes, and over the netting is spread a sheet of cloth for the reception of the corpse. Another piece of cloth, pure white in colour, is thrown over the corpse, and that completes the arrangement. The whole burden is then carried on the shoulders of two men, who insert their heads between the projecting ends of the two longer poles."[1]

On the subject of the vultures and the process of cutting the body, Rev. Kawaguchi gives the following details :

"In a small valley formed between two contiguous hills, stood a big boulder about twelve yards high. The top of this stone was level and measured about fifteen feet square. This was the 'burial-ground' for this particular kind of interment. On the summits of the surrounding hills, and even on the inaccessible parts of the rock itself, were perched a large number of vultures, with their eyes glistering with greed. They are always waiting there for 'burials.' When the bier was placed upon this rock, the white sheet was taken off, and the priest who had come, with the rest of the mourners and sympathisers, began to chant their texts to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals. At the same time one man approached the corpse with a broadsword, with which to 'dress' it. In 'dressing' the abdomen was first cut open and the entrails removed. Next, all the various members of the body were severed, after which some other men, including a few priests, undertook the finishing work of final 'dressing', which consisted in separating the flesh and bones, just as butchers do with slaughtered cattle. By this time, the vultures had gathered in a flock round the place, and big pieces, such as the flesh of the thighs, were thrown to them and most voraciously did they devour them. Then the bones had to be disposed of, and this was done by first throwing them into one of the ten cavities on the rock, and pounding the heap with big stones. When the

1 These details about the bier remind us of the *gehân* 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬥 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬥 Vendidâd VIII, 10, Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidâd p. 140, l. 2.) among the Parsees, who have improved upon the method all along, and have from a sanitary point of view, avoided the use of wood and use iron. The two carriers are spoken of in the Pahlavi Vendidad as *rad* 𐬭𐬀𐬛 *i. e.* the leaders (of the corpse bearers). The word Sâlâr (سالار) *i. e.*, chief, used in the modern word, *nasâ sâlâr* for corpse-bearers, seems to be a later rendering of *rad*. One of the *rads* is to be at the head 𐬭𐬀𐬛 and the other at the foot 𐬨𐬁𐬥.

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bones had been fairly well pulverised a quantity of baked flour was added to the mass, and this daitny mixture was also given to the birds. The only things that remained of the dead body was the hair[1].....While the burial ceremony is going on, a religious service is also conducted at the house of the deceased, and when the ceremony is over, those who have attended it call at the house of the bereaved family, where they are feasted[2] by its members[3]."

(c) Dr. Sven Hedin's description.

The description, which Revd. Kawaguchi gives, is that of an eye-witness, who had himself attended a funeral and seen the whole of the cutting process. His description refers to the mode in Lhassa, the seat of the Dalai Lama. Dr. Sven Hedin[4] describes the mode as he had heard it. He himself had not seen a funeral. However, from his description and that of some other travellers, it appears that, though the mode was the same, *viz.*, that of exposure before flesh-devouring animals, yet the details differed in different places, and, at times, even in the same place. For example, according to Dr. Sven Hedin, in the cemetry of Shigatse, at Tashi-lumpo, the seat of the Tashi Lama, in some cases, the body was cut into parts and in others it was not cut but only skinned. He says at one place:

"A cord fastened to a post driven into the ground is passed round the neck of the corpse, and the legs are pulled as straight as possible—a feat requiring great exertion in the case of a lama, who has died and become rigid in a sitting posture. Then the body is skinned, so that all the flesh is exposed; the Lagbas[5] utter a call, and vultures which roost around come sailing up in heavy flight, pounce down on the prey, and tear and pluck at it till the ribs are laid bare. There are no dogs here as in Lhasa, and even if they were, they would get no share in the feast, for the vultures do their work quickly and thoroughly. We afterwards visited convents where sacred dogs were fed with the flesh of priests. The Lagba sits by while the vultures feed, and these are so tame that they hop unconcernedly over the man's legs."[6] In this description, we see that the body is not cut by the professional men,

1 For an illustration of the process of cutting the body, *vide* Revd. Kawaguchi's "Three years in Tibet," p. 391.

2 Among the Parsees, upto a few year ago, it was customary to invite those who attended the funeral procession and went with it to the Tower, to a solemn feast on the *châharum* or the fourth day. This custom is still prevalent, to some extent, in an old town like Naosari. The Zoroastrians of Persia also have a kind of solemn funeral feast.

3 "Three years in Tibet". pp. 390-93.

4 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, pp. 375-78.

5 i.e., the professional cutters.

6 Trans-Himalaya, Vol I, p. 377

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but only skinned. After the flesh is devoured, the skeleton and brains are pounded into a paste and the mixture is thrown before the birds. Dr. Sven Hedin refers to this mode in his "Central Asia and Tibet[1]" also.

(d)Francis Horace Della Penna's description.

Francis Horace Della Penna thus describes the Tibetan mode : "They consult the Chokhiong as to what hour the dead man must be carried to one of the places set apart for the remaining rites,...and when they have arrived, they celebrate other rites, placing the naked corpse on a great stone. Then a professsed scholar, taking for himself all the clothes, breaks the corpse to pieces with a great bar of iron, and distributes it among the dogs in presence of all the company. After the mastiffs are satisfied, the relations of the deceased gather up the most clean-picked and the largest bones, and make a bundle of them, throwing all that is left by the dogs into the neighbouring river, near which are the places set apart for this inhuman rite . . . . The relations carry the above-mentioned bundles of bones home. They hang them up in the room where the deceased was, and there for many days they employ monks to pray and sacrifice for the departed, that he may not suffer in his transmigration. . . . . On the anniversary of the death, the relations and friends, with the monks who were invited, grind to powder the above-mentioned bones, and carry them to the river. . . . . The corpses of some nobles, with the permission of the Supreme, or Vice-Grand Lama are burned. . . . . Those of the monks and nuns are carried to the mountain tops as food for the birds of prey. The giving of the corpses to the dogs is done as an act of charity, so that after death they may be useful to the living. Those of the monks are given to birds, because they believe that the monks transmigrate into birds and other flying creatures, on whom they confer acts of charity by giving them the flesh of their own bodies. And this is all that can be told briefly respecting so prolix and intricate a subject as that contained in the confused chaos of Tibetan Law."[2]

(e) L. De Milloué's acoount

According M. L. De Milloué, all the above process of cutting the body is resorted to in big towns, where many people live, but not in the country. He says ; " In the country, one does

(1) " Central Asia and Tibet. Towards the Holy City of Lassa "(1903) Vol II p. 492.

2. "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet by Fra Francesco Orazio Della Penna Di Billi (Narratives of the Mission of Georg e Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, by C. R. Markham. Appendix, pp. 339-40.)

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not take so much of precautions. One simply exposes the body in the open air on some rock and leaves to the carnivorous animals the care of giving them the burial. As for the poor, who can neither pay the corpse-bearers nor purchase the prayers of the clergy, their dead are simply thrown into the river. A corpse is never buried save when an epidemic of small-pox prevails."[1]

(f) G. Bogle's account

George Bogle thus speaks on the subject:

"The body is carried to a neighbouring mountain, and being cut and beat in pieces, is left to be devoured by the wild beasts. I went to visit one of these sepulchral mounts, and expected to find it like a charnel-house. Eagles, ravens, and hawks hovered over us; but not a vestige of mortality could I see. At length I was shown the spot where the body is laid, and could observe some fresh splinters "[2]

(g) Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill's account.

Mr. Rockhill's account tells us one new thing, as to how the vultures break the bones of the corpses. He says : " In this part of Mongolia all corpses are exposed on the hillsides to be devoured, but strangely enough I have never seen any skeletons. The Chinese and Mongols say that vultures are able to eat the bones, which they first break by carrying them to a great height and then letting them fall."[3]

(h) SaratChandra Das's Account.

Lastly, I give Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur's description of the mode, which is fuller and which specially interests us from a Parsee point of view, because, it gives some details that remind us of several Parsee customs. He says[4] :

" The cessation of the pulse aud the suspension of breathing are not considered tests of the extinction of vitality. The Tibetans consider that the spirit (*nam she*) usually lingers in the mortal frame for not less than three days[5], though the spirits of those who have attained to some stage of holiness quit the

1. Translated by me, from Bod-Youl ou Tibet, pp. 71-72.

2. George Bogle "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774) and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa," by Clements R. Markham, p. 122.

3 " Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892," p. 152.

4 Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibiet, pp. 252-255.

5 It is this old idea that seems to have originated the ancient Irânian belief, that the soul remains within the precincts of this world for three days, and then, on the morning of the fourth day, crosses over to the other world.

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body immediately after the last breath has been drawn, for comm[redacted] dwellers in Paradise, called *Gadan* or *Tushita*; but instances of [redacted] personages are of very rare occurrence. It is consequently considered a sinful action to move or dispose of the corpse immediately after death. Nowadays in Tibet and Mongolia the dead bodies of all classes of men are carefully kept within doors for three days, during which time their friends and relations attend on them and make prayers for their future well-being.[1] On the morning of the fourth day, the horoscope of the deceased, and that of the man who is selected to be the first to touch the corpse for removal are consulted. A lama is employed to perform certain funeral ceremonies, with a view to cause the spirit of the deceased to pass out through a certain slit in the skull. If this ceremony is omitted the soul will make the exit by some other passage and go to a state of damnation. The lama remains alone with the corpse, all the doors and windows being closed and no one is allowed to enter until he declares by what passage the soul has fled. In return for this important service he receives a cow [2], yak, sheep, or goat or a sum of money, according to the means of the deceased.

Before the dead body is removed from the house, an astrologer notes the dates of birth of the friends and relations present. If any among them were born under the same constellation and planet as the dead person, they are said to incur the risk of being ridden by his ghost, [3] and are consequently not allowed to attend the funeral. The astrologer also receives his reward in money or kind. Then the corpse, tighly wrapped in clothes, is placed on a stretcher facing the direction which has been declared auspicious by the astrologer, and is placed in

1 Cf. The Parsee custom, even now prevalent in a place like Naosari, the head-quarters of the Parsee priesthood. For three days, during the five *gâhs* or periods, friends and relations go to the house of the deceased and say prayers for the good of his soul. In busy centres like Bombay, nowadays it is only the priests who say the prayers. They are paid for them.

2 Cf. The Parsee custom of *gâe bhandvvi* (ગાય ભાળવવી) *i.e.* to announce a cow. It seems, that formerly a cow was given to the family priest on the third day, at the *Oothamna* ceremony, but nowadays, the gift is made in money, though the pharseology used still speaks of a cow. It was thought that this was a Hindu custom taken by the Parsees in India. But it appears also to be a custom of Central Asia.

3 Cf., the superstition of *panchak* (પંચક) referred to above Cf. also the words heard, at times, even now, from Parsee ladies at the time of a funeral, *viz. mitho gâlo mukjo*, (મીઠો ગાળો મુકજો) *i.e.*, "let there be a sweet interval", meaning thereby, that there may be a long deathless interval between the present death and the next death. The words are addressed to the spirit of the deceased that it may cause that interval to occur.

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a corner of the house. Five butter lamps[1] are lighted near the head, and a screen[2] is drawn round it, within which his usual food and drink, together with a lamp are placed. Early on the morning of the day appointed for the disposal of the body, it is carried to the nearest cemetery. At the time of its removal the relations make profound salutatiens[3] to it. Two men[4] carrying wine or tea, together with a dishful of *tsamba*, follow the bier. The family priest, or lama, of the deceased throws a *khatag* on the litter and walks behind at a slow pace, holding a corner of another scarf tied to it.[5] As he proceeds he mutters fnneral *mantra*,[6] turning a hand drum[7] (*damaru*) with his right hand, and with his left ringlng a bell. It is inauspicious to place the litter on the ground before its arrival at the cemetery.[8] If by accident this should happen, the body

1 The Parsees have the custom of lighting one lamp of clarified butter. The number 'five' of the Tibetan lamps reminds us of the abovementioned superstition of the panchak (*i.e.* the group of five.)

2 The Parsees draw round the spot, where the dead body is temporarily placed, a *kasha*. (Vide my Paper on "The funeral ceromonies of the Parsees, Their origin and Explanations", p. 7. Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of 1891. Vide my Paper, entitled "The Kashas of the Iranian Barashnum and the Boundary Lines of the Roman Lustrum" in my "Anthropological Papers" pp. 330-339. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. VIII, No. 7, pp. 520-30).

3 Cf. the salutations among the Parsees, known as Sijda (سجدہ کردن). Vide my above paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies," p. 15.

4 We do not know, whether 'two' men go for mere convenience or whether that number is enjoined. If enjoined, the injunction reminds us of the Parsee custom, wherein, the corpse-bearers and the mourners follow the corpse in pairs of two.

5 This Tibetan practice reminds us of the Parsee custom, in which the corpse-bearers throw a piece of lace (નાડ) across the bier and hold the ends in their hands, forming what is known as *paivand* (پیوند) *i.e.* connection. Similarly the family priest and other priests also follow in pairs, holding a piece of lace as *paivand* between them. (Vide my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies," p. 63).

6 Cf. the Parsee custom, wherein two priests follow the bier reciting the Avesta Mâthra. This is the recital of the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ.

7 For the Zoroastrians of Persia, Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur says: "Formerly it was the custom to call, so to say, a Zoroastrian band party, composed of a player on a hautbois and two drummers to play the funeral anthem in front of the procession. (Vide his paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia).

8 Among the Parsees, it is considered improper to place the bier on the ground anywhere before its arrival at the Tower of Silence. As reported in the Jam-i-Jamshedof 2nd June 1914, at a meeting of his parishioners, Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad of Poona, while speaking on the difficulties raised by the military authorities of Poona in the matter of the road to the Tower, said, that the dead body, once removed from the house can neither be placed on any ground along the road, nor carried back to the house. ("રવાનને જો અટકાવે તો નીચે પણ ન મુકાય અને પાછું ઘર આગળ પણ લઈ ન જવાય"). The first seems to be prohibited from a religious point of view, so that a fresh piece of ground may not be polluted by the corpse being placed on it; the second from the point of view, that it is inauspicious to bring back a dead body into the house.

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must be disposed of at that spot, instead of in the cemetery.[1] In the neighbourhood of Lhasa there are two sacred cemeteries, Phabongka and Serashar. Those who dispose of dead bodies at the former pay two or three *tanka* for tea to the monks of Phabongka monastery; and at the latter they pay one *tanka* to the cemetery keeper, who also gets the bedding and clothes of corpses.

"In every cemetery there is a large slab of stone, on which the corpse, stripped of its coverings, is placed face downwards. The officiating lama then crosses it with lines, and while repeating *mantras*, cuts it in pieces. The first pieces are flung towards the biggest and oldest vulture of the flock, called *tankar*, and the remainder to the rest. They are so tame that they come one by one at the call of the priest. Last of all the head of the corpse is crushed, and the bones pounded together are mixed with the brain and distributed among the vultures. Then a new and unused earthen bowl, filled with fire of *argol* (dried cowdung), with some butter and barley flour burnt in it as incense, is presented to the departed by being placed in the quarter towards which he is supposed to have gone. The funeral attendants now wash their hands,[2] and retiring to a short distance from the cemetery, breakfast,[3] and at about midday return home. During forty-nine days after the drawing of the last breath, food and drink[4] are offered to the departed in his favourite dish; and incense[5] consisting of barley, butter and juniper spines, is burnt.

"During this period of *bardo*, as the interval between death and regene-

1 Rockhill refers to the same belief when he says: "The dead body is put on a frame and dragged away by a horse; if it falls off, it is left to be devoured by wolves and vultures or else it is burnt." (Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, p. 152.)

2 *Cf.* the *Pâdyâv* or *Pâdyâb* (*i.e.* washing with water) ceremony of the Parsees. *Vide* my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees", p. 18.

3 According to Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar "The uudertakers are fed with bread, wine and arak" in the Zado Marg. Vide his Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia."

4 *Cf.* the *Satum* ceremony of the Parsees wherein prayers are recited before a tray of daily meals and fire, especially on the 4th, 10th, 30th and the anniversary days after death.

5 *Cf.* The Parsee custom of *lobân mukvun* (લોબાન મુકવું) *i.e.* placing or burning incense while remembering the dead. *Vide* my Lecture in Gujarati on યજદાનની અને અશો ફરોહરની યાદમાં લોબાન મુકવાનો રેવાજ *i.e.* "The custom of burning incense in honour of God and the Holy Farohars (My Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects, Part I, pp. 218-225).

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ration is called, the departed spirit is believed to wander, and in order to prevent its being subject to misery, on the forty-ninth day, some of the clothes, shoes, head dress, coins, etc, which belonged to the deceased, after being washed and sprinkled with saffron-water, are presented to some incarnate lama, for his blessing.[1]……

"The cutting up and distributing of a corpse is a practical illustration of the Tibetan belief that charity is the highest of all the moral virtues. That man is said to be most virtuous whose funeral is attended by the largest numbers of vultures, while if his corpse attracts but a small company, the very dogs not deigning to touch his defiled remains, he is judged to have led e sinful life."[2]

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1 *Cf.* Chardin (Voyage en Perse. Tome VIII, p. 380), who says that in Isphahan, the Persian Zoroastrians place by the side of the corpse, bottles of wine, pomgrenades, earthenware cups, a knife and some utensils. But, he very properly adds, that since they live under the yoke of a hostile religion, it is difficult to distinguish such customs from those enjoined by the old religion. Chardin's description of the Persian mode of disposal throws some light on two controversial questions of the 18th Century among the Parsees of India. (*a*) The Persian custom says that the legs of the corpse were crossed. (*b*) The corpse had no padân (patidâna). (Les jambes croisées l' une sur l'autre et le visage découvert, Ibid p. 380). For these controversial questions, vide Mr. B. B. Patel's article in K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, pp. 170-82. Among the Zoroastrians of Persia according to Mr. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur, "a pair of scissors is kept upon the bosom of the dead" (Vide his paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia in the Sir Jamsetji Madressa Jubilee Volume).

Cf. The Parsee custom of presenting *Sudrehs* or sacred shirts to the priests and to the poor on the third day after death. Compare also the practice of presenting to the family priests, suits of clothes, known as *Sidv*, after their being consecrated in religious ceremonies in honour of the dead (*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees", p. 35). If Anquetil Du Perron's account be correct, at one time, the Parsees made the presentation of clothes on the day of the disposal of the dead. While describing the ceremonies at the Tower, he says, "Les parens font l' *Aschə-dal*, en donnant des habits ou de l'argent à un Mobed pur, á un juste qui est dans l' indigence" (Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 585.)

2 *Cf.* The statement of Agathias about the belief of some of the ancient Iranians: "Whosoever's corpse, however, was not directly consumed up, of him the Persians believed that he had led an impure life in unrighteousness, and gone over to the evil spirit, and on that account would be thrown in hell, and it was bewailed by his connections that no better lot befell him. He, however, who was consumed away the most speedily was prized by the Persians as lucky, and they called his soul the best and the most godlike, and anticipated of him that he would succeed in ascending up to the good land above." (Agathias's statement. as referred to by Max Duncker in his "History of Antiquity" Vol. II, 2nd edition pp 292-99. Vide "The Zoroastrian Mode of disposing of the dead, translated from Duncker by K. R. Cama p. 15).

Compare also Chardin's version of the superstitious belief of some in Persia. According to this traveller, if a bird first attacked the right eye of the corpse, that was a good omen for the future welfare of the deceased in the next life and of his living children in the present life. A priest, who watched the process from a crevice

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(B). Simple exposure without Dissection.

After referring to the above mode of exposing the body before vultures and dogs, when cut into small pieces to help its quick despatch, M. L. De Milloué, refers to simple exposure, wherein the body is placed before the dogs and vultures without dissection. He says of this method that it resembles the Parsi funeral, and is very economic, though less expeditious. It is practised in Tsang, where there is no previous dissection. He describes this method, in the words of Turner.

Mr. S. Turner's description.

Mr. Turner's description,[1] as given by M. L De Milloué,[2] resembles the Persian mode to a very great extent. His description refers to Tashi Lampo. He says:

"I have seen near the monastery of Tèchou-Loumbo (Tashi Lampo), the place where the Tibetans ordinarily place their dead. It is a sufficiently large charnel-house situated on the extremity of an absolutely perpendicular rock, and surrounded on other sides by high walls, which undoubtedly have been constructad, to save to the living, the disgust and the horror, which the view of the objects shut up in the place may cause them. They have left the centre altogether open, so that the birds of prey can enter there. In the bottom, there is a narrow and low passage, by which dogs and other voracious animals enter. From an eminence, which the rock forms on one side, there advances a platform, which they have constructed in order to be able to throw easily the corpses in the charnel house. There, the only duty, which they render to the dead, is to place them in a manner by which they can very quickly become the prey of flesh-eating birds and of devouring dogs." According to this description, the place resembles somewhat our modern Tower of Silence.

—from a crevice lest he may not frighten the birds—raised a cry of joy, if the process began with the right eye, and the relatives present joine d in the expression of joy. If the bird attacked first the left eye, all became sorry. Chardin admits that many Persian Zoroastrians denied this superstition, (Voyages en Perse, Tome VIII pp. 381-82). This description of Chardin reminds us of the custom in Bombay, that, when the body is put into the Tower and the door closed, one of the attendants,—he need not be a priest—who watches the whole affair, clapps his hands to inform the relatives and friends who have gathered together at some distance from the Tower, that the body is disposed of in the Tower. Then all simultaneously recite the concluding portion of the Srosh-bâj. Perhaps, Chardin misunderstood some custom like this, or mistook the superstition of a few to be general.

1. Embassy to Tibet, Vol, II p. 96. As Turner's book is not to be had in Bombay, I give my translation from the French of M. L. De Milloué.

2. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.

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We have described all the known methods of disposal resorted to in Tibet, more or less, now or previously. Of all these, Expousre is the most common. In this mode also, Exposure after Dissection is preferred to simple exposure. M. L de Milloué says : " The mode of funeral considered the most pious and the most honourable by the people of the middle class is Dissection " "(*i.e.* Exposure after Dissection).[1]

I will conclude this account of the Tibetan mode of disposal with short accounts of the Tibetan (*a*) corpse-bearers (*b*) dogs (*c*) and vultures (*d*) and of their time of disposal.

(a) Tibetan corpse-bearers

As to the professional corpse-bearers, we read as follows in Dr. Sven Hedin's Trans-Himalaya:[2]

" The dead lama in a new costume of the ordinary cut and style is wrapped in a piece of cloth and is carried away by one or two of his colleagues ; a layman is borne on a bier by the corpse-bearers. These are called *Lagbas*,[3] and form a despised caste of fifty persons, who live apart in fifteen small miserable cabins in the village Gompa-sarpa. They are allowed to marry only within the guild of corpse-bearers, and their children may not engage in any other occupation but that of their fathers, so that the calling is hereditary. They are obliged to live in wretched huts without doors or windows ; the ventilators and doorways are open to all the winds of heaven and all kinds of weather. Even if they do their work well they are not allowed to build more comfortable houses. It is their duty also to remove dead dogs and carcases from Tashi-lumpo, but they may not enter within the wall round the convent. If they have any uneasiness about their soul's welfare, they pay a lama to pray for them. When they die, their souls pass into the bodies of animals or wicked men."

As to the way in which the dead are carried to the place for disposal, it seems, that it is not always that they are carried on a bier in the way Rev. Kawaguchi speaks of. According to Col. Waddell, at Lhassa itself, at times " a man carries the dead body doubled up in a sitting posture and tied in a

(1) Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 268. vide also p. 70.

(2) Vol. I p. 376, Chap. XXIX.

(3) Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur speaks of them as Rogyabas or Ragyabas. Vide his "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet", pp.. 47, 63, 163-64, 169. For a picture of a Tibetan funeral procession, vide p. 164. "They believe that if a day passes without a death it portends evil to Lhasa " p. 164.

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piece of tent or blanket, deposits it on a recognised place on a rock, and then he and the attendant Lama proceed to cut off the flesh in pieces, so that the vultures and ravens can devour it."[1]

(b) Corpse-eating Tibetan dogs.

According to M. L. deMilloué, the flesh-eating dogs smell death, as it were, and gather near the house of a dead man and then follow the corpse. He says (I translate his words) :

"These dogs are, it appears, so much accustomed with these mournful feasts, that they wander in numbers round about the houses where they smell death and follow the funeral processions of which they form a death cortege."[2]

In this mode of the disposal of the dead, the dogs are, like the vultures, the scavengers of Nature. They are so in other ways also. Rev. Kawaguchi says: "In Jangthang I used to have four or five dogs beside me whenever I retired for private purposes. You can well imagine how terrified I was at first, though I soon got accustomed to them. And no sooner had I gone away than the dogs devoured the excrement. For this reason there is little or no filth lying about in Jangthang."[3]

(c) Tibetan Vultures.

Of the vultures of Tibet, I heard at Darjeeling, that they would only touch the bodies of the dead. Even a small child, if living, is never touched. When they find a body lying dead on the road, a large number go together before it. The elder of them approaches the body at first, and if it finds it dead, touches it with its beak. This is a signal for the rest to begin. The Tibetans, among themselves, speak of this older bird as a Lama-bird. What they mean is, that, as a Lama is a leader of the many ordinary Tibetans, so, this leading elderly bird is, as it were, a Lama among the other birds. These birds are, held to be sacred. According to Rockhill, the Lamas dislike their being shot, as "they are *quasi* sacred, being the last, though temporary, resting place of most deceased lamas."[4]

(d) Disposal at night.

Among the Tibetans, the body can be disposed of at night also. Dr. Sven Hedin says: "No one follows the corpse to the home of the vultures when it is carried out of the house at night

(1) Lhassa and its Mysteries, p. 422.
(2) Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.
(3) Three years in Tibet, pp. 264-65.
(4) "Journey through Mongolia and Tibet," p. 95.

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to be cut up before the sun rises. There is no legal regulation, and when the bodies are numerous, the sun has generally risen before the work is finished. After that, one, or at most two, of the corpses are left till evening and are taken in hand after sunset."[1] Among the Parsees, according to a regulation as given by the Vendidâd,[2] a night-disposal is prohibited. There, exposure to the sun is strictly enjoined (*aêtem kehrpem hvarê dareçim kêrênavân*). If that is not done, the culprit is punishable.[3]

II

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE TIBETAN MODE AND THE IRÂNIAN MODE.

Having described, at some detailed length, the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead, we will now examine the ancient Iranian mode as described in the Vendidâd and as practised by the modern Parsees. We will first speak of the points in which both the modes agree, and then of the points of the Tibetan mode which throw some side-light on some of the questions of the Iranian mode referred to in the Vendidâd and elsewhere. We will also mark some of the points, in which the present mode is an improvement over the old method. As to the subject of similarity, I will speak here on some very broad points of agreement in the matter of the disposal of the body. On some minor details, which present some points of comparision, I have spoken above in my footnotes on Mr. Sarat Chandra Das's account.

A Tower of Silence in modern Persia.

In the matter of the comparison of the Irânian and Tibetan modes, at first, one must bear in mind, that the modern Tower of Silence[4] in India is a somewhat later development, though we see traces of it in the Vendidâd.

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1 Trans-Himalay, Vol. I, p. 378.

2 Vendidâd II, 14. Vide also VIII, 4. 3 Vendidâd V, 13-14.

4 For the origin and meaning of the words "Tower of Silence," vide my Paper, entitled "Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A. D." (Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXII, No. LXII. Article XVIII, pp. 281-84.). Though we find, that the word 'Tower' has come to be used here in English latterly, Chardin speaks of it as a *tour* or Tower in his "Voyages en Perse" (Tome VIII, pp. 96, 354. *Tour ronde* p. 378).

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(a) Mr. Khudâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur's account.

I learn from my friend Mr. Khudâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur, B. A., who has been long in Persia and who belongs to the family of the Dasturs of Yezd, that even now, in Yezd, the older Tower of silence is somewhat different from the Bombay Tower.

Firstly, it is a large open space, far away from the town, enclosed and divided into two parts. In one part, the body is placed on the rocky ground to be devoured by the birds. The other part forms as it were the *astodân* or the bone-receptacle. At some regular intervals, the professional corpse-bearers go to the place and remove from the first part of the ground the bones left after the disposal of the flesh and place them in the other part.

Secondly, the enclosures of these Towers have no entrance. The corpse, on being taken to the enclosures of the Towers, are lifted up the wall by the corpse-bearers who climb up the wall by means of ladders and then lowered down on the other side. The corpse-bearers then get down into the enclosure and place the body at the proper place. In Chardin's time, "there was a cemetery, half a league from Isfahân, consisting of a round tower 35 feet high, without any doorway or entrance. Here the Guebres deposited their dead by means of a ladder, and left them to be devoured by the crows, which were to be seen in large numbers about the place."[1]

(b) Chardin's Account.

Chardin says that the place was named *gombeze lala* (*gumbed* ou *goumbéz lâlâ*) and the Mahomedan Persians spoke of it as "*Dakme Guebron*." He says: "Ce cimetière n'a point de porte pour y entrer, mais au dedans il y'a, le long du mur, en tournant, de grosse pierres enfoncées à quatre pieds de distance l'une de l'autre, par où les prêtres de cette religion descendent dans le sepulcre, après s' être guindés sur le haut du mur par une très longue échelle.[2]" In another place he says: "Trois ou quatre de leurs prêtres montent avec des échelles sur le haut du mur, tirent le cadavre avec une corde et le font descendre le long.[3]" On the sanitary cleanliness of this mode Chardin says: "J'admirois qu'il n'y sentit point mauvais."[4]

(c) Classical Writers' Account.

We learn from some Classical writers, that the above was the arrangement of the place of disposal even in Achæmenian times. For example, according to Diodorus (XVII, 71), the

1 George Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol 1, p 279. n. 6. 2 Voyages en Perse, nouvelle édition of 1811. Tome VIII, p. 96. 3 Ibid Tome VIII, p. 379. 4 Ibid p. 380,

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so-called graves of the Achæmenian kings in the mountain of Persepolis were cut out in rocks. "These graves had, however, no entrance of any kind; and the coffins were hoisted up and brought into the heights by machinery. This report has its confirmation, in the fact, that just the visitors to the sepulpchre of Darius, were ..obliged to be pulled up by ropes.[1]"

To the above description of the graves, given on the authority of Diodorus, Duncker adds the following observations: "These graves of the Persian Kings, at Persepolis and Nakshi Rustem, might have been burying grounds, Dakhmas, in the sense of the Vendidad, upon which the corpse of the rulers were exposed, on the summits of mountains, to the sun, the birds, and the dogs; similar to the resting-places of the Parsees at Bombay; and in effect such appear to have been Dakhmas, since mere empty chambers with openings on the top have deen discovered behind the facades."[2] This is somewhat similar to what one reads about the Tibetan mode in the account of Mr. Turner.[3] The row of dogs sculptured on the rocks at the places of the Dokhmas, in more than one place, points to the use of dogs as well as birds in the mode of the disposal. [4]

Points of Similarity.
1 Main principle same.

Coming to the points of similarity, firstly, we see, that the modes agree in the main principle *viz.*, that the body should be allowed to be devoured by flesh-eating animals. The Tibetans submit the bodies to dogs and vultures. Even wolves and pigs at times devour the body. The modern Parsee method places the body before vultures only, but, one knows from the Vendidâd[1], that in ancient Iran, the body was devoured by dogs as well as by vultures. The Iranian mode formed the second of the two sub-divisions, in which the Tibetan Exposure can be divided according to M. L. De Milloué—*viz.*, (*a*) Exposure after Dissection and (*b*) Simple Exposure without Dissection. Other travellers and writers do not make this distinction and division. However, if we do not make this distinction, we find that the Iranian method is, as it were, an improvement in this, that it has no dissection in its process.

1 Max Duncker's Account of the Zoroastrian mode of the disposal of the dead in his "History of Antiquity" Vol. II, 2nd edition, pp. 392-99; translated by K. R. Cama, pp. 6-17.

2 Ibid p. 18. 3 Vide above 4 Mr. Cama's above Translation p. 17.

3 Chap. VI. 45-48; VIII 10.

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2. Exposure in sequestered places.

In both the communities, the exposure is generally made in sequestered places. The Vendidâd enjoins that it should be on an elevated place (*barezishtaêshvacha paiti gâtushva*)[1]. Revd. Kawaguchi, while describing the mode, says, that its place was "in a small valley formed between two contiguous hills" and on "a big boulder about twelve yards high."[2] The Irânian mode made it a *status quo non* that the body should be exposed to the sun (havaré-darshné).

3. Fastening of the corpse.

In both, the corpse is generally to be fastened to something. For the case of a body that is not to be cut into pieces before being exposed to the animals, Dr. Sven Hedin says: "A cord fastened to a post driven into the ground is passed round the neck of the corpse, and the legs are pulled as straight as possible.....Then the body is skinned, so that all the flesh is exposed; the Lagbas utter a call, and vultures which roost around come sailing up in heavy flight, pounce down on the prey, and tear and pluck at it till the ribs are laid bare."[3]

It is doubtful, whether, in Tibet, the body is fastened to help its skinning being properly done or to prevent the limbs of the body being carried away by the vultures. But, from the Vendidâd,[4] it is clear, that the fastening there is enjoined to prevent any parts of the body being carried away by the animals. There[1], it is said that the body may be fastened through the legs or the hair of the head with an iron or stone or lead pin or post, so that the bones may not be carried away by the devouring animals to adjoining waters or trees. The Dadistân-i-Dinik is equally clear. It says: After showing (the dead body) to the dog,.....they must carry the dead body early to a mountain or an elevated place and fasten in some way so that dogs and birds may not carry it to a watered, cultivated and inhabited place.[5]

4. Isolation of the corspe-bearers.

Among both, the corpse-bearers are asked to live as a separate class, away from contact with religious precincts or places. Of the Tibetan Rogyabas or Lagbas of Tashi Lampo, Dr. Sven Hedin

1 Vendidâd VI, 45.

2 Three years in Tibet, p. 390.

3 Trans-Himalaya, Vol I., p. 377.

4 Vendidad VI, p. 46-47.

5 Dadistan-i-Dinik, Text of Ervad Tehmuras, p. 40, Pursishn XVII, S. B. E., Vol XVIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

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says: They "form a despised caste of fifty persons, who live apart in fifteen small miserable cabins in the village Gompa-sarpa. They are allowed to marry only within the guild of corpse-bearers..... They may not enter within the wall round the convent."[1]

The Vendidâd[2] enjoins that the carrier of the dead (*irista-kasha*) should remain isolated. They must go through a ceremonial bath before touching others. They must keep themselves away from an inhabited locality, away from household fire, water, place of worship and righteous persons. Even now, in an old orthodox centre of the Parsees, like Naosari, which is the head-quarters of the Parsee priesthood, the corpse-bearers have a dwelling place, separate from that of other Parsees. In public festive gatherings, they are made to dine separately. They do not frequent places of worship like the fire temples. They do not even touch the priests, who officiate in the inner circle of the temple. They can do all these things after going through the ceremonial purification known as the Bareshnum.

5 The use and importance of dogs.

Among both, the Tibetans and the ancient Iranians, dogs played a very important part in the mode of the disposal of the dead. From what we read of the dog in Tibet, we are led to think, that possibly, also in the ancient land of Irân, where the custom of exposure, for which the injunctions of the Vendidâd were given, prevailed the following state of circumstances existed :

The land abounded with dogs. Col Waddell thus speaks of Lhasa: "The inhabitants of Lhasa have been pithily summarised as consisting of 'monks, women, and dogs'."[3] The Avesta[4] speaks of a variety of dogs, like the Paçush-haurva (*lit.* the protector of the cattle *i. e.* the shepherd watch-dog), the Vish-haurva (*lit.* the protector of the village *i.e.* the village watch-dog), the Vohu-nazga (*lit.* the dog that runs after blood *i.e.* the dog which devoured corpses), the Jazu, the Aiwizu, the Vizu, the Urupi, the Sukuruna, the Taûruna and the Vanghâpara. The very fact of the existence of a variety of dogs shows, that possibly, the land of ancient Irân also, to which the Vendidâd refers, abounded in dogs.

1 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, p. 376.

2 VIII 11-12. Vide also Chap. III 15-17.

3 "Lhasa and its Mysteries", p. 345. 4 Vendidad XIII, 4 et seq.

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Again, some of them especially the watch-dogs ("Çunãm yim paçush-haurva, vish-haûrva" of the Avesta[1] . . .), were very large animals. Col. Waddell[2] says, "The watch-dogs chained up at the doors of the houses gave us a fierce reception. They are huge Tibetan mastiffs—'the mastiff dogs' of which Marco Polo writes, 'as big as donkeys, which are capital at seizing wild beasts'."[3] Further on he says: "The well-cared-for mastiff of the houses was usually a fine beast with a huge lion-like head and mane, often with a white breast patch, suggestive of a bear, and such frequently were called 'Bear'; other favourite names for them were 'Bull-Bear', and 'Supreme Strength'."[4] As the country abounded with dogs, travellers often carried with them a "charm against dog-bite"[5]

Similarity in details, in the matter of dogs.

Coming to some details in the matter of dogs, we find the following practices common to a certain extent in both.

(*a*) Dogs used to devour the corpses

In the present mode of the Parsis, the corpse is not presented to the dog for being eaten. But it appears from the Vendidâd[6], that in ancient Irân, it was so at one time. As dogs are not utilized in the present method, some thought, that they were not so used in ancient times, and that the word "Shpâna or Sunô", used in the Vendidâd for dogs, was not really meant for 'dogs' but for some dog-featured birds. But, from the present practice of the Tibetans, and even of the Mongolians and some other people of central Asia, such a supposition seems to be wrong; and it seems that, at one time, even in Irân, dogs also devoured the flesh of the corpses.

(*b*) The bodies of dogs disposed like those of men.

Not only were the dogs utilized in the disposal of the corpses, but their dead bodies also were in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, like those of men. Among both, the corpse-bearers had to remove from the town, corpses, of men as well as dogs. According to Dr. Sven Hedin, "it is their duty also to remove dead dogs and carcasses from

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1 Vendidâd XIII, 8-9.

2 Lhasa and its Mysteries, p. 89. 3 "They have dogs of the size of asses, strong enough to hunt all sorts of wild beasts." (Travels of Marco Polo. Translation of Marsden, revised by Wright (1904)., p. 222).

4 "Lhasa and Mysteries", p. 423.

5 The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism by Dr. Waddell, p. 406.

6 Chap. VI, 45-48; VIII 10 et. seq.

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Tashi-lunpo"[1] According to the Vendidâd,[2] the mode for the disposal of the body of a dead dog, is, as far as sanitary rules are concerned, the same as that for the body of a dead man. Both, if long kept in the town after death, may be a source of danger to the health of the living.

(c) Dogs followed the funeral procession.

Among both, the flesh-eating dogs followed the corpses with the funeral procession to the place where the body was finally disposed of. M. L. De Milloué says of the Tibetan dogs, that they, as it were, smell death (ils sentent la mort) and gather round the house where death takes place and then follow the corpse with the funeral procession.[3]

The Vendidâd[4] enjoins, that a dog shall accompany the funeral procession from the house. His passing over the road, by which the body is being carried to its last place, purifies, as it were, the road. The *sagdid*, of which we will speak later on, in which a dog is made to look at the dead body at home several times, seems to have some connection with the custom herein enjoined. In the mofussil towns outside Bombay, the dog is still carried to the Towers from the town itself, though not necessarily with the procession. The above statement of M. L. De Milloué about the Tibetan dogs' smelling power, when compared with the above injunction of the Vendidâd, seems to throw a side-light on the question of the origin and object of the *sag-dîd* among the Parsees.

(d) Dogs held to be *quasi* sacred.

Among both, the dogs were sacred to a certain extent. There is one thing in the Vendidâd which appears very striking to us. It is that of a great regard for the dogs.[5] The mode of the disposal of their bodies was, to a certain extent, like that of men.[6] Again, those who maltreated them were enioined to be punished.[7] Why was it so? It appears from what we read of the Tibetan dogs, that, in Irân, dogs were held well-nigh sacred, because, (*a*) they were faithful sentinels, looking after, not only the flock and herd of the old pastoral Irânians, but also after their person and property,

1. Trans-Himalaya, I p. 376.
2. Chap. VIII. 1 et. seq.
3 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.
4 Chap. VIII 14-18.
5 Vendidâd XIII, 20-28, 45. 6 Vendidâd V, 39-40, VI 1-9. 7 Vendidâd XIII, 2-16; XV, 3-5, 20-43. 50-51.

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and (*b*) because they did all the scavengering work of the town, devouring, not only their decomposing corpses, but also, perhaps, as mentioned by Revd. Kawaguchi, the excreta. So, any diminution of their number was a source of danger to their lives and properties. Imagine what a strike of the *halalcores* would be to a modern Indian town, and then you can easily imagine what the diminution of the number of dogs—the scavangers of nature—would have been to old Irânian towns. (*c*) They were specially bred for the purpose. Duncker on the authority of Cicero (Quest. Tuscul I, 45) says as follows: "In Hyrcania, (a part of ancient Irân), even the people maintained in common, and the aristocrats each for himself, an excellent species of dogs, in order that they might be of service, in devouring their bodies after their death, and this they esteemed as the best mode of disposing of the dead. Eusebius (praep. evangel, p. 277) announces that the Medes used to cast the dying before very carefully nourished dogs."[1]

The dogs are held somewhat sacred in Tibet also. Some monasteries are said to have a number of sacred dogs attached to them and they are used for the bodies of the Lamas. Dr. Sven Hedin speaks of having visited "convents where sacred dogs were fed with the flesh of priests".[2]

6. The importance of the third day after death.

Another thing that strikes us about the Tibetan custom of the disposal of the dead is, that they generally dispose of the body on the third day after death, sometimes later, but never earlier. According to Raî Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, "theTibetans consider that the spirit (*nam she*) usually lingers in the mortal frame for not less than three days. . . . It is consequently considered a very sinful action to move or dispose of the corpse immediately after death. Nowadays in Tibet and Mongolia the dead bodies of all classes of men are carefully kept within doors for three days, during which time their friends and relations attend on them and make prayers for their future well-being. On the morning of the fourth day the horoscope of the deceased, and that of the man who is selected to be the first to touch the corpse for removal, are consulted"[3] Dr. Sven Hedin says that "the corpse of a

1 "The Zoroastrian mode of disposing of the dead," translated by K. R. Cama, from the German of Max Duncker's "History of Antiquity" (Vol. II, 2nd Edition, pp. 392-399) pp. 14-15.

2 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I p. 377.

3 Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, p. 252.

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Lama lies in his cell for three days".[1] Revd. Kawaguchi also says that " generally a funeral is performed on the third or fourth day after death, the interval being spent in observances peculiar to Tibet."[2]

This seems to be an old Central Asian practice. This practice seems to me to be somewhat connected with the Iranian custom, which believes that the soul of the dead remains within the precincts of this earth for three days and nights and hovers over his head (*asné vaghdhanât nishhidhaiti*)[3] and then crosses over to the other world on the fourth day[4].

III

SOME SIDE-LIGHT THROWN BY THE TIBETAN MODE UPON THE IRANIAN MODE.

List of subjects in the Iranian mode on which some side-light is thrown by the Tibetan mode

From what is related above, about the Tibetan mode and the customs and beliefs accompanying it, and its similarity in some points to the Irânian mode as enjoined in the Vendidâd and practised at present, we find that some side light is thrown upon some questions connected with the Irânian Mode. The following are those questions.

1. The Irânian prohibition against the custom of carrying a corpse for disposal on the shoulder of a single corpse-bearer.

2. (*a*) The isolation of a corpse-bearer who carried a corpse singly and (*b*) the dissection of his body on death, due to the great dread of infection among the Irânians.

3. (*a*) Why the *sagdid i.e.* the custom of letting a dog see the corpse before disposal was observed, and (*b*) why the dog was held to be an important and sacred animal.

4. Strict prohibitions against (*a*) ground-burial, (*b*) water-burial, (*c*) cremation, (*d*) cannibalism, (*e*) and mumification.

5. Strict injunctions against the Daêvas.

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1 Trans Himalaya, Vol. I, p. 376.

2 Three years in Tibet, p. 388.

3 Yasht Fragment XXII, 2

4 Vendidad XIX, 28 Vishtâsp Yasht, Chap. VIII, 55 (Westergaard, p. 311. Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter Vol. II, p. 681); Hadokht *nask* (Westergaard Yasht Fragment XXII, 7); The Minokherad Chap. II, 114. The Dadistan-i-Dinik Chaps. XX, 2. Viraf-nameh Chap. IV, 15; XVII, 2.

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1 The Iranian prohibition, that the corpse be never carried by one person.

"The accounts of the Tibetan mode show, that, at times, even one corpse-bearer carried the dead body on his shoulder, "doubled up"[1] like a bundle. The Vendidâd,[2] on the other hand, enjoined, that never should a man carry a dead body alone (*Mâ chish barô aêvô yat iristem*). The reason assigned for this prohibition is, that the Daruj-i-naçush or the Demon of Infection is, in that case, likely to attack the person carrying the body alone. If one person carried the dead body, he had to do so on his shoulders, and so, he ran the risk of being quickly infected by what flowed from the nose, eyes, mouth, ear and such other parts of his body (*naçush raêthwât nâoghanat hacha, chashmanat hacha, hizumat hacha, paitish kharênât fravâkhshat hacha, frash umakathacha*).[3]

2. Isolating a corpse-bearer who carried a corpse single-handed, and dissecting of his body on death.

The above-mentioned point seems to me to throw some side-light on the extreme rigour, enjoined in the Vendidâd[4], (*a*) for isolating the person who carried a corpse alone and (*b*) for dissecting his body after death and before disposal.

(*a*) By his rash act of carrying a dead body alone and of thus risking his life by infection, a corpse-beacer risked the lives of others of the village or town where he lived, by the possibility of spreading the infection among them. So, extraordinary strong precautions had to be taken for his isolation He was to be isolated in a solitary place, where food and all the requisites were to be provided to him from a distance by others. His strict isolation seems to have been intended, not only as a safety against infection of others, but also as a kind of punishment to him for his very rash and negligent act of risking the lives of many.

(*b*) Not only was he isolated, but the mode of the disposal of his body on death, or on approach of death, differed a little from that of others. His head had to be cut off[5] first and then his body had to be given to the birds to be devoured.

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1. "Lhasa and its Mysteries," by Col. Waddell, p. 422.
2. Vendidâd III, 14. (3) Ibid.
4. Chap. III. 15-20.
5. Vendidâd Chap. III, 20.

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Again, his body had to be given to a special bird or vulture, named Kahrkâs. This bird is not mentioned in the description of the ordinary disposal of other bodies, but is mentioned here alone. It seems, that the bird Kahrkâs,[1] was one that had the powerful stomach of devouring the whole body *i.e.* all the parts of the body including the bones, so that no part of the dead body may be left, even for a short time, with any likelihood of spreading infection.

Again, we see from this passage, that, though the Irânian mode was an improvement on the old mode of central Asia of which the Tibetan mode is a relic, in this, that it did away with the preliminary process of dissection once prevalent, it preserved and practised the process of dissection in some extreme cases, either, as means of extraordinary precautions against infection, or as a kind of prohibitive punishment. The body of the corpse-bearer who had run the risk of infection, was not to be treated like that of ordinary persons. When on the point of death, or when dead, his body was to be skinned by strong intelligent bold persons who knew well how to do it. The skin being removed, the rest of the body was to be given away to a special class of flesh-eating birds, known as Kahrkâs, and not to dogs or ordinary vultures. All these, seem to have been enjoined for an extraordinary precaution against infection. The skin being the upper part of the body was supposed likely to contain some germs of infection; so, it was removed before the body was given to the special class of birds. It is said, that even now, the Tibetans are very much afraid of the havoc worked by the infection of small-pox. When an epidemic of that disease takes place, however much they like their method of exposure, they resort to burial.

Thus, I think, we understand from the present Tibetan mode, that the original object of the strict Irânian prohibition against the removal of the body by one corpse-bearer, instead of by two, was the dread of infection.

The dread of Infection among the Iranians

The ancient Persians seem to have had a great dread for infected persons. We have another instance of this in the case of leprosy which was believed to be very infectious. They had an awful dread of it. The Avesta[2] takes it to be a very bad disease. Greek writers, like

1 P. کرگس a vulture

2 Âbân Yasht, 92; Tir Yasht, 56; Behrâm Yasht, 43; Vendidâd II, 29.

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Herodotus[1] and Agathias, also refer to this fact. It is said of a Persian satrap Magabazus, that he escaped from the hands of his enemies, by pretending that he had an attack of leprosy. They preferred his escape to his arrest accompanied by the risk of infection.

The Vendidâd[2] seems to enjoin the dissection sometime before death *i. e.* when the corpse-bearer has become too old and weak and is likely to die. This seems to be due to the dread entertained of him, that being himself infected for life, on his death, if there be any delay in the disposal of his body, his already infected body may possibly spread more infection. Some classical authors refer to this custom of diseased old men being exposed to death when alive. For example, Strabo says of the Bactriani and the Caspii: "Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for this purpose[3]."

It is this great dread of infection that seems to have been the object of the extraordinary isolation and exceptional dissection, before disposal, of the body of the corpse-bearer, who, carrying a corpse singly on his shoulder, ran the risk of infecting his body from what was emitted from the corpse on his shoulder, and who, thereby, becoming the centre of infection was likely to spread that infection among others. Perhaps, in those early times, this dread was not based on scientific or hygienic grounds on which we at present entertain it. But, as a matter of fact, it did exist. I think, the writers of the Health Laws of the Vendidâd, which seem to us to be very strict, even extraordinarily strict, wrote at a time or times when a kind of plague or epidemic prevailed in ancient Irân.[4] The several prayers or incantations in the 20th chapter of the Vendidâd against *mahrka* (modern *marki*) or plague point to suggest this assertion. If one remembers the dread and the panic spread

1. Bk. I. 139; Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol I, p. 278. cf. The Jewish dread of leprosy referred to in the Leviticus XIII; 2 Kings VII; St. Luke XVII.

2 III, 20

3 Strabo's Geography, Bk. XI, Chap XI, 3. Translation of Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, p. 253.

4. Vide my Lecture in Gujrati on the "The Zoroastrian precepts of preserving health and extirpating plague" (તંદુરસ્તી જાળવવા માટેનાં અને મરકી દૂર કરવા માટેનાં જરથોસ્તી ફરમાનો), delivered under the auspices of the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Punchayet, on 24th September 1899, when Bombay was in the grip of the Bubonic Plague. Vide my Iranian Essays Part III, pp. 54 to 70.

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among the people of Bombay during the first few years of the Bubonic plague (1896-99), and if one remembers the extraordinary strict orders and injunctions given at the time, both by the Government and by the Plague Committee headed by General Gatacre, a military officer of a high grade, he would have no reason to be surprized at the dread of the people against infection in those early times. Now, after several years' experience of plague, we are in a position to look with surprize and regret and even ridicule, the extraordinarily severe plague rules enjoined by the Government plague authorities in those times of panic—rules, some of which caused riots in the city. I give here an instance of personal experience. As the Secretary of the Parsee Punchyet, I had to get erected, and look after, about a dozen plague Health camps in different parts of the city and its subrubs. One of the camps was under the Medical Superintendence of an European Medical Officer of the Indian Medical Department. He directed that the inmates of the camp, who were not infected, but who had gone to the camp from infected houses or quarters of the city, should not go out of the camp for nine days, the supposed period of incubation. An outsider was to be appointed, who was to receive from a distance orders from the different families staying at the camp for their daily requirements from the markets. Thus, all outside communication was sought to be prevented. I had to protest against this severity and in the end that was given up. I give this as an instance of panic and dread of infection, even in our own times, and even among educated men; so that one need not wonder at the dread and panic prevalent in old times in Iran

3 The Sag-dîd.
(a) The Reasons for it.

The statement, referred to above, of M. L. De Milloué about the Tibetan dogs' smelling power, and their accompanying the funeral procession, when compared with the injunction of the Vendidâd[1], that a dog should be made to pass over the road over which a corpse has been carried, seems to throw some side-light on the question of the origin and object of the Sag-dîd[2] among the Parsees. Various explanations have been given for the origin and purpose of the Sag-dîd. I quote here, from what

1 VIII 14-22.

2 For the ceremony of the Sag-dîd, *vide* my paper, read before "The Anthropological Society of Bombay," on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation" pp. 8-10. Sag-did is the later rendering of the Pahlavi *kalaba namudan* (كلبه نمودن). Vide Dadistân-i-Dinik. Pursishn XVII, 2; Ervad Tehmuras's Text p. 40, l. 3; S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

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I have said on the subject in my Paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Parsees:"[1]

"It appears from the customs of several ancient nations that the dog played a prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of many ancient nations.

(*a*) "As in the Avesta, so in the Vedas, we have a mention of two four-eyed dogs guarding the way to the abode of Yama, the ruler of the spirits of the dead.

(*b*) "Among the ancient Romans, the Lares of the departed virtuous were represented in pictures[2] with a dog tied to their legs. This was intended to show that as the dogs watched faithfully at the door of their masters, so the Lares watched the interests of the family to which they belonged.

(*c*) "The people of the West Indies have a notion among them of the dogs accompanying the departed dead. Compare the following lines of Pope :—

'Even the poor Indian whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind,
.....Thinks, admitted to yon equal sky
His faithful dog shall bear him company'

"As for the purpose why the Sagdîd is performed, several reasons are assigned.

(*a*) Some say that the spotted dog was a species of dog that possessed the characteristic of staring steadily at a man if he was dead and of not looking to him at all if life was not altogether extinct. Thus the old Persians ascertained by the Sagdîd, whether life was really extinct.

(*b*) Others, as Dr. Haug says, attributed the Sagdîd to some magnetic influence in the eyes of the dog.

(*c*) Others again connected the Sagdîd of a dog, who of all animals was the most faithful to his master, with the idea of loyalty and gratitude that must exist between the living and the departed ones.

(*d*) Others considered a dog to be symbolical of the destruction of moral passions. Death put an end to all moral passions So, the presence of

1 Ibid p. 9, note 13.

2 Cf. The row of dogs on the freize of the Iranian sculptures on some of the so-called tombs of the Achæmenian kings.

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a dog near the dead body emphasized that idea. Cf. Dante's Divine Comedy (Hell C. I. ll. 94-102. Dr. Plumptre's Translation.) Here, the grey-hound is considered as the deliverer of Itlay. He is the symbol of the destroyer of the passions of sensual enjoyment, pride and avarice which are represented by the leopard, the lion and the wolf.

'For that fell beast whose spite thou wailest o'er,
Lets no man onward pass along her way
... ...
Many the creatures are that with her wed,
And will be more until the Greyhound come,
Who with sharp agony shall smite her dead.' "

(*e*) We have spoken above, of the two dogs in the abode of Yama, or the dogs in the Heavans. They are said to be the Canis Major and Canis Minor. In the constellation of the Great Dog (Canis Major) is the great star Tishtrya, known by its Greek name of Sirius and the moderen popular name, dog-star. In the constellation of the Little Dog is the star Procyon. They are said to be the dogs of the constellation of Orion. So, some say, that the Sagdîd is intended as a symbolism of the belief that the dead are to pass to the Heavans, watched by the heavanly dogs.

(*f*) The above explanation may suggest another possible explanation of the symbolism of the sag-dîd. It is enjoined in the Vendidâd that, the dead body should be exposed to the Sun (hvarê-dareçîm kerenaot).[1] It is wrong or sinful not to do so.[2] Not only the body, but, when a closed *astodân* or bone-receptacle is not made, even the bones should be exposed to the sun.[3] Now, the body has to be retained at the house for some time before its final exposure to the sun and to the flesh-devouring animals. In the case of a country like ancient Irân, where snow-storms and other inclemencies of the weather prevented at times an immediate or early disposal, the body had to be kept at home for several hours or days. In that case, the exposure to the sun or to the open sky is not possible So, in that case, perhaps, as a substitute, the dog may have been substituted, because the dog represented the dog-stâr or Sirius (the Tishtriya of the Avesta),

1. Chap. V. 13-14 2. Ibid. 14. 3 Chap VI, 51.

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which in its turn, by its great brilliancy, represented the sun. In fact the very name of the Dog-star (Tistrya), Sirius, comes from a Greek word (ἀειρ), meaning the Sun. Tishtrya or Sirius is represented in the Avesta as *dravô-chashmanem i. e.* the strong-eyed, and, as such, his invocation is repeated three times in the Khurshed Nyâish, a prayer in praise of Khurshed or sun, and in the Meher Nyâish, a prayer in praise of Mithra, the Yazata of light. We read there : "(*Tishtrim dravô-chashmanem yazamaidê i.e.*) We invoke the strong-eyed Tishtrya." Thus, in the Sag-dîd, the *chashma i.e.* the eyes (*dîd*) of the dog (*sag*) Canis represent those of the Tishtriya, the Dog-star, who, by its great brilliancy represents the sun, and who, for that reason, is invoked in the hymn in honour of Khurshed, the sun. One must remember in this matter, that illness and untimely death or plague (*mahrka*) are believed to be the result of a kind of Mithra-druji or a crime against Mithra, the God of Light.[1] One can say, that this means, that they are held to be due to want of proper heat and light of the sun. Even leprosy was, according to Herodotus,[2] held to be the result of such a Mithra-druji or fault against the sun.

The most probable reason.

From what is said of the dog in connection with the disposal of the dead in Tibet, we are led to think, that out of the various six reasons given above, the first (a) seems to appeal to us. The correct explanation seems to be this : The dogs devoured the flesh of the dead. So, certain dogs were kept in certain large towns for the purpose. Some classical writers refer to this fact. For example Strabo, says of ancient Bactria that " they expressly kept for the purpose dogs whom in the language of the country they call emtombers.[3]" These dogs, as it were, smelt death. Therefore, they were, or at least one of them was, made to look at the dead, to enable them to know, that there was a prey ready for them and that they were to follow the corpse to do their work of devouring the body.

This view of the object of the sagdîd is confirmed and supported by the fact, that the Vendidâd[4] refers, not only to the sight of dogs (*sag-dîd*), but also to that

1 Meher Yasht, 110.

2 Bk. I 139

3 Strabo's Geography, Bk. XI, Chap XI, 3 Hamliton and Falconer's Translation Vol. II, p. 253.

4 Chap. VII, 3.

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of birds. The later Irânian commentators[1] also say, that, in case a dog is not available for the *sag-dîd*, the body may be exposed to the sight of birds. Thus, it seems that the body was enjoined to be exposed to the sight of dogs or birds with a view to indicate to them that a prey was ready for them and to ensure that the body may be soon disposed of by them. In connection with this view it was possibly believed, that if the dogs or birds looked at the corpse eagerly, it may be taken as certain that life was extinct from the body, because it was the view of a prey being near at hand, that made them look eagerly at the corpse.

3 (b) The Dog, why held as a sacred animal.

The dog is held to be somewhat sacred among both, because he does the useful work of doing away with the dead bodies, which otherwise would decompose and endanger the health of the living. In addition to this fact, there may be the sentimental reason, that they are, as it were, the depositories of the remains of their near and dear ones and the would-be depositories of the living. According to some classical authors, referred to above, the aristocratic class bred special dogs for the purpose. Whatever the reason may be, one understands, why dogs are made so much of in the Vendidâd. There were several spieces of dogs and they were used for various purposes. Some were used as sentinels for men (vish-haurva), some as sentinels for the cattle (paçush-haurva), and some for this sanitary work. All these uses added to the value of the dog. Hence it is, that we find the 13th chapter of the Vendidâd appreciating the work of the dogs. A person, injuring or killing a dog, is held guilty and punishable. It is enjoined that the dog may be well cared for and fed. One has to take care of their young ones and to rear them.

The above long dissertation on the subject of the *sag-dîd* is intended to show, why dogs were held, sacred in ancient Irân. We have seen, that they are held sacred, to a certain extent, even now in Tibet.

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1. Pahlavi Vendid VII, 2. *Vide* Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Text, p. 108. Here are named birds, like [illegible] (*dâlman*, Persian دال من black eagle), [illegible] (*sârgar*, Persian سارک a starling or a nightingale or سارنج or سارنگو or سارو or ساروج an Indian black bird, or ساروک a kind of talking bird or ساری the bird stare or starling), [illegible] (rasâg, for which another manuscript has [illegible] râg-i-syâh where râg may be Pers. زاغ a crow; hence a black crow). It is said that if the *sayeh* [illegible] (Pers. سایه) *i.e.* shadow of a bird falls over the corpse, that suffices as *sagdîd*.

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4 Strict Prohibition against Burial, Cremation Cannibalism, Mummification.

From what we have seen of the various methods of the disposal of the dead, prevalent at one time or another or at one place or another in Tibet, we get some sidelight thrown on the question of the strict injunctions in the Vendidâd against the various modes of disposal, other than that of the exposure to the sun and to the flesh-devouring birds and dogs. The ancient people of Central Asia, who at one time lived with the people to whom the writers of the Vendidâd belonged, and from whom the Tibetans seem to have taken some of their customs, resorted more or less to the following methods, besides that of exposure to birds and animals.

(*a*) Ground-Burial.
(*b*) Water-Burial.
(*c*) Cremation.
(*d*) Cannibalism.
(*e*) Mummification.

The Iranians, when they differed from their fellow-people in Central Asia and separated from them, seem to have condemned, for one reason or another, or on one ground or another, these various modes. The condemnation of these methods was perhaps one of the reasons of the schism or separation. The separation was due, not only to difference in thought and belief, but also to difference in the matter of the observation of customs and manners. This explains, why we find in the Vendidâd not an ordinary prohibition, but a very strict prohibition, in very strong words and with threats of great punishments in the future, of the various modes other than that of exposure which they accepted as the only best mode. We will briefly examine this condemnation.

a. Injunctions against ground-burial.

The ground-burial is condemned in strong words in the Vendidâd in the following chapters: I. 13; III 8-9, 12-13, 36-39; VII 45-52. The very land where burial takes place is represented as displeased and shocked. The first place on the surface of the earth which is the most displeased is that of Mount Arezura,[1] a deadly volcano, which was taken to be the road, as it were, to Hell. The second place which is the most displeased is that, where both men and dogs are buried.[2] The place on which tombs of men stand comes next in order.[3] A man, who removes the buried corpses of dogs and men

1. Vendidad III 7. Vide my paper on "Mount Arezura of the Avesta, a Volcanic mountain," in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, pp. 188-96. 2. Vendidad III, 8. 3. Ibid 9.

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from the ground, does a religious act. He thereby most pleases the ground.[1] A man who removes the tomb-structures is the next in the order of righteousness.[2] A man, who wittingly allows a corpse to remain buried in ground for a period of six months, is punishable. This fault and the consequent punishment increase if he allows that state to continue for a year.[3] If he allows it to continue for more than two years his sin is unpardonable. No religious punishments can cure his faults during his life. He must repent for the fault during his whole life-time.[4]

The ground on which a dead body lies long, before being properly disposed of, must not be used for some ordinary purposes for a year.[5] But, if the ground is one wherein a body is interred, then it must not be used for a period of 50 years.[6] In other words, the ground of a cemetery must not be utilized for other purposes, until after a period of 50 years since it ceased to be so used. But in case the place of burial is built over with tombs, one must wait longer for the use of the ground for other purposes. He must wait till he finds no vestige at all of any part of the body and till everything, *e.g.* even the bones and hairs, are reduced to dust.[7] Ahura-Mazda enjoins Zoroaster to remove the structures or tombs, because thereby, one helps an early decompositon and the process of reducing the body from "dust to dust." Any structure whatever round the interred body delays its speedy disposal.[8] If a man helps this speedy disposal, by removing the structure round and over a corpse, this act serves him as an act of atonement for some other sinful act.[9] A man who does the righteous act of removing a structure and of thus helping the corpse to be soon reduced to dust finds his life blessed and his way to Heavan easier. The Sun, Moon and stars bless him and, in the end, even Ahura Mazda blesses him.[10]

The tombs or the structures built upon the corpses are the abodes of Daêvas or all kinds of diseases.[11] There, the Daêvas (who, in such cases, are the disease-producing germs and substances) increase from fifty to hundread-fold, hundred to thousand fold, thousand to ten-thousand fold, ten-thousand to innumerable-fold."[12] As men feed on meat and grow in strength and number, so do the Daêvas (or the disease germs) live on the flesh of the dead bodies interred below the tombs and increase in numbers.[13] The stench from the decomposing bodies pleases the Daêvas.

1. Vendidâd 12. 2. Ibid 13. 3. Ibid 36-37. 4. Ibid 39. 5. Ibid VII 45-46.
6. Ibid 47-48 7. Ibid 49-50. 8. Ibid VII. 50. 9. Ibid. 51. 10. Ibid 52.
11. Ibid 55-56. 12. Ibid 56. 13. Ibid 57

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Filth, scurvy, fever, ague and such other diseases grow over and around the decaying bones and hair. These complaints increase after sunset.[1]

We learn from all these references that ground-burial was strictly prohibited. In one place, the very religion—the Mazdayaçnian religion—is spoken of as one suppressing burial.[2] From the Vendidâd,[3] one can infer, that possibly, burial was not known at first in central Asia in pre-historic times. The first city or region, which introduced or began burial, was Harakhaiti ([illegible]), which is Harauvati of the Inscriptions, the Sarasvati (सरस्वती) of the Sanskrit writers, and Arachosia of the Greeks, south of Cabul. Ahura Mazda had created it healthy and salubrius, or, as the Vendidâd says, beautiful (*srîrâm* [illegible]) in all respects, but, Ahriman introduced the burial custom in the city and brought about evil. This city is the tenth in the list of the 16 cities of Central Asia, named by the Vendidâd, as created by Ahura Mazda. So, it appears that burial came in use much later. We learn from Herodotus[4], Strabo[5] and Cicero[6] also, that burial was forbidden in ancient Persia.

b. Injunctions against water-burial.

From a health point of view, in Central Asia, water-burial is worse than ground-burial. There, the custom of water-burial has no seas or oceans to resort to, but rivers and streams, on which people generally depend for their supply of drinking water. The resulting harm may not be perceived by people, living in towns on the banks of great rivers, abounding with fish. But in the case of towns on smaller rivers and streams, it would work havoc in case of epidemics.

Thus we see, that the Irânians stood against the practice of water-burial, prevalent to a certain extent in Central Asia. Hence it is, that we find the strongest possible injunctions in the Vendidâd, against the practice of throwing any kind of filth, much more dead bodies, into rivers or streams. Ahura Mazda enjoined to Zoroaster, that if a Mazdayaçnân, while going on foot, or in a boat, riding a horse, or driving in a vehicle, saw a dead body in running fresh water, he ought to stop at once, remove his shoes, go into the water waist-deep, or as far as it is safe for him to go, and remove the decomposing body from the water.

1. Vendidàd 58. 2. Ibid III, 41. 3. Chap. I, 13.
4. Bk I, 140. Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol I, p. 279.
5. The Geography of Strabo Bk. XV Chap. III, 20. 6. Quest. Tusculanæ I, 45, as referred to by Max Duneker in his 'History of Antiquity" Vol II, 2nd edition, pp 392-399, translation of Mr. K. R. Cama, p. 15.

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If the body was much decomposed and he was not able to remove it as a whole from the water, he was to remove the detached portions by handfuls.[1] In the case of the water of closed places like wells, it was enjoined, that, if convenient and possible, half the quantity of water, and if not convenient or possible, one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth the quantity of water, and especially the water round the spot where the decomposing body floated, should be removed before the rest of the water was used for drinking or culinary purposes.[2] Similarly, precautions have been ordered for frozen water or snow-water.[3] Even in the case of running waters, like those of streams, certain precautions are enjoined, which say, that the water of the stream may be used after the removal of the decomposing matter and after some time when the fresh currents have somewhat purified the water at the spot.[4]

All these injunctions were in the case of a dead body accidentally found in water. But, if a man actually committed the offence of throwing filth in water, he was condemned as the most unrighteous person.[5] Such offences brought about a kind of water-famine which marred the cause of agriculture. They were also believed to create the pest of a kind of insect known as *madhakha*, a kind of locusts.[6] The offenders are *darwands* (*dravants* or criminals) and the followers of Daêvas.[7] Herodotus[8] and Strabo[9] also refer to the sacred care, which the ancient Persians took, to keep the sources of water-suppply pure and healthy.

(c) Injunctions against Cremation.

The ancient Iranians, when they separated from the other people of Central Asia, gave up and condemned cremation which was prevalent there. If one follows the order of the creation of the known 16 cities of Central Asia as given in the Vendidâd, and examines one after another the evils that Âhriman is said to have created in them, he can say, that cremation came to be resorted to after ground-burial. Ground-burial seems to have been introduced by

1 Vendidâd VI. 26-29. 2 Ibid 30-35. 3 Ibid 36-38. 4 Ibid 39-41.

5 Ibid VII 25-26. 6 Ibid 26. 7 Ibid 27.

8 "They never defile a river with the secrations of their bodies, nor even wash their hands in one; nor will they allow others to do so, as they have a great reverence for rivers.....The body of a male Persian is never buried until it has been torn either by a dog or a bird of pray." (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, pp. 278-79; Bk. I, 139.)

9 "The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it." (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 137; Bk. XV, Chap. III, 16.)

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Ahriman into Harakhaiti, the 10th city in the list[1], and cremation in Chakhra, a city of Khorasan, the 13th in the list.[2] Thus, we see, that possibly, Chakhra in Central Asia was the first place where cremation first came to be practised.

The injunction against cremation is given in several places in the Vendidâd. At one place, a man who carries a dead body to fire, *i.e.* who practises cremation, is in the matter of his fault, put on the same level as that of a man who practises water-burial.[3] He is impious. If one, while passing on foot, or sailing in a boat, or riding on a horse or driving in some vehicle, sees a corpse that is being burnt, he is to halt in his journey and to do his best to prevent further cremation. He is to scatter the burning fire, so that the further cremation of the body may be prevented as far as possible.[4] The fire is defiled in the process of burning the body. So, it would be meritorious, if one were to remove the fire, at least a part of it, from the place, and to purify it, as it were, by burning a fresh piece of wood by its flame, holding this piece over it at some distance. To purify the fire completely, this process must be repeated.[5] This purifying process is observed now in the case of preparing and consecrating the sacred fires of the fire-temples.[6] A man, who thus prevents the fire from being further polluted by burning a dead body, and who then purifies it as said above, is said to be doing a meritorious act, as good as that of feeding the sacred fire with ten thousand pieces of proper fuel-wood.[7] One-tenth of such a pious recompense is due also to one who prevents the fire from burning other filthy impure things.[8] His meritoriousness is equal to that of feeding the sacred fire with one thousand pieces of proper fuel-wood. We find in another chapter[9] also, that cremation is considered to be an impious act. Fire is enjoined to be kept away from filthy places and things[10] and even from persons supposed to be filthy or diseased for some time. If that is so, there is no wonder, that cremation as a whole is supposed to be an act of impiety.

We learn from Classical writers also, that cremation was not permitted in ancient Iran. According to Herodotus,[11] such an act was considered

1 Vendidâd Chap. I, 13. 2 Ibid 17. 3 Chap. VII 25-27.

4 Chap. VIII, 73-74. 5 Ibid 75-78. 6 Vide my "Religious system of the Parsees" pp. 26-28.

7 Vendidâd VIII, 81. 8 Ibid 82. 9 Ibid XVI, 17. 10 Patet 5.

11 "Cambyses bade them take the corpse and burn it. This was truly an impious command to give" (Bk. III, 16. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 410).

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impious. Strabo also refers to the ancient Irânian prohibition against cremation and says that one guilty of the offence was heavily punished by being put to death.[1] He adds, that the ancient Persians did not even blow on fire with a view not to pollute the fire by the breath of their mouth.[2] Nicholaus Damascenus refers to this prohibition.[3] It appears, that whereas burial was prohibited from the point of view of health and sanitation, cremation was prohibited from the point of view of reverence in which fire was held by the Persians.

(*d*) Injunctions against Cannibalism.

The Vendidad refers to cannibalism as a great offence. The offender is held to be very impious. He becomes unpurifiable (*ayaozdayân anghen*).[4] He is to be punished with the strictest possible punishment. The Avesta passage of the Vendidâd, which speaks of this crime, is not clearly intelligible. It is variously translated. But, we see from its Pahlavi translation and commentary[5], that the punishment is the most severe. The Sad-dar[6] refers to the Pahalvi translation and commentary, and on its authority, thus speaks for the punishment of a cannibal..." It is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one who has eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of his body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes." In spite of all this physical punishment in this world, he is condemned to Hell. Some translators take the Avesta reference to the house being dug (*geredho kerataoscha*) and its Pahlavi rendering (*gristak karinashn*), in the sense, that he may be interred or buried alive. It appears from the Sad-dar[7] that some parts of a dead man's body were, at one time, prescribed as some kind of medicine or remedy (دارو و درمان)[8]. To mark the greatest severity of the punishment, one must know

1 Strabo Bk. XV, Chap. III, 14.

2 Ibid. "They do not blow the flame with their breath, but fan it; those who have blown the flame with their breath, or thrown any dead thing or dirt upon the fire, are put to death." (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 136).

3 Frag. 68, as referred to by Dr. Rapp in his article in the German Oriental Society's Journal Vol. XVII (1863) pp. 52-56, on "the Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians." Translated by K. R. Cama, p. 22.

4 Vendidâd VII, 24. 5 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's text p. 115. Dastur Hoshang's Text, p. 253.

6 Chap. LXXI. S. B. E. Vol. XXIV p. 336.

7 Chap. LXXI, 1.

8 Sad-dar Nasr. Text, edited by Ervad Bomanji Nasarwanji Dhabar, p. 51, Chap. 71.

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that in the matter of scooping out the eyes, the Vendidâd speaks of the *spiti-doithra* (the white eyes *i.e.* the eye-balls) being drawn out. In the form of punishments through the eye, that of drawing out the eye ball (આંખના દોરા ખેંચી કાઢવા) is believed to be worse than that of destroying the eye (આંખ ફોડી નાખવી).

(*c*) Injunction against Mummification or Embalment.

One cannot point to any distinct injunction in the Avesta against embalmment. But, I think, we find strong indirect injunctions against the mode. For example, the Vendidâd[1] prohibits the unnecessary use of any cloth, even of the smallest size of a stocking, on a corpse. If one does make such a use he is guilty and liable to punishment. Now, in the process of mummifying after embalment, a large quantity of drugged cloth is necessary. Again, the very fact, that the Vendidâd prohibits all contact with the dead immediately after death, shows that the spirit of Zoroastrianism was against embalmment and mummification.

Why Iranians did not resort to Dissection

Of the different modes of the disposal of the dead, prevalent at one time or another in Central Asia, the relics of some of which we still see in Tibet, burial—both, ground-burial and water-burial—was greatly condemned by the Irânians from a sanitary point of view. Cannibalism was condemned as being unnatural, looking to the higher standard of civilization they had come to. Cremation was condemned on religious grounds, based on feelings of reverance in which fire was held, and on the ground of the necessity of preserving the bones in *astodâns i.e.* bone-receptacles or otherwise, for the coming time of Resurrection, when the dead are to be made to rise again from their bones.[2] I think this idea of preserving the bones came in among the Irânians not very early but a little later in the course of their advancement in civilization.

Dissection was done away with, when they separated from their fellow-brethren of Central Asia for several reasons, the main reason being a difference of religious views on many subjects. The Central Asian ancestors of the early

1 VIII, 23-25.

(2) Vide my Paper on Astodân or "A Persian Coffin said to be 3000 years old, sent to the museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire"(My "Anthropological Papers" pp.7-23; Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol.I, No 7, pp.426-41). Vide also my paper "on Mr. K. Enostranzav's, 'Paper on the Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan,' with a few further observations on the Astodan" (My "Anthropological Papers," pp. 295-306; Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 331-42).

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Tibetans held the view, that the sooner every part of the corpse, including the bones, was devoured and destroyed, the better for the soul. As long as any thing or any part of the body remained, the soul did not enter with ease into the other world. To bring about that result, *viz.* an early destruction of every vestige of the body, dissection was necessary. On the other hand, the Irânians believed, that a part of the body, *viz.* the bones, must be preserved for the Resurrection. So, dissection was not necessary. Perhaps, with the advanced state of their civilization, sentiment also crept in and stopped dissection.

The Tibetan mode of Dissection had, and has, of course, one advantage *viz.* that every part of the body was eaten away soon by the dogs and birds, and no vestige of the body, likely to spread infection by being carried about by birds or dogs, was left. But, the Iranian Zoroastrians provided against this disadvantage by strict injunctions for preventing any careless scattering of bones. For example, the sixth chapter of the Vendidâd,[1] which refers to the disposal of the body, provides strict injunctions, that no fresh, wet or fleshy bones may be thrown away carelessly. If one threw away carelessly even the smallest bone *viz.* that of the uppermost tip of the last and smallest finger, he was liable to punishment.

5 Injunctions against the Daêvas.

The Vendidâd is replete with injunctions against the Daêvas In fact, the very word Vendidâd, which is originally Vi-daêva-dâta (jud-div-dâd) signifies, "that which is given against the Daêvas". *i.e.* "the book which contains injunctions against, or for the destruction of, the Daêvas".

Now, who were the Daevas? "The word 'daêva' is a very ancient Aryan word for God, derived from the Aryan root 'div', 'to shine'. Most of the western nations which separated from the parent stock took with them this word in one form or another for the name of their God. Thus, the Greeks called their God, Deos or Zeus; the Romans, Deus, the Germans Teus; the Lithunians, Diewas, and so on. The Indian and the Irânian branches had the word 'daêva.' But, when the early Irânians saw, that the belief of the people was tending to polytheism, and that the sacred word 'Daeva', instead of being used for God alone, was being used for many of His created objects, they stamped the word as unfit for the name

(1) Chap. VI, 10-25.

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of God and rejected it altogether from the Avesta ".[1] Latterly, the word Daêva began to be taken in a broader sense. All evils, whether physical or mental, were taken as Daêvas. For example, we have the Daêvas of the different kinds of maladies.[2] We have the Daêvas of sloth, ambition, pride and all such mental disorders. Infection itself is, as it were, a Daêva. The Daruj-i Naçush itself, or the demon of decomposition and infection, which is said to run from the dead to the living, is, as it were, a Daêva.

From the fact of the practice of the disposal of the dead by Exposure being common to the Irânians and Tibetans, one is led to believe, that the near ancestors of the writers of the Vendidâd, the very ancient Irânians, and the remote ancestors of the modern Tibetans, who, at one time, before the introduction of Buddhism among them professed their ancient Bon religion, possibly lived at one place, or near one another, somewhere in Central Asia. The early Irânians did not like some of the then prevalent modes of disposal, some of which were insanitary and worked havoc in case of epidemics.

The modren Tibetans, who seem to be the descendants of the early inhabitants of some part of Central Asia, are still awfully dirty in their habits. The Bhutias, both male and female, whom you see at Darjeeling and on the frontiers of Nepaul, are well-formed and good-looking, but, they are very dirty. Even their monks or Lamas are dirty to some extent. According to Mr. Rockhill, the Lamas are " dirtier than the ordinary run of people."[3] Rev. Kawaguchi says on this subject: —"The Tibetans are very foul in their habits .. He (the Tibetan) does not even wash or wipe himself after the calls of nature, but behaves like the lower animals in this respect. To this there is no single exception, from the high priest down to the shepherd; every one does the same. I was, therefore, much laughed at and suspected when I followed the Japanese custom in this particular, and even the children would laugh at me..... Nor are these the Tibetan's only unclean habits. He never washes his body; many have never been washed since their birth. One would scarcely believe that they boast in the country, if not in towns or cities, of never having been washed.[4] "

1. Vide my " Religious system of the Parsees."
2. Vendidad XX 1-10.
3. "Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892," by William Woodville Rockhill, p. 68.
4. Three years in Tibet, pp. 264-65.

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Besides their physical uncleanliness, one learns from the writers on Tibetan scriptures and beliefs, that they were steeped in mental uncleanliness, if one could speak of their belief in demons and evil spirits as such. In spite of their recently introduced Buddhism, their ancient belief in demons and evil spirits, as taught by their ancient Bon religon, is still common. Looking to all these facts, one understands why the old Mazdayaçnism, which was preached at one time in some place near their home in Central Asia, condemned so much the Daêvas—the Daêvas of physical and mental uncleanliness. Thus, both, the habits and the beliefs of the modern Tibetans, seem to give us a picture of the habits and beliefs of their early ancestors in Central Asia, with whom and near whom the ancestors of the ancient Irânians also lived. One can then understand, why the Vendidâd is so much full of the rules of cleanliness and sanitation as then known, and why it is full of injunctions against the Daêvas both physical and mental. In short, the whole subject throws a side-light on the question, why the Vendidâd, or the book against the Daêvas, was held to be an important book for the good and advancement of the Irânians.

Hence, one can understand the object and purpose of the strict, one can say, awfully strict injunctions about the Health-laws of the Zoroastrians, as prescribed in the Vendidad. "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" is a homely proverb. But, as Prof. Darmesteter says, with the early Zoroastrians the proverb was, as it were, "Cleanliness is godliness itself[1]." One can thus understand the over-strict rules of physical *ashoi* or purity and of *Yaozdâthragiri i.e.* purification, referred to in the Vendidâd.

General Lines of Improvement in the Irânian mode.

From the consideration of all the above points, we find, that the Irânian mode of the disposal of the corpse by Exposure has been all along an improvement on the older methods of Central Asia, where the Iranians first lived—methods which have their relics among the Tibetans.

The improvement was in the following lines:—

1. Dissection before exposure was done away with by the early Irânians.
2. Exposure to the purifying rays of the sun was insisted upon.
3. Night funerals were replaced by day-funerals. (Vendidâd VIII, 4).

1 " Cleanliness est une forme même de Godliness" Le Zend Avesta II, Introduction, p. X.

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4. In two different parts of the Vendidâd itself, we see traces of further improvements in the method of the Exposures itself. For example, in the 6th chapter (44-51), the original injunctions are the following :—

(*a*) The corpse must be placed on the most elevated place in the neighbourhood, where it can be clearly seen by the flesh-eating vultures and dogs.

(*b*) There, the body must be secured by being fastened to an iron stone or lead post or peg, so that the skeleton or remaining bones may not be carried away by the birds and dogs to adjoining streams or trees. The responsible person is held guilty, if he does not so fasten the corpse, and if, in consequence, the bones are carried away by the birds or dogs to adjoining streams, rivers or trees.

(*c*) After the flesh is eaten off by birds or dogs, the remaining bones are to be collected in an ossuary or bone-receptacle (*astodân*) made either of stone, or chunam or clay or cloth,

(*d*) The *astodân*, so prepared, must be placed on the ground exposed to the rays of the sun.

(*e*) It must be so placed, that dogs, wolves, foxes,[1] or other wild animals may not reach it and may not carry away the bones.

(*f*) Again, the bone-receptacle must be covered from above, so as not to let rain-water get in and destroy the bones.

(*g*) Then, in the 8th. chapter of the Vendidâd where we find another reference to the place for the disposal of the dead, it is enjoined, that the corpse must be placed on an elevated place, paved with clay or bricks or stone or mortar, where it can be clearly seen by flesh-eating birds or dogs. Here, we see an improvement in the original method referred to in the sixth chapter. Here, there is no question of necessarily fastening the body and placing on bare open ground on an elevated place. Instead of these details, a somewhat *pucca* arrangement, somewhat approaching that of the modern Tower is spoken of.

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1. Dadistân-i-Dinik, Pursishn XVII; Chap. XVIII, 4; S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, p. 43.

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APPENDIX.

I have give above the various versions of the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead. I give here one more that of Oderic who is alluded to in the body of the Paper. His verson is interesting, because he also speaks of the custom as observed by him among the Parsees of Tana (Thana).

The Version of Odoric of Pordenone.

Frior Odoric (1286-1331), who travelled in the East from about 1316 to 1330, and who was tebeatified in, so late as, 1755 by Pope Benedict XIV[1], while speaking of Tibet, thus refers to the custom: "And another fashion they have in this country is this. Suppose such an one's father to die, then the son will say, "I desire to pay respect to my father's memory"; and so he calls together all the priests[2] and monks and players in the country round, and likewise all the neighbours and kinfolk. And they carry the body into the country with great rejoicings. And they have a great table in readiness, upon which the priests cut off the head, and then this is presented to the son. And the son and all the company raise a chant and make many prayers for the dead. Then the priests cut the whole of the body to pieces, and when they have done so they go up again to the city with the whole company, praying for him as they go. After this the eagles and vultures come down from the mountains and every one takes his morsel and carries it away. Then all the company shout aloud, saying, 'Behold ! the man is a saint ! For the angels of God come and carry him to Paradise. And in this way the son deems himself to be honoured in no small degree, seeing that his father is borne off in this creditable manner by the angels. And so he takes his father's head, and straightways cooks it and eats it; and of the skull he makes a goblet, from which he and all of the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father. And they say that by acting in this way they shew their great respect for their father."[3]

Odorie had passed through India. He had first landed at Tana (Thana). In the latter part of the following description he seems to refer to the Parsees of

1 "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule. New Edition, revised by Dr. H. Cordier. Vol. II, (1913) pp. 116.

2 Cf. the Parsee custom known as *gamni pâedas* ગામની પાયદસ, wherein all the priests of the town or city are invited to attend the funeral procession, for which they are paid.

3 "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule revised by Dr. H. Cordier Vol. II. pp. 251-54.

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Thana: "The people thereof are idolaters, for they worship fire, and serpents and trees also.....And here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured."[1]

1. "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule, revised by Dr. H. Cordier, Vol. II. pp. 114-17.

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THE USE OF ROSARIES AMONG ZOROASTRIANS.

BY

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Introduction. Of all the places, that I have visited during my travels, now and then, in India, no place had pleased me, or rather fascinated me, so much as Darjeeling, where, as said in a preceding paper, I had the pleasure of staying for about 5 weeks in May-June 1913. The fascination came, not only from the beautiful scenery and surroundings of the place with the grand and sublime snowy Himalayas in the front, but also from my frequent visits to the Tibetan *Gompas* or monasteries, from my conversation with their Lamas or Tibetan priests, and from my study of the Tibetan manners and customs as observed and studied there—studied from persons and studied from books. The Lamas and their monasteries, their religion and customs formed there the principal subject of my study.

The *âlât* of the Tibetans. Their prayer-machines. In the Tibetan monasteries, next to the Lamas or the priests, their ritualistic apparatus or instruments, or if I were to use our Parsee ritualistic word, their *âlât* (آلات), drew my principal attention. Their *dorje*, which has given the hill station its name of Darjeeling *i. e.* the place of *dorje* (a sceptre-like instrument, symbolizing, at first "the mystic thunder-bolt of the Lamaist religion" and then, ecclesiastical authority) reminded me of our Avestic *vazra* (واسرا) or Gurz.

The other principal articles or instruments that drew my attention there, were their Prayer-machines, the subject of which can be divided into three heads :

1. Prayer flags.
2. Prayar-wheels, which are also spoken of as prayer-cylinders, prayer-drums, prayer-mills and prayer-barrels.
3. Prayer-beads, or rosaries or chaplets.

I have spoken of these three kinds of the Tibetan Prayer-machines, at some length, in my three papers before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.[1] It is

(1) Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol X., No. 2.

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the study of the question of the use of Prayer-beads or rozaries among different people, suggested by the Tibetan rosaries, that has led me to the study of the subject of this paper.

Rosary, a part of the ritualistic apparatus of many nations.

We know that rosaries form a part of the religious paraphernalia or ritualistic apparatus of many religious communities, such as the Hindus, Buddhists, Mahomedans and Christians.

Mr. G. Clarke Nuttall in his article, entitled "The Rosary and its History," says :

"It (rosary) is a link with the days behind History. Its origin is lost in the mists of the dawn of civilization in the far East, and though many now feel it is a hinderance rather than a help to their devotions, it has undoubtedly played a definite and real part in the chief great religions that have moulded the minds of men".[1] Mr. Nutttall refers to the use of rosaries among some religious communities, but says nothing of the Zoroastrians. But we know, that Zoroastrians, both of Persia and India, use it in some of their rituals.

The Origin of the use of rosaries.

The origin of the use of rosaries among various communities seems to be this:

1. Certain short prayers have to be recited for a number of times in the midst of long prayers. We Zoroastrians have to repeat certain small prayer-formulæ in the midst of larger prayers. For example, we have to recite 10 Ahunavars (*Yathâ Ahu Vairyô*s) and 10 Ashem Vohus in the midst of the Ormazd Yasht ; 21 Ahunavars and 12 Ashem Vohus at the end of the Patet; 200 Ahunavars and 100 Ashem Vohus in the recital of the Vendidâd. [2]

We do not know for certain, why one particular number is enjoined in one particular prayer, and another particular number in another particular prayer. We have the injunction to repeat certain prayers thrice. For this we can

1 "Great Thoughts". Issue of February 1911, p. 359.

2 These 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars are recited during the recital of the 22nd para of the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd. The subject, treated of in this part of the chapter, is that of the ceremonial purification of one who has become impure (*riman*) by coming into contact with an unclean thing *e.g.* a dead body. As one of the ways of purification, it is said, that the person may recite 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars. When the Vendidâd came to be recited as a part of the litugy, the officiating priest was directed to recite them.

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safely say, that that was on account of the importance of the prayer, the object being, that its teaching or precept may be more strongly impressed upon the mind. For example, the Vispa Humata prayer, one of the most beautiful and instructive prayers, teaching the adoption of the best of our moral precepts, is enjoined to be repeated thrice, so that its precepts, may be impressed very vividly on our minds.

But, in the case of the repetition of certain short prayers for a large number of times, we are not in a position to give any particular reason, except the reason, that among the ancients, as observed in the case of the writings of Pythagoras, who is spoken of as a desciple of Zoroaster, numbers were believed to possess certain efficacy, and that they symbolized some truth.[1] But this is a case of the recital or the repetition in the midst of some, larger prayers. These repetitions are not many.

2. Then there is the case of the larger number of repetitions in the case of separate recitals, not connected with, or not occuring in, the midst of long prayers.

(1) For example, take the following explanation, on the subject of the use of odd and even numbers, given by a learned Indian writer. The dualism referred to in this explanation is interesting to a Parsee, the dualism in the speculative philosophy of whose prophet, has been a subject of much discussion among scholars, both ancient and modern, and has been a theme of writing for a learned author like Mr. Samuel Laing, in his "A Modern Zoroastrian." The explanation is this : There is the dualism of Spirit and Matter in Nature. "The duality of Spirit-Matter is discernible every where. It is an eternal fact ..The above might be mathematically illustrated by taking the odd numbers to represent *Spirit* and the even numbers *Matter*. Call the number One, the original Spirit, and the number Two, the primeordial Matter. One and Two make Three, their son, and Three is the highest form of Spirit after the Absolute. The number, corresponding to this Spirit, is represented by the number Four. Three and Four make Seven, and Seven stands for another grade of Spirit. The number Eight is the Matter that pairs off with this Spirit. And so on. It will be observed, that the odd numbers. Three, Seven &c. are each made up of an odd number joined to an even number, thus illustrating the fact that both spirit and matter are sub-divisible into spirit and matter." Thus, according to the view of this writer, in every object, there is both Spirit and Matter. He says further : "Science may talk of energy and mass, but these are simply alternative terms for spirit and matter—the one active, the other passive ; the one energic the other formative. When it comes to actual scrutiny of Nature, we cannot discover anything which is pure energy or anything which is pure enertia. The two are always inseparably united." According to this view, Heat, Light and Electricity, though not ordinary physical matter, are some kind of matter, "so much subtler than physical matter as to stand in the relation of a spirit towards the latter." Then, from this point of view, "neither matter nor spirit are independent realities. It is their union that constitutes a real existence. For this we need another name and the word *life* will serve the purpose. The union of spirit and matter constitutes life ; or life can be defined as spirit-matter. . . . And back of life stands Mind or Consciousness. Mind is, as it were, embodied in life ; and life is embodied in a physical form. . . . Soul is said to be the vehicle of spirit, and matter the vehicle of soul" (Quoted by the Indian Daily News of 13th June 1913).

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For example, take the later injunctions to repeat 1200 Ahunavars during the Gâthâ Gâhambâr holidays and 12 Ashem Vohus in the preceding five days.

A shortening-process in the recital of prayers.

In the case of the later injunctions for these numerous repetetions, what we see, at the bottom of the injunctions, is, what can be termed "a shortening process," observed in the case of many religious observances. Let us take the above case of the recital of the Ahunavars and Ashemvohus in the above mentioned 10 days—days known among us as the Farvardegân or Muktâd holidays. It seems, that, at first, it was enjoined that a good pious Zoroastrian must recite the five Gâthâs of Zoroaster, during the five Gâthâ Gâhambâr holidays—the first Gâthâ Ahunavad on the first, the Ahunavad Gatha holiday; the second Gâthâ Ushtavad on the second, the Ushtavad Gâthâ holiday, and so on. These five Gâthâ days, which come at the very end of the year, are spoken of in our later books as the *meh* or the great Farvardegân days, and the preceding five days are spoken of as the *keh* or the lesser Farvardegân days. It was enjoined that during each of the *keh* or lesser five days, a good pious Zoroastrian was to recite the chapter of the Yaçna, known among us as the *Frâ-mraot hâ*, because it begins with the woods *Frâ-mraot*. It is the 20th chapter of the Yaçna which is a commentary on the Ashem Vohu prayer. It appears further, that latterly, when it was found that there were many who did not know these *Gâthâs* and the *Frâ-mraot hâ* by heart, or even did not know to read them from books, the injunction was made a little easy, and it was enjoined, that those who could not recite or read the Gâthâs and the Hâ, might, in their stead, recite 1200 Ahunavars and 12 Ashem Vohus respectively. This was, as it were, the first step in the evolution of the shortening process. It further appears, that latterly, not only those, who, in this connection, may be termed the illiterate, took advantage of this fecility afforded by the priests, but also some of the literates, who saw that in this substituted process a little of their labour of reading the long difficult Gâthâs was saved.

The list of the number of Ahunavars to be recited in lieu of long prayers.

This shortening process, the process of substituting short prayers or prayer-formulæ in place of longer prayers, seems to have proceeded, latterly, further in the case of short and easy prayers also. The recital of a certain number of Yathâ Ahu Vairyos and Ashem Vohus was also permitted in the place of the recital of the daily prayers like

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the Nyâishes. Here is a list of such prayers with their equivalents in the short formulæ as given by the later Persian Revayats.[1]

Names of the Prayers.	Number of times, the short prayers of were to be recited in their stead, when one did not know the long prayers by heart or did not know to read them.	
1. Khorshed Nyâish	103	Ahunavars
2. Meher Nyâish	103	,,
3. Mâh-bokhtâr Nyâish	65	,,
4. Atash-Nyâish[2]	65	,,
5 Ardviçura Nyâish	100	,,
6. Each of the five *gâhs* or prayers for the five periods of the day.	65	,,
7. Patet (The Prayer of Repentance)	121	,, and 12 Ashemvohus.
8. Ahura Mazda Yasht	103	,, and 10 Ashemvohus.
9. Ardibehesht Yasht.	65	,,
10. Sarosh Yasht Hâdokht	75	,,
11. Sarosh Yasht vadi (*i. e.* the larger Sarosh Yasht called here Sarosh Yasht-i-Yazashnê)	103	,,
12. Each of the Afringâns	121	Ahunavars and 12 Ashemvohus.

With the introduction of this shortening process, the rosary seems to have come into use. One cannot count accurately on his fingers the number of times he had to say these short prayers. So, the use of some counting apparatus or materials came in. Latterly, the shortering process went further, and people

1 I give these numbers from an extract of the Revâyat of Bahman Poonjyeh made in an old Persian manuscript, written in 1199 Yazdazardi, belonging to Ervad Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. It contains in the commencement the Jamaspi in Persian verse. The second part of this manuscript contains various matters. In the matter of the efficacy of these recitals, the writer says (p. 6 of the 2nd part of the manuscript which is not numbered. The second part follows after some blank pages).

اگر ایشا اہو ویریو خواند مرتبہ نیایش و یشت و ہر پنج گاہ و آفرینگان برسد درین باب ہیچ شک نیست

i. e. If one recites (these) Yathâ Ahu Vairyôs, the meritoriousness (of the recital) of the Nyâishes, and Yashts, and every one of the five Gâhs and Afringâns comes to him. There is no doubt about that.

2 The copyist of the manuscript has inadvertantly omitted the number for the Âtash Nyâish, but I have put in the number from another source. *Vide* the late Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga's Khordeh Avesta for a similar list, wherein, the numbers vary in some cases. Vide Tamâm Avesta (તમામ અવસ્તા) by Behdin Dadabhoy Cowasji (1240) Yazdazardi, Vol. I, p. 654.

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began to repeat only the first word, 'Yatha,' of the Ahunavar and to turn a bead of the rosary. Then people ceased even to utter the first word Yathâ, and the mere turning of the beads of the rosary came to be considered a religious or pious act. Thus, from the preliminary ordinary position of a counting-machine, the rosary came to occupy the position of a religions instrument or a praying-machine, and people now turn its beads in the midst of ordinary business.

It seems that the use of rosary itself as a counting-machine came in at a much later period among the Parsees. In the midst of the recital of the Yaçna, in the preliminary ritual known as the *paragnâ*, the priest has to recite the 101 names of God 10 times.[1] The priest, even now a days, does not use a rosary for the purpose. He has before him, on the *âlât-gâh* or the stone-platform where the ritualistic utensils are placed, a number of wires known as the Barsam[2] wires. The priest uses these wires for the purpose of counting. He recites the 101 names of God and then sets apart one of the Barsam wires. He sets apart 10 wires and completes his reckoning and prayers. Thus, the ten recitals of the 101 names are counted, not by any rosary, but by means of the metallic wires, which are used in the ritual for another ritualistic purpose.

In the recital of the Vendidâd in the Nirangdin ceremony, during one part of the recital, 200 Ahunavars and 100 Ashem Vohus are to be recited. It is for counting these short prayers that a rosary containing 100 beads, generally of *kerbâ* (كربا) *i.e.* amber, is used now a days. It is said, that at Naosari, a special rosary of this kind is kept by the Dastur who lends it to others for ceremonial occasions.

The use of rosary among the Zoroastrians of Persia.

As to the use of rosary among the Zoroastrians of Persia, I learn, on inquiring from my friend, Mr. Khodâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur of Persia, that it is used in Persia for the following prayers and ritualistic purposes.

1. The occasional recital of the short formula of the Yathâ Ahu Vairyo prayer, 1000 times, by old ladies.

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1 Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd edition, p. 397.

2 For Barsam, vide my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society for the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view," pp. 89-90.

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2. The recital of the Yathâ Ahu Vairyo prayer by the priest in the Vendidâd ceremony. This is also done, as said above, by the Zoroastrian priests of India.

3. On the occasion of the Tirangân Jashan *i. e.* the Jashan on the day Tir and Mâh Tir, when all the Zoroastrians, whether priests or laymen, generally recite the formula in honour of Tishtrya or Tir, which occurs in the Avesta.[1] The formula runs thus and is repeated thrice in the Nyâishes : *Tishtrîm Dravo-zhashmanem Yazamaidê i.e.* We praise the Tishtrya[2] with strong eyes. This formula is recited 1000 times early in the morning on the above Jashan day.

4. "Again on the occasion of the Chahârum ceremony, when the Dahmobed[3] is required to collect, so to say, 'Avestas' to be prayed in the interest of the dead from the people there, the rosary is used for keeping the account."[4]

The custom of "collecting the Avesta."

The custom of what is called "collecting the Avesta," referred to above requires some explanation and remarks, especially as it resembles a similar custom among the Indian Zoroastrians.

On the occasion of a death, the near relatives and friends of the deceased, deem it meritorious to get some prayers recited in honour of the dead. So, the family priest or the priest of the village goes round among the relatives and friends and asks them as to the number of prayers they would like to be recited in honour of the dead. He turns a number of beads of a rosary for the number of prayers ordered by each relative and thus counts up the total enjoined by all.

The corresponding Indian custom of the *lâkh*

This custom of the Iranian Zoroastrians is similar to a custom of the Indian Zoroastrians, with this difference, that what the Iranian Zoroastrians do on the Chehârum *i.e.* the fourth day, the Indian Zoroastrians do on the Oothamnâ day, which is the third day. The custom in India is known as the "*lâkh bhanâvvi*" (લાખ ભણાવવી) *i.e* to get a "lac recited", thereby meaning, that a hundred thousand of Ahunavars or Yathâ Ahu Vairyo

1 Khorshed Nyâish, 8; Meher Nyâish 8; Tir Yasht 12.

2 Star Sirius. In Persian, Tir (Tishtrya) has latterly, also come to signify the Sun.

3 Dahmobed (دہ مو بد) is the priest of the village (deh) who looks after the management of some of the ecclesiastical and social affairs of the community.

4 Mr. Khodayar's manuscript note, kindly given to me on my inquiry on the subject.

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prayers may be recited. Though the number ordinarily spoken of is one lac, in reality, it is one lac and five hundred. The custom is this : On the third day after death, at the end of the Oothamnâ[1] ceremony, the eldest son of the deceased, or in his absence, or as his substitute, any near relative presents himself with the family priest before the senior priest in the assembly of priests that meet for the ceremonies. He is then made to mention by that senior priest, the particular ceremonies he is to get performed for the deceased during the first year after death. Formerly, it was customary, that a list of the ceremonies was settled beforehand by the head of the family, in consultation with his family, and according to his or their means, or according to the wishes of the deceased as enjoined by him either orally or by his Will. For example, it may be so many Yaçnas, so many Vendidâds &c. The person then gets those recitals made He considers it his farz (فرض) or Duty to do so. The recital or declaration before the senior priest was therefore also known as "Farz âpvi *i.e.* Enjoiniug the Duty (to the heir)." Latterly, instead of settling beforehand, the particular ceremonies to be performed during the course of the year, a stereotyped form[2] is used, which the son or near relative has to repeat as dictated by the senior priest

It seems, that in India also, upto about 50 years ago, the family priest inquired of the relatives, if they desired any prayers to be recited on their behalf in honour of the deceased. They gave the number which they desired to be recited. On having the figures from all the relatives and friends the total number was announced before the assembly. The heir generally or some other member of the family undertook, as a matter of duty (farz), to get duly recited by a priest or priests the total number of prayers as desird by all the relatives joined together.

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1 *Vide* my Paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Parsis. Their Origin and Explanation," pp. 30-32. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay for the year 1891.

2 The stereotyped form, as now recited in Bombay, runs thus :—

એક લાખ પાંચસે, અહુનવર ત્રણ યજ્ઞને ત્રણ વંદીદાદ ૨૪ દરૂન (ફલાનાની) આશોદાદ આશોદાતાન ગેતીઆન મીનોઓન. હમાયસ્ત બેહાન શુમા આન ચે ફમાઇદ કદન આશોદાતાન ગેતીઆન મીનોઆન.

In Bombay, this recital is repeated twice. The undertaking during the first recital is in the name, or for the good of, the particular deceased in whose honour, the assembly has met. The second is for the good of the soul (whether living or dead) of the other partner (જોરૂં *i.e.* husband or wife as the case may be) of the deceased. At Naosari, the number of Ahunavars is one lac twenty-five hundred (એક લાખ પચીસસો અહુનવર) and the injunction for 3 Yaçnas and three Vendidads (ત્રણ યજ્ઞને ત્રણ વંદીદાદ) is omitted.

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Now these prayers that were enjoined were generally the Ahunavars or the Yatha Ahu Vairyo prayers. Their number generally varied. But, it seems that it generally amounted to one lac. So, latterly, whether the total, as desired or as subscribed by the relatives, amounted to a lac or not, a lac was taken to be the usual stereotyped number. Hence, the words *lâkh bhanâvvi i. e.* to get a lac (of Ahunavars) recited. Though the name of the custom signifies a lâkh (a lac), the wording of the formula of the *farz* speaks of one lac and five hundred Ahuuavars (એક લાખ પાંચશો અહુનવર). It seems, that, though the original intention is to get one lac Ahunavars recited, in case there may be a mistake in counting, 500 more are directed to be recited, to avoid the defect of any mistakes in counting.[1]

The family priest is entrusted with the task of the recital. He is given about Rs. 15 for the recital. He recites a certain number every day, according to to convenience or arrangement, and finishes the number before the end of the first year after death.

It is these different kinds of the recitals of the Ahunavars that seem to have brought the rosary into use among the Parsees. On the third night after death, a suit of clothes and some utensils are consecrated and given to the family priest as a payment in kind. In these articles of consecration, a rosary is also, generally consecrated and presented to the priest.

As said above, the original custom was to announce the actual number of prayers, whether they be Ahunavars or other prayers before the assembly, but, latterly, the number became a stereotyped number of a lac and five hundred. Then the announcement became, as it were, a part of the ritual. Often the announcement is not acted upon and the family does not get all the prayers recited. The spirit, even the misguided spirit is lost and the letter—letter pure and simple, nay not even the letter,—remains. This is a typical instance of how customs, bearing some sense and meaning in the original, lose all their signification within half a century or a century and continue as mere meangingless customs.

Sosh (Sraosha) *bhanâvvi.*

The above custom of *lâkh bhanâvvi* is also spoken of as Sosh bhanâvvi (સોશ ભણાવવી) *i.e.* to get the *sosh* recited.

(1) The Tibetan rosary, though required to count 100 repetitions of a sacred spell, contains 108 beads, "The extra beads are added to make up for any ommission of beads through absent-mindedness during the telling process or for actual loss of beads by breakage" (The Budsthism of Tibet or Lamaism, by Dr. Waddell p. 203).

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The word sosh (સોશ) is the corrupted form of Sraosha (સરોશ). As said above, at times, the relatives of the deceased, desired some other Avesta prayers,—in place of, or in addition to, the Ahunavars,—to be recited. These were generally the Yaçna prayers in honour of the Yazata or angel Sraosha, who, according to tha Avesta, guards and guides the souls, living or departed, of men. As the number of Ahunavars has been fixed or rather stereotyped into a lac and five hundred, that of the Yaçnas and the Vendidads has been stereotyped into three. In adition to these, the number of the Daroons (Avesta Draona) or the consecrated breads that are offered on various occasions during the first year after death has been fixed at 24.[1]

Gâe bhanâvvi.

This custom of the announcement of the prayers is also spoken of by some as *gâe bhanâvvi* (ગાય ભણાવવી) *i. e.* to get a recital or announcement made for a cow. It is said, that perhaps, formerly, the Parsees, following their Hindu fellow-countrymen, considered it meritorious to get, on special solemn occasions of joy or grief, a cow released from the hands of a butcher. The occasion of the Oothamnâ ceremony on the third day after death was considered by some to be a solemn occasion of that kind and a cow was set free from the hands of a butcher on such an occasion. Now a days, we only find a relic of that custom in the above phraseology, though no announcement is made to that effect before the assembly. A sum varying from one to five Rupees, is paid to the family priest now a days in lieu of the former custom and that payment is spoken of as *gâe bhanâman* (ગાય ભણામન)) *i.e.* "(The fee for)

1 There has been a difference of opinion, as to the explanation about the number 24. Some say that the number 24 refers to the number of consecrated breads. In one of my last visits to Naosari, in December 1913, I heard from an old priest, that the number referred to 24 occasions during the first year after death, on which the *Daroon baj* ceremony should be performed. They are the following :—

The 12 monthly days bearing the name of the *roz* on which death took place	... 12
The 4 occasions referred to in the Dibacheh-i-Afringân *viz. chehârum, dehum siroz* and *sâlroz* (*i.e.* the fourth, tenth thirtieth, and the anniversary day after death,)	... 4
The six Gâhambâr days	... 6
One Rapithavin day	... 1
One Farvardiân day *i. e.* the 19th day Farvardin of the Farvardin mah ...	... 1
Total	... 24

the announcement of a cow". Some speak of it as *Sosh Bhanâman* (સોશ ભણામન) *i.e.* the fee for the recital of the Sraosh, and some as lâkh Bhanâman (લાખ ભણામન) *i.e.* the fee for the recital of the lac of Ahunavars. This phraseology shows, how the three customs have been mixed up. But, perhaps this is a remnant of an old Central Asian custom. We find that among the modern Tibetans, whose ancestors seem to have belonged to Central Asia, there is a custom, wherein a cow, yak, or goat is presented to a Lama or priest on the day of the disposal of the dead body.[1]

The materials of beads in Zoroastrian rosaries.

The beads of rosaries among the Indian Zoroastrians are generally made of glass. Well-to-do people have those of amber (કેરબો) and even of silver.

The Persian Zoroastrians speak of their rosaries as Band i Yathâ Ahu vairyo. The rosary is so called because it is made up of a number of *band* (બન્દ) *i. e.* knots made out of a thread, and because it is generally used for the recital of the Yatha Ahu Vairyo prayers. It is prepared by the priests. Now a days they also use glass beads. At times the beads are made of vetch or pulse.

The use of vegetable products for beads.

The use of vetch or pulse as materials for beads, is in accordance with the general fact, that in almost all old communities, it was some vegetable product that supplied the materials of beads. For example, the very word "rosary" in English comes from rose. The Sanskrit word माला mâlâ for rosary also means a garden. Our Indian word હારડી *hârdi* for a rosary comes from હાર *hâr*, which also means a garland of flowers. The Tibetan word for rosary is also connected with garden. All these words lead to show that in early times compressed flowers or vegetable products formed the beads for rosaries.

It is not unusual to find a Parsi Mobad, now a days, recite the eight Yatha Ahu Vairyos at the end of the Fravashi prayer, holding up, at each recital, one of the eight flowers that he has before him in the ritual. The eight flowers before him serve him as a kind of rosary for counting the number of the eight Ahunavars.

One may ask the question, whether rosary was known to the ancient Iranians? If known, what is the Avestaic word for a rosary? We do not find any word for rosary in the Avesta. So it seems, that, though its use is old, it is not very old. It may have come into use at a comparatively later time.

1 "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet," by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., p. 252.

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From our Avesta word 𐬨𐬀𐬭 mar (Sanskrit स्मर. Pahlavi 𐭬𐭥𐭫 Pers. شمردن Latin Me-mor) comes the Pahlavi word 𐭬𐭥𐭩 for beads. The modern Persian word سمر for rosary comes from the Pahlavi word. These words suggest that the repetition of certain prayers seems to be a very old practice. Among us, the Gujarati word ગણવું (to count) has come to mean "to recite a religious prayer." For example, the old *ustâds* (teachers) of the last generation used to say to their *chelâs* (disciples) "પાઠ ગણી જા" "count the task" *i.e.* "recite the prayers allotted as a task to be made by heart". In the same way, we find that the English word rosary (a string of beads) has come to mean in Roman Breviary, a repetition of 150 Ave Marias with one Paternoster at every 10th Ave Maria.

THE FORMULA FOR THE RECITAL OF THE LÂKH (લાખ)

I give below the formula for the recital of the *lâkh* or the *sosh* (srosh), referred to above, in the paper on the use of Rosary among the Parsis. I give the formula, as given in some old manuscripts which belong to Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwala. I give them with the preliminary instructions given in those manuscripts.

पाणे ३१०

(१) उठाणांमां अहुनवर गणीनि पढाइच ते रवेश लखीशि आंम । पढाई जे आटला लाख । आटला शेहेश । आटला दरुन । बेहेदीन तथा । एरवद फलानांनी आशोदाद ॥ आशोदातांन ॥ अशेआंन मेइनूआन । गेथीहा ॥. हवे जे गूजरेउ हुइ तेना बेटानि आगल राखी पढावीइच ते लखीशि ॥

𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌

The Colophon of this Ms. runs thus :—

શંવત ૧૮૪૧ ના વરખે અાસ્તાદ રોજે મેહેરમાશે ॥ શ્રી સુરત નગરે મુબેદ શાપુરજી મુબેદ બેહેરામજી મુબેદ ખુરશેદજી હોશંગજી જમાશજી ભાઇજી દસ્તુર ખુરશેદજી લકબે શંજાણા પરશતારે અાતશવહેરેરામના.

(૩) કોઈ મરિ તનાં ઉઠણાં માંહે.

મુઅાંનાં સગાંનિ । હેપત । હાતજોવી પઢાવિ ॥ (i. e. મરનારનાં સગાંને ઘરનો હેર્બદ યા મેબેદ હાથ જોડી પઢાવે)

The Colophon of this Ms. runs thus :

تمت تمام شد کار من نظام شد

روز امرداد ماه خوردداد سال اور یکهزار و بیست و نه یزد جردی نویسنده این کتاب هیربد زاده هیربد هرمزیار بن هیربد فرامرز بن هیربد قیامدین بن هیربد کرکا بن هیربد بهیار بن هیربد پدم لقب سنجانه پرستار ایرانشاه

بلسار نوشته شد

بحکم خدای تعالی

(૪) રોજ ખુર્દાદ શને પારશી ૧૧૨૨. એ. ઇસ્તમ એ. શેહેરીઅાર દસ્તુર મીનોચેહેર દસ્તુર બરજોર કામદીન બીન કુકા લકબે સંજાણાનાં પરશતારે અાતશ વરેહેરામ

ઉઠણામાં અહુનવર ગણીને પઢીઈચે તે રવેશે લખાશે અાંમ પઢીઈ જે અાટલા લાખ । અાટલા શેહેશે । અાટલા દરુન । બેહેદીના તથા । એરબદ ફલાનાંની અાશોદાદ ॥ અાશોદાતાંન ॥ અશોઅાન । મેણનૂઅાન । ગેથોહા ॥ હવે જે ગુજરેલ હોઇ તેના બેટાને અાગલ રાખી પઢાવીઇચ તે લખાશે ॥

I have given above the texts as given in the original Manuscript. We notice that (*a*) one part of the recitals is in the Balbodh Gujarati characters and (*b*) the other in the Avesta characters. From the directions it appears that, at first (*a*) the Gujrati portion was merely an announcement to be made by the family priest, to say, that so many lacs of Ahunavars and so many Srosh are collected, or decided upon, by the relatives to be recited in honour of the dead. (*b*) Then the son or a near relative of the deceased was made to recite the text written in the Avesta character. The signification of this recital is, that the son or the near relative says before the officiating priest that he will get the recital made, according to the calculated number that was announced by the family priest. But now, a days, both the portions are recited by the son or a relative.

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A PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE AMONG THE ANCIENT PERSIANS, AS DESCRIBED BY HERODOTUS. ITS ORIGIN IN PARSEE BOOKS.

A STUDY.

By

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D.

The Statement of Herodotus.

Speaking of the religion, manners and customs of the ancient Persians, Herodotus thus speaks on the subject of Justice :—" Not even the king is allowed to put any one to death for a single crime, nor any private Persian exercise extreme severity against any of his domestics for one fault, but if on examination, he should find that his misdeeds are more numerous and greater than his services, he may in that case give bent to his anger "[1]

Rawlinson thus translates the passage :—" The king shall not put any one to death for a single fault, and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty ; but in every case the services of the offender shall be set against his misdoings ; and if the latter be found to outweigh the former, the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment."[1]

I do not know, what the original word in the Greek of Herodotus is, but we may note the word *outweigh*, as given by Rawlinson. Even if Herodotus did not use a word giving us some idea of weighing, the sense meant to be conveyed is clear. What is meant is this: that in dispensing justice, the judge, not only looked to the merit or demerit of the particular question or case before him, but also looked to the antecedents of the party arraigned before him. The judge, as it were, weighed all the past deeds of the accused, or, if we speak in the present ordinary language, took his past conduct into consideration, while deciding the case and passing sentence. If the accused's past good deeds

1 Herodotus Bk. I, 137. Cary's Translation (1889).

2 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I., p. 278.

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outweighed his misdeeds, the judge took a lenient view of the case before him. If, on the other hand, his misdeeds outweighed his good deeds, he proceeded to take the ordinary view of the case and punished him. Private individuals also acted on this principle in their relations with their servants.

An illustration from Herodotus.

We find an illustration of this principle of Iranian justice from another part of the history of Herodotus. His seventh book, entitled Polymnia, treats of the subject of the war of the Persians under Xerxes against the Greeks. Xerxes invades Greece. His Persian fleet advances and places a *stele* or a stone pillar or column upon a rock, known as "The Ant"[1], as a souvenir of its victorious sail. While proceeding further, a part of the fleet under Sandôces, lagging behind, and mistaking a Greek fleet at some distance for their own Persian fleet, falls into the hands of the Greeks. In his account of this mishap, Herodotus thus speaks of the Persian admiral Sandôces: "He was of the number of the royal judges, and had been crucified by Darius some time before, on the charge of taking a bribe to determine a cause wrongly; but while he yet hung on the cross, Darius bethought him, that the good deeds of Sandôces towards the king's house were more numerous than his evil deeds; and so confessing that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, he ordered him to be taken down and set at large. Thus Sandôces escaped destruction at the hands of Darius, and was alive at this time."[2]

In this story, which illustrates the Irânian principle of justice, we see that a Persian king, remembering it even at the eleventh or twelfth hour, set at liberty a prisoner from over the gallows.

The Zoroastrian books that refer directly or indirectly to the principle of justice.

This principle of justice, as observed in public by the state, even by the King himself, and in private by individuals towards their domestics and slaves, has its parallel in the principle of religious justice or religious retribution, as given in Parsee books. There are several Avesta and Pahlavi writings, which refer to the belief of a man's being judged in the Heaven, on the third day after death. They are (a) The Vendidâd, (b) the Vishtâsp Yasht, (c) the Hâdokht Nask, (d) the Minokherad, (e) the Dâdistân-i Dini and (f) the

1 Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. IV, p. 155; Bk. VII, 183.

2 Ibid p. 165; Bk. VII, 194.

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Grand Bundehesh. All these works simply refer to this matter, but it is the (g) Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh that goes a little into the details and gives the principle of justice, on which, the principle referred to by Herodotus, seems to have been based.

(a) The Avesta books. The Vendidâd.

Firstly, we read in the Vendidâd (XIX, 27 *et seq*): Zoroaster asked: "O Holy Creator of the material world! What becomes of the works of charity which a man bestows for (the good of) his soul in the material world? Where do they go? Where do they spread? Where do they meet (*i.e.* where are they recompensed)?"

Ahura Mazda replied thereto: After the death of man, after the passing away of man, after the departure (of man), the Daêvas and the mal-informed Dravants do their work. When the dawn after the third night brightens and shines, and when the well-armed Mithra appears on the beautiful mountains, and when the Sun rises, (then) O Spitama Zarathushtra! a Daêva, named Vizarêsha, carries away, (well-) tied, the soul of the wicked devil-worshipping sinful man. (The soul, whether of) the unrighteous or the righteous goes towards the old-created path, the holy Chinvat bridge created by Mazda. There, the consciousness and the soul are asked to account for the conduct (observed) in the world, for the actions done in the corporeal world. There comes that beautiful, (well-) formed, strong, handsome, watchful, discriminitive, graceful, resourceful, artful (maiden). She saddens the sinful soul of the unrighteous in darkness. She carries the soul of the righteous to the other side of the Harabêrêzaiti (*i.e.* the Elbourz mountain), and guides him across the Chinvat bridge, the bridge of the spiritual Yazatas. (Then) Vohumanô rises from his golden seat. Vohumanô sayeth (thus): 'O righteous! How (well that) thou hast come hither to this imperishable world from (that) perishable world'! The souls of the righteous go delighted towards Ahura Mazda, towards the Amesha Spentas, towards the golden seat (of Vohumanô), to the Garo-nmâna (*i.e.* Paradise) which is the mansion of Ahura Mazda, the mansion of the Amesha Spentas, the mansion of other Holy ones."

We must note that according to the Vendidad, it is only one maiden, the handsome maiden, that appears before both—the righteous and the unrighteous souls. She pleases the one, and saddens the other.

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(b) The Hâdokht Nask.

We find a more amplified version of the picture of the Vendidâd in the Hâdokht nask.[1] There, it is said, that on the death of a righteous man, during the first night, his soul hovers over (lit. sits near) the head of the corpse, uttering these beautiful words "*Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi ushtâ kahmâichit. Vacê khshyâns Mazdâo dâyât Ahuro.*" *i.e.* "Happiness to him, from whom Happiness is to others. May Ahura Mazda, who rules according to His will, bestow blessings (upon him)". This condition of conscious satisfaction continues for three nights. During these three nights, the soul, in its spiritual state, feels as much happiness as all living men together feel in their corporeal life. During the third night, at dawn, the soul passes, as it were, through the midst of fragrant trees and is regaled by fragrant refreshing southern winds.

It then meets the picture of its own deeds done in the material world. The picture presents itself in the form of a very handsome well-formed, intelligent young maiden. The soul asks the maiden, who she was. The maidenly picture of his own deeds replies, that she was the result of his own actions, and that her beauty, goodness and greatness were all his own. The soul then proceeds further. The first step leads him to the Heaven of Good Thoughts, the second to that of Good Words, the third to that of Good Deeds and the fourth to the final Heaven of Light, the seat of God.

The third chapter of Hâdokht *nask*[2] then presents to us quite a reverse picture for an unrighteous soul. For three nights, the soul hovers over the head of the corpse, uttering the depressing words: "*Kâm nemoi* (*nemê*) *zâm Ahura Mazda, kuthrâ nemê ayeni*" *i.e.* "O Ahura Mazda! In which direction am I to turn? Where am I to go?" On the third night after death, at dawn, it passes from over a filthy place and meets with filthy stinking winds from the north. On proceeding further, the first step leads it to the Hell of evil thoughts, the second to that of evil words, the third to that of evil actions, and the fourth to the hell of unfathomable darkness.

(1) Chap II. *Vide* for the Pahlavi text, the Book of Ardâ Virâf by Drs. Hoshang, Haug, and West, p. 279. Translation, p. 309. Westergaard, Yasht Fragment XXII. 1 et seq. p. 296. Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter Vol. II pp. 651-55.

2 Chap. III. The Book of Ardâ Virâf by Drs. Hoshang, Haug and West. Pahlavi Text, p. 293. Translation, p. 315. Westergaard, Yasht Fragment XXII, 19 *et. seq.*, p. 298. Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. II pp. 655-58.

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We thus see, that the Hâdokht *nask* amplifies a little the account of the Vendidâd, as regards the progress or the fall respectively, of the righteous or the unrighteous soul. But it says nothing about the appearance of, and the judgment by, Mithra alluded to in the Vendidâd.

(c) The Vishtâsp Yasht.

We now come to the Vishtâsp Yasht.[1] In the Vendidâd, it is Zoroaster who asks a question about the destiny of the soul and it is Ahura Mazda who replies. In the Hadokht nask, also, it is the same thing. But the Vishtâsp Yasht (Chap. VIII) differs from the first two. In the Patet, we thus speak of our faith of the Zoroastrian religion : " Pa ân din daçtur est hom, in Ahura Mazda Zarthosht châsht, Zartosht oi Goshtâsp " *i. e.* " I believe the commandments of that religion, which Ahura Mazda taught to Zoroaster, and which Zoroaster taught to Gushtâsp." The Vishtasp Yasht is framed in the spirit of the latter part of the above passage of the Patet. It is the teaching of Zoroaster to king Gushtâsp. Hence it is, that it is called Vishtâsp Yasht. It is also spoken of as Vishtâsp *nask*. It seems to be a much mutilated and abridged form of the 10th *nask*, which is also known as Vishtâsp *sâst i. e.* "that, which was taught to Vishtâsp by Zoroaster". In all the 8 chapters of the Nask or the Yasht, the subject in hand is addressed, to Vishtâsp, as "(My) son (puthra) Kava Vishtâspa". But the 8th chapter, which treats of the subject of the destiny of the soul, is, in addition to Vishtâsp, addressed to Frashaostar as "(My) son Frashoshtra!"

In this Yasht, the soul is represented, as reposing during the first night on Good Words, and during the second night on Good Actions. On the third night it proceeds towards the Chinvat bridge. Here, the usual stage of good thoughts is dropped. But in the final passage to Garo-nmâna, we find the usual order. The description of this book about the destiny of the righteous soul is well nigh the same as that of the Hâdokht Nask. As to the destiny of the unrighteous soul, it only alludes to it in the last para and omits the detailed account found in the Hâdokht nask.

(d) The Pahlavi books. The Minokherad.

We now come to the Pahlavi books. We will first see, what the Minokherad[2] says. The second chapter of the book treats of the good of the body and the soul (*tan va ravân*). Therein, after

1 Westergaard, pp. 302 to 312; Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II pp. 663-83.

2 Chap II 110-196

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speaking of the transient state of life, it gives the following account about the destiny of the soul: For three days and nights the soul hovers near the body (or near the place of the body). On the dawn of the fourth day, it meets, on one hand, with help and support (awâkih) from three Yazatas or angels *viz.* Sarosh, Vâe-i-shapir (*i.e.* the good Vâe) and Vahrâm (Behrâm), and on the other, with the opposition (hamistârih) of demons like Ast-vidât, Vâe-i salitar, Farzisht, Nazisht, and Aeshm, and then proceeds to the Chinvad bridge. The souls of both, the righteous as well as the unrighteous, go to the bridge. There, they are judged impartially, not even a hair's breadth of partiality being tolerated, by Meher, Sarosh and Rashnu, the last one holding the balance to weigh their deeds. When a righteous soul passes, the bridge becomes as vide as a *farsang*. The rest of the description of the Minokherad is well-nigh the same as that of the Hâdokht nask. In the case of the unrighteous soul, the demon Vizaresh takes hold of it. It meets with opposition from the good Yazatas like Sarosh, and with bad treatment from demons like Vizaresh who beat it.

After this, we find in the Minokherad some further matter, which is wanting in the previous descriptions of the Avesta books, *viz.* that the unrighteous soul is accosted by the picture of its bad deeds in the form of an ugly wicked maiden. On being asked by the soul, who she was, she says: "I am not a maiden, but am thy deeds" (li lâ kanik barâ kunishneh-i lak). She then taunts the soul and reminds it of its past deeds. Finally, with four steps, the soul goes to the final hell. As said above, according to the Vendidad, the souls of both, the righteous and the unrighteous, were accosted by a handsome maiden, who saddened the souls of the unrighteous and gladdened those of the righteous. But here, we find that the righteous and the unrighteous are met by two different types of maidens.

(e) The Dadistan-i Dinik.

The next Pahlavi book that treats of the destiny of soul is the Dadistân-i Dinî.[1] Its version varies a little, though not in the main points. It says nothing of the soul hovering over the corpse or its last resting-place, but says, that it entertains some fears and doubts about its place (*gumân-i madam nefshman gas*)[2] It sees before itself its good deeds or misdeeds In the case of the righteous souls, during the first three

1 Chaps XX—XXV.

2 Chap XXIV, 2. Ervad Tehmuras's Text, Pursishn XXIII, 2, p. 49 l. 11.

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nights, the recollection of their good thoughts, good words and good deeds brings them joy, pleasure and commendment (*Shnâyashneh, râmashneh and farhâtashneh*)[1] respectively. On the contrary, to the wicked soul, there come pain, discomfort, and punishment (*bish, dush-âvârih and pâtafarâs*)[2] respectively. All the souls then pass over the bridge. We find in the Dâdistân following additional statements, which are not found in the preceding versions.

(*a*) The first statement is that about a class of souls betw een the righteous (*âhloban*) and the unrighteous (*darvand*). They are spoken of as the *Hamistagâni i.e.* the equal-stationery or the ever-stationary. The righteous go higher up (*lâlâ*) from over the bridge, the unrighteous fall down head-formost, and the *hamistagâni* to their own place, which seems to be ne ither high up nor lower down, but on some level place.

(*b*) We also find some additional matter about the bridge. It is said that the bridge is like a many-sided wooden beam (*dâr humânâk-i kabad pâhlui*). It has both broad and narrow sides, the broad being as broad as 27 reeds (*nâi*) [3] and the narrow as the edge of a razor[4] (*ostareh tâi*). When a righteous soul passes over it, the broad side gives it a passage; but to the unrighteous, it is the narr ow side, edged like a razor, that gives a passage. The broad side gives an easy passage to the righteous, the narrow side throws down the unrighteous on pointed darts.

(*c*) On the departure of a righteous person from this world, the creation—water, earth, trees and animals—grieve for his departure.[5] This statement of of the Dâdistân reminds us of what we read in the Farvardin Yasht, *viz.* that the creation was pleased on the birth of a righteous person like Zoroaster. Ahura Mazda makes up for the loss by providing for, or sending, another righteous man to this world. So, the world continues to have a fresh supply of good men in place of those who have departed.[6]

(*d*) In the Avesta books, above referred to, the picture of one's deeds which presents itself before the soul in the form of a maiden is spoken of as *Daêna i.e.* conscience. In the Mino-Kherad it is spoken of as *Kunashnê i.e.* (the aggregate of his) actions. In the Dadistân, it is spoken of as "the treasure-bearer or treasurer of one's meritoriousness (*ganjobar-i kerfê*).[7]

1 Chap. XX, 2, Pursishn XIX. 2, Ervad Tehmuras's Text, p, 43
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. Chap. XXI, 3. Pursishn XX 3. p. 44.
4 Cf. The "razor-bridge" of the Mohomedans.
5 Ibid Chap XXII
6 Ibid Chap XXII
7 Ibid Chap. XXIV 5, Pursishn XXIII 5; Text p. 50.

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(*e*) There is one more additional new idea in the Dâdistân.[1] It is that of the soul seeing both, its good and evil deeds before it. The good soul sees before it, its meritorious as well as sinful works (*nefshman kêrfê va vanâs negiret*).[2] The righteous soul, in the midst of its pleasure for the consciousness of having acted well in this world, meets on the third night some punishment for any wrong deeds that it may have done. It says: "If there be some sin also with righteousness, which (sin) continues in its origin, for the first time, on the same third night, punishment by way of retribution for the evil deeds reaches him (*Âat levatmanach ahlubih vanâs aêt zakash pavan bun istêt fardum pavan tojashneh dushvarshta pâtafarâsh ham sedigar leliyâ yâmtunet*).[3] In the same way, the unrighteous soul, while it sees before it, its evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, and the punishment attached to them, sees also on the first, second and third nights, the spirit (*minôê*) of its good thoughts, good words, and good actions respectively, and derives pleasure therefrom.[4]

Thus, we see in the Dadistân, for the first time, the idea of one's good and bad actions presenting themselves before the soul after death.

(f) The Grand Bundehesh.

When we come to the Grand Bundehesh, we find, there are some new matters in it. The Chapter of the Grand Bundehesh, I refer to, has been translated by me fully, and I would refer my readers to the full text and translation given by me.[5]

(*a*) The most important new matter that one finds in the Grand Bundehesh, is this: While in all the other Avesta and Pâhlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before the soul, after death, in the form of a damsel,[6] in this new chapter, in addition to their being so re-

1 Ibid Chap XXIV 2 Pursishn XXIII 2. Text p, 250 l. 1.

3 Chap XXIV 4. Pursishn XXIII 4. Text p, 50, ll. 6-8.

4 Chap. XXV 4. Pursishn XXIV. Text p. 51, ll. 14-16.

5 "An untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh," a Paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 1st August 1901. Vide journal B. B. R. A. Society. Vol XXI, pp. 49-65. Vide my "Asiatic Papers" pp. 217-234. Vide my Introduction to that Paper, for my views about the Date and the Author of the Bundehesh.

6 Dr. Haug thought that this allegory may have "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the Celestial Huris." Dr. Cheyne says: "At any rate this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels who meet the souls of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." The Origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

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presented, they are represented (1) in the form of a cow (*torâ-karp*) and (2) in the form of a garden (*bostân-karp*).[1]

(*b*) Again, we learn, that the mountain of Chekâtî or Chekat-i-Daîtî, which is in the middle of world, is the place of the balance of Justice.

(*c*) We further learn from this book for the first time that the balance is held by the angel Rashna.

(*d*) Spiritual Yazatas and spiritual dogs guard the bridge which rests on this mountain, the northern and the southern ends of the bridge being on two summits of the Elbourz. The sword-like edge of the bridge rests on the Chekat Daîtî.

(*e*) The chapter alludes to the Parsee custom of keeping the fire burning before the corpse, and says, that it helps, as it were, in frightening the Daêva Vizaresra, who turns his back from the fire. In case, there is, for one reason or another, no fire there, the fire of the Âtash Beheram will take care of the soul. This seems to account for the custom, still prevalent to some extent, of sending some sandle wood to the Âtash Beherâm or to the adjoining Âtash Âdarân when death takes place. Fire assists the virtuous soul again, when it crosses the bridge. It illuminates his path. During the first three days and nights the pain to the soul is as that "to a man when his house is being dug up." The soul sits before its dead body hoping[2] "that the blood may be heated and the wind may enter the body" (again), and that it may be able to enter the body again. The picture of the pious deeds of a virtuous person appear before him, in addition to that in the figure of a damsel, in the form of "a fat and milky cow" and "a garden full of fruits, full of fertility from which blessful and fertile thoughts come to him." When the soul is sinful, the cow is "without milk, weak and frightful" and the garden "waterless, treeless, dreary." The good wind (vâe-i-shapir) catches hold of the hand of the pious soul and carries it to its own destined place. The ugly damsel who presents herself before the wicked soul asks it to cross the sharp-edged path. The soul refuses to do so. It is asked thrice, and thrice it refuses. Then, in the end, there comes before the soul "a frightful untamed wild beast." The soul is frightened, and there being no help before

1 Vide my above paper in my Asiatic Papers" p. 220.

2 For these and other quotations, vide my above Paper of the Translation of a chapter of the Hundehesh.

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it, it advances on the sharp-edged path of the bridge, and, in so doing, falls in the abyss of hell. "Those whose sins and righteous acts are both equal" go to the Hamistagân which is "a place like the world (*jinaki chegun gêtî hûmânâk*)"

In the above description of the Grand Bundehesh, we find a number of newly interpolated ideas, foreign to the old ideas. It is such interpolations that have made the old and small Bundehesh "the Grand Bundehesh."[1]

(g) The Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh.

Lastly, we come to the Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh. Here, the picture, that presents itself before the soul, is spoken of, both as Din (Daêna) and Kunashnê[3] *i.e.* conscience and actions. Again, we find in addition to the Yazatas or angels referred to in the above books, the mention of the Yazata Âshtâd.[4] Rashna is spoken of as holding a golden balance, wherein he weighs the pious and the wicked.[5] The Hamistagân is spoken of as the place wherein are the souls of those, whose meritorious and sinful acts are equal.[6] Here we find—and this is the only Pahlavi book wherein we find—some more particulars about the weighing of the deeds in the balance. One, whose meritorious deeds exceeds his misdeeds by the weight of three Sroshocharanâm, goes to Heaven. One, whose misdeeds exceed his meritorious deeds by three Sraoshocharanâm, goes to Hell. One, whose meritorious and evil deeds are equal, goes to the Hamistagan.[7]

Thus, we have traced from the Avesta writings, *viz.* the Vendidad, the Hadokht Nask and the Vishtâsp Yasht and the Pahlavi writings *viz.* the Minokherd, the Dadsitân-i Dinik, the Grand Bundehesh and the Virâf-nâmeh, the principle of religious justice gradually developed.

The moral underlying the principle referred to by Herodotus.

Now, it is this principle, observed in the religious books of the ancient Persians, that seems to have suggested, both, in public and private justice, the principle referred to, and liked by, Herodotus. A man was not rewarded or punished after death for individual good or bad acts, but his whole life was judged. Similarly, in courts of law, a man's previous conduct in life was looked to. If he had committed a fault for the first time, an opportunity was given him to improve, and no severe

1 The Text of this Bundehesh as collated by late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria has been edited by his son, Mr. Behramgore, and published by the the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Punchayet. 2 Chaps IV, V, VI and XVII 3 Chap. 8V 18.
4 Chap V, 3. 5 Chap. V, 5. 6 Chap. VI, 7. 7 Ibid 9-11.

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notice of his first wrongful act was taken. The moral, underlying this principle, is this: A man is not infallible. He is liable to err. So, his character must not be judged by his individual actions, but by the sum total of his actions. That was the principle, which, according to Herodotus, was attended to, in public, by the king, that is by his courts of justice, and in private, by the people in their general dealings.

This principle, as an individual principle, is not, and cannot, ordinarily be acted upon by Courts of Law in administering justice. A man must be judged for the particular fault for which he is charged. But, a judge admits evidence on, and takes into consideration, the accused's past conduct. The past conduct of a man, as shown in any previous case before a Court of law, or as shown by witnesses in their evidence, leads the judge, to some extent, to form an opinion about his guilt, and if he is found guilty, to give a heavy or a mild sentence.

Tho idea of a Judge and his Balance in other nations.

The above mentioned Irânian idea of a judge and his balance is found among other nations also. For example, in his secondary character, "as lord of souls, conductor and guardian of the spirits of the dead, St. Michael is represented, especially in the sacred and legendary art of the Christians, as weighing the works of man in a balance. "Those whose good works exceeded their demerits, he presented before the throne of God ; but those, who were found wanting, he gave to be tortured in purgatory, until their souls from being " as crimson should become as white as snows." We read in Daniel (V 27). "Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting."[1]

Among the ancient Egyptians also, there was the idea of a presiding judge and his weighing balance. The Egyptian god Osiris corresponded in this matter to the Avestaic Mithra. He, like Mithra, weighed the actions of a person in a scale. Just as the Yazata Rashna helps Mithra in his work and is in direct charge of the balance, Anabis helped Orisis and was in charge of the balance.[2]

We find a similar thing among the Buddhists. Among them, "the Great Judgement is determined solely by the person's own deeds, and it is

1 Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art." 1. p. 96. Vide the " Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI No. 5, pp. 237-253, for my paper on "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians",. *Vide* my "Anthropoligical Papers," pp. 173-190, for this paper.

2 Vide Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XIX pp. 365-74. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers pp. 137-146.

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concretely pictured by the ordeal of scales, where the good deeds, as white pebbles, are weighed against the sins, as black counters, in balances, and the judge holds a mirror which reveals the soul in all its nakedness. 'Not in the heavens, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains will thou find a place when thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions.'"[1]

Herodotus's reference to the principle of justice throwing some side-light on the question of the Antiquity of the Avesta.

Now, this reference to a principle of Irânian justice in an old writer like Herodotus, who lived from 484 B. C. to 424 B. C., seems to me to be of some importance in the consideration of the question of the antiquity of the Avesta. The late Prof. James Darmester said, that the Avesta was post-Alexandrian and not pre-Alexandrian. Now, this principle of Irânian justice, based on the teachings of the Avesta on the subject of eschatology, is at least as old as the time of Herodotus. We see, though not its full development, yet its origin in the Vendidâd. When I say, that we do not see the full development in the Vendidâd, I do not affirm that we do not find it in a developed form in the time of the Vendidâd. It may have existed even then. In the Vendidâd account, we find the Amesha Spenta Vohumanô rising from his golden seat and asking the righteous soul, how it went from the perishable world to the imperishable. It is a question which we find also in the later books which refer to the above principle of justice. Now, it is of this Vohumanô, that Darmesteter says that his idea was taken by the Avesta in later times from the Logos of Philo-Judæus, who lived after Christ. The fact, that the principle of justice, connected with the name of this Ameshaspend, is referred to by Herodotus as existing in his time (5th Century B. C.), tends to show that the Avesta, at least the writing that refers to it, was very old.

1 "The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism" by L. A. Wedell (1895) p. 90. Vide also p. 113 for the weighing of the sins "figured as black pebbles, and the good deeds as white, which are weighed eagainst each other in scales."

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THE USE OF SANG-RIZEH (سنگ ریزہ PEBBLES) IN A PARSEE RITUAL.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B A., Ph. D.

Introduction.

My study in connection with the customs and manners of the Tibetans, as observed at Darjeeling during my stay there in May-June of 1913, has led me to many thoughts throwing some side light on some Parsee customs and has suggested to me the subjects of several papers. The subject of this paper is one of this kind.

In my papers on "Tibetan Rosaries" [1] and on "The Use of Rosaries among Zoroastrians" [2] I have spoken at some length on the origin of the use of rosaries. I have said, that the necessity of counting the number of small prayers, enjoined to be religiously repeated, has led to the use of rosaries for the purpose of counting.

The use of Pebbles among the Ancients.

It seems that rosaries came into use a little later. Pebbles were used before rosaries came into use. One of the primitive ways of counting was that by pebbles. According to Mr. Hughes, "in the early days of Islam the Mahomedans counted God's praises on small pebbles."[3] It is also related that "Paul of Pherma, an Egyptian ascetic of the fourth century, being ordered to recite 300 prayers, collected as many pebbles which he kept in his bosom, and threw out one by one at every prayer, which shows that the rosary was probably not in use at that period." [4]

It was this statement, that first suggested to me the thought, that the use of pebbles in the ritual of the Vendidâd, as recited during the Nirangdin *i. e.* the ceremony for consecrating the *nirang (gaomez* or cow's urine), was at first intended for counting the recitals of the Ahunavars or Yathâ Ahu Vairyôs and the Ashem Vohus. Subsequent study has led to confirm my above view.

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 39-56.

2 The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshte Madrassa Jubilee Volume. Vide above.

3 "The Dictionary of Islam," by Hughes, p. 546. Vide the word 'Rosary.'

4 Ibid.

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The Ahunavar or the Yatha Ahu Vairyô prayer is one of the most efficacious prayers referred to in the Avesta. The Sarosh Hâdokht also speaks at some length about the efficacy of the Ahunavars. It says at first in brief, that "the Ahunavar is the most efficacious of all prayers (Ahuno vairyo vachâm verethrazãstemo).[1] According to the Yaçna[2], the Ahunavar prayer was created by God, as the Word, even before the creation.

The efficacy of Ahunavar prayer.

According to the Vendidâd, Zoroaster recited it on all occasions of difficulty. When Angra-mainyu or Ahriman asked his Druj to attack Zoroaster, and when he himself tried to allure Zoroaster away from his Mazdayasnian religion, Zoroaster withstood the attack and the temptation by reciting an Ahunavar.[3] Zoroaster asked Ahura Mazda, as to the best way of withstanding Âhriman and his Daêvas, his evil powers and influences. He was told, that the best way was to act according to the best teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion, to depend upon the Higher Intelligences, to look to grand Nature, to praise it and to act according to it, and to recite the Ahunavars.[4] A man, who is contaminated or infected by coming into contact with a dead body, can be cured of his physical impurity by a kind of ceremonial bath. With the physical infection, there also seems to be associated an idea of a kind of mental and moral infection. This kind of infection, whether physical, mental or moral, can, it is enjoined, be cured by the recital of 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars.[5]

Latterly, when the Vendidâd came to be recited as a part of the liturgical service, the Zoti or the officiating priest, instead of only reciting the above injunction, recited in full 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars or Yatha-Ahu Vairyos.

At present, in the ordinary course of the recital of the Vendidad, the officiating priest generally repeats the recital of the 100 Ashem Vohus and the 200 Ahunavars by counting them on a rosary. But during the recital of the Vendidad on the occasion of the Nirangdin ceremony, in addition to the use of a rosary, at the end of the recital while reciting the last nine Ahunavars, he throws 9 pebbles called *sang-rizeh* (سنگ ریزہ) in the two vessels before him which contain the consecrated

1 Sarosh Hadokht, Yt. XI, 3.
2 Hâ XIX.
3 Vendidad XIX, 1-10.
4 Ibid XIX 11-22.
5 Ibid 20-22.

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gaomez or cow's urine and *âv* or water. This process of throwing the pebbles is considered to be a ceremonial act for further purifying or consecrating the *gaomez* and the water. I think, that this custom of using the pebbles during the recital of the last nine Ahunavars is a relic of an old primitive custom, wherein 300 pebbles were used for the purpose of counting 100 Asem Vohu and 200 Ahunavar prayers. We saw above, that pebbles were so used among the ancient Mahomedans and Christians.

I am supported in this view, by what we learn from Anquetil Du Perron who, was in India from 1755 to 1761. According to him, there was a similar custom among the Parsees of Surat about 150 years ago. While studying the question of the funeral ceremonies of the Parsees at Surat, as described by Anquetil, I have come across the following passage in the discription of the ceremony of the consecration of a Tower of Silence :

"Au dix-neuviéme Fargard du Vendidâd, après les cent, *L'abondance et le Behescht* &c.,[1] et les deux cens, *C'est le desir d'Ormusd* &c.[2] le Djouti jette trois cens petites pierres au milieu du Dakhmè, et de tous les côtés. Il acheve ensuite le Vendidâd"[3]

Translation.—In the 19th Fargard of the Vendidad, after the 100 Ashem vohus and the 200 Yatha Ahu Vairyios, the Joti throws 300 small stones in the middle of the Dakhma and in all directions. He then finishes the Vendidâd."

Here, we find, that instead of throwing only 9 pebbles, as at present, during the recital of the last Ahunavars in the Vendidâd on the occasion of the Nirangdin ceremony, the Parsee priests of Surat threw the full number of 300 during the recital of the 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars in the Vendidâd on the occassion of the consecration of a Tower of silence. Anquetil Du Perron, does not say that, that was done for the purpose of counting; but when we remember, that counting by pebbles was an ancient custom among several religious communities, we feel sure that it was originally intended for that purpose. Again Anquetil does not say for what purpose the 300 pebbles were thrown. But, we know from the ordinary traditional belief, as expressed in the case of the throwing of the 9 pebbles in the Nirangdin ceremony, that

1. *i. e.* The Ashem Vohus. Anquetil speaks of the short prayers by giving his translations of the first words of the prayers.

2 *i. e.* The Yatha Ahu Vairyos.

3. Zend Avestâ, Tome II, p. 590.

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the idea was, that the *sangrizeh* or pebbles had a purifying effect. So, perhaps in the case of the consecration of the Tower also, that must have been believed to be the view. The fact that they were thrown in all directions helps that view.

The original purpose of throwing the pebbles was, as referred to in the above mentioned case of Paul of Pherma, that of counting, but that purpose was later on forgotten. The idea of purification or consecration was really and very properly applied, as enjoined in the Vendidâd, to the recital of the Ashem Vohus and Ahunavars, the oldest of the Zoroastrian prayers. But that idea of purification was, later on, transferred from the prayers to the pebbles.[1]

Again, in connection with the use of the pebbles, or "small stones" as Anquetil calls them, we must note, that the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd, wherein the 300 repetitions of the short prayers are enjoined and are actually made, speaks of a kind of stones with which Zoroaster went to oppose Akamana. There we read : " Zoroaster got up; Zoroaster advanced, not afraid of the difficulty of the hard questions of Akamana (the Evil spirit) with stones in his hand" (*usê-hishtat Zarathushtrô, frashushat Zarathushtrô asaretô Aka-manangha khruzdya thaêsho-parshtanâm asânô-zasta.*)[2]

The Pahlavi commentators of the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd have directly connected the stones in the hand of Zoroaster with Ahunavars. According to them, the stones may be figuratively taken for the Ahunavars. They say :

" Sag-i sagîn[3] : aitô mun minôe Yatha Ahu Vairyô imallunet[4] " *i.e.* there are some who say that the stone of stones is the spiritual Yatha Ahu Vairyo.

It is the study of the subject of Tibetan rosaries that has auggested to me the subject of this paper. So, it is worth-noting here, that, though we do not know of

1 The coincidence of the number three hundred, both in an old Christian ritual and an old Parsee ritual is worth-noting.

2 Vendidâd XIX, 4.

3 For " Sang-i Sangin." Some read this as sê-i sê-gun *i.e.* three times three, or nine, and connect the use of the ' Nao-gireh' the nine-knotted stick (ꬽꬾꬹꬻ) in the Bareshnum ceremony with this word. This interpretation leads me to say, that perhaps, these words were also read by some for " sag-i sagin" *i.e.* dog of dogs (the four-eyed dog, the *chathru-chashm* dog) and they suggested the use of a dog in the Bareshnum ceremony. In the 9th chapter of the Vendidad, which treats fully of the process of the Bareshnum, we find nothing about the use of a dog in the ceremony. So, it is possible that this reading (sag-i sagin in the 4th para) in the 19th chapter of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, which is, in one way, connected with the ceremonial bath of *rîman* for the *hamrit* and *patrit* (XIX 20), may have suggested the use of the dog in the ceremonial bath of the Bareshnum.

4 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlvi Vendidad p. 198, l. 8.

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any reference in books on Tibet, to the use of pebbles for the purpose of counting, we find that pebbles are referred to in connection with a religious subject like that of the last Judgment day. Col. Waddell, speaking of the Buddhist Hell and Judgment day says :

" The Buddhist hell (Naraka) is a true *inferno* situated in the bowels of the human earth like Hades, and presided over by the Indian Pluto, Yama, the king and judge of the dead, who however is himself finite and periodically tortured. Every day he is forced to swallow molten metal. So, as the shade of Achilles says, 'it is better to live on earth as the poorest peasant than to rule as a prince of the dead.'[1]

"The Great Judgment is determined solely by the person's own deeds, and it is concretely pictured by the ordeal of scales, where the good deeds, as white pebbles, are weighed against the sins, as black counters, in balances, and the judge holds a mirror which reveals the soul in all its nakedness."[1]

" Not in the heavens, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions. Through the six states of transmigration does the power of our actions lead us. A life in heaven awaits the good. The warders of hell drag the wicked before the king of hell, Yama, who says to them :—

" 'Did you not when on earth see the five divine messengers sent to warn you—the child, the old man, the sick, the criminal suffering punishment, and the dead corpse?' And the wicked man answers—'I did see them'.

" 'And didst thou not think within thyself.—"I also am subject to birth, old age and death. Let me be careful to do good works"?' And the wicked man answers : 'I did not, sire; I neglected in my folly to think of these things.'

"Then the king, Yama, pronounces his doom: 'These thy evil deeds are not the work of thy mother, father, relatives, friends, advisers. Thou alone hast done them all; thou alone must gather the fruit'. And the warders of hell drag him to the place of torment, rivet him to red-hot iron, plunge him in glowing seas of blood, torture him on burning coals, and he dies not till the last residue of his guilt has been expiated.

" Nor is hell a complete expiation of offences, for Buddha is credited with

1 Odyssey, XI, 481.

1. The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 90.

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saying 'A harsh word uttered in past times is not lost, but returns again, and the Jâtaka tales are full of incidents in illustration."

We see from this instructive long passage, that "white pebbles" symbolise, represent, or weigh, "good deeds" in the balance of the judgment-day. We must note, that the pebbles used in the Nirangdin ceremony also are white. The reference to the use of "white pebbles" in the scale of Justice outweighing sins as "black counter" suggests the idea of a kind of moral or spiritual purification. I have quoted Col. Waddell at full length, as his version of the Tibetan hell and judgment-day is very interesting from other points of view also. We find how emphatically it is said here, that one's future depends upon himself and himself alone, upon his own actions and deeds.

As to the *sang-rizeh* or pebbles used in the above ceremonies, they are purified or consecrated beforehand. This process of purifying the pebbles themselves before using them in the ritual, shows, that latterly, the purifying effect or efficacy was much thought of and the counting purpose was lost sight of.

The 9th chapter of the Pahlavi Vendidad refers to the custom of throwing pebbles in the consecrated water and urine, but it does not give the number as three hundred. But the Pahlavi epistles of Manushcheher point to the use of that number.

The Epistles, written in the 9th century, throw some light on the question. We know from these epistles, that Zadsparam, the head priest of Sirkan in the district of Kirman, had tried to introduce some innovations among the Zoroastrians of that place-innovations that were the result of his having come into some contact at Sarakhs with the Turkish tribe of Tughazghus (تغزغز the Tagazguz (طغزغز of Mucoudi), who followed the tenets of Mâni. Among these innovations, one aimed at some change in the purificatory ceremony of the Bareshnum. The people of Sirkân protested against these innovations and wrote to Manushcheher, who was the chief Dastur of the Zoroastrians in the province of Shiraz.

In his letter in reply to the people of Sirkân, Manushcheher refers to the subject of the use of pebbles in the Nirangdin ceremony, wherein the *gâomez* used in the Bareshnum purification was consecrated, It appears, that Zadsparam

1. "Sagchak dayan ramitnet" Spiegel's Pahlavi Vendidad p. 136, l. 4.

2. Epistles I chap. VII 16-18; chap. IX 6. Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar's text, Nâmakihâ i Manûshchihar p. 36 and p. 40.

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seemed to neglect the use of the 300 pebbles (sang 𐬯𐬀𐬑). Thereupon Manushcheher directs that the custom may be continued. Even at that time, some commentators, like Medyomâh, said that their use was not proper or necessary and others like Afarg said that it was proper. Manushcheher directs that the custom may be continued. While in the Pahlavi Vendidâd, the word for pebbles is *sag*, here, in the epistles, it is *sang*.

The second epistle also refers to the use of 300 pebbles. Therein Manushcheher speaks of having himself performed the ritual. He says:

(1) ماناشچهر پد مه اپاکیه اپاکیه ایتد پس ییدک. یس ایم سیصد سنگ ایدر مس کرد

i.e. I myself have consecrated the water and the cow's urine. I have as ordered (in religious books), thrown 300 pebbles in them.

I have found a further proof, which leads to confirm my view, that the present use of *Sangrizeh* or pebbles during the recital of the 19th Chapter of the Vendidâd in the Nirangdin ceremony is a relic of an old custom, wherein stones were used for the purpose of counting the recital of 200 Ahunavars or Yatha-Ahu-Vairyos and 100 Ashem Vohus. While studying this subject, I had requested my friend Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unvala, whose library of old manuscripts has often been of much use to me, to look for an old manuscript of the Vendidad that may contain an account of some ritual. He has kindly produced before me a manuscript of the Vendidad that contains at the end a few details in Pahlavi of the ritual of Nirangdin, As suggested by him, his manuscript is a copy of an older manuscript in the Mula Feroze Library. I will take that original manuscript as my authority. It bears on the cover the title of

وندیداد ساده با یزشنه و وسپرد و نیرنگ بخط ایران

i. e. The Vendidâd Sâdeh with Yazashneh and Visparad and ritual in Irânian handwriting."[2]

1, Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's text, p. 69, ll. 3-5.

2 The manuscript has two colophons, one at the end of the 8th *pargard* (folio 182, b) and the other at the end of the manuscript. In the first colophon the writer gives his name as

خوشرو پور سوخرای دیباوند مهاوند وهرام میتروپان

i. e. Khushrub (son of) the holy-souled Rustum Shatrôyar Mâhvandâd Vahrâm Mitroâpân. He adds that he wrote his manuscript from the copy of the book (daftar) of the heavenly holy-souled (Beheshtbehreh Anosherobân) Siâvakhsh Shatroyâr Artashir.

In the colophon at the end of the manuscript also the author gives his name as above, but carries forward his geneology further by the following additional names after Mitroâpân in the above list. Anousheroban

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The account of the ritual of the subject in question runs thus :—

Translation.—Midyomâh's version (gob-goîtan) is also this, that in the 19th *pargard* of Jevit Shaedâdâd (Vendidad), at the place, where (are recited) Yathahuveryô 200 times (ganêh) and Ashem Vohu 100 times, 300 stones (sag-sang) which are purified shall be thrown,—one stone for each Ashem Vohu and one for each Yatha Ahu Vairyo—in the *gaomiz* and water. Its division (bakhshashnêh) is not of much value.[1] But if they throw more (stones) in the *gaomez*, it is proper. According to the opinion of Afrag, it is not necessary to throw stones. According to the opinion of Mêdîomêh, it is necessary to throw. May it be according to the will of God.

Thus, we find from an old manuscript of the Vendidad, that at one time, instead of merely 9 pebbles, 300 pebbles were thrown, each at the recital of each Yatha Ahu Vairyo and each Ashem Vohu, which were thereby counted by the officiating priest. Thus we see, that, at one time, among Zoroastrians also, pebbles served the purpose latterly served by rosaries.

The manuscript of the Maneckji P. Unwala is a copy of the Mulla Feroze Library manuscript, and so it gives a similar account of the ritual. It has no colophon. So, we are not in a position to determine its date. But there is an old manuscript of the Yaçna written by the same hand. It also belongs to Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwala. It bears a colophon at the end both in Pahlavi and Persian. The writer therein gives his name as Khorshed bin Aêdal (Edal) bin Rustam Kamdin Burzo Adarbad[2] Kaikobad Mahiyar. He

Rustâm, Shatroyâr, Vâhrâm Jehândâr (?) Mitroâpân. In this colophon, at the end of the manuscript, the writer gives the date of writing, as day Âtar, month Âvân, nine hundred and eighty seven. (A D. 1618). It was written in Trukâbâd in Yazd (dayan Farakhun bâm-i Turkâbâd velayat Yazd Keshvar-i-Knaniras.).

1 *i. e.* It matters not, as to how many should be thrown in the vessel of the *gaomiz* and how many into that of *âv* water).

2 It is worth noting that the word Aderbâd is written here as (Atar-Yehvunât). In the latter part of the name, instead of the Pazend *bâd* we find the semetic equivalent Yehvunât. The next name Kaikobad also is written similarly.

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calls himself an inhabitant of the Bunder of Surat. The date is day Hormazd Mâh Daê Kadim, year 1159 Yazdazardi. In the Persian colophon, the writer adds one more name to his ascending geneology and that name is Faridun. He adds that the book was written in the Bandar of Mumbai (Bombay) and in an Atesh Behram (*dargâh-i pâk* Atash Varharâm).

This colophon gives us the name and the approximate date of the writer of the other manuscript of the Vendidad, which gives us the ritual of the Vendidâd about the use of the pebbles. With this help, we find that Mr. M. R. Unvala's manuscript was written in Bombay after the establishment of the Dadyseth Atash Behrâm.

The above account of the use of the pebbles in a Parsee ritual serves as an excellent example of the growth of thoughts, even spiritual thoughts. We now live in an age of a belief in a kind of Evolution. All things evolve. There is no spontaneous generation. There is physical evolution, as well as mental, moral and spiritual evolution. Physical things serve as symbols and create moral and spiritual thoughts. Thus, even spiritual ideas are evolved from lower physical planes. All spiritual ideas, connected with rituals in different communities, have such an origin. We are speaking of developing or cultivating our spiritual ideas. Ritual has some part or some hand in such development, and we find, that even ritual has its own evolution. At times, it begins with, the purpose of ordinary physical matter. The physical aspect is, later on, symbolized. The symbolization is the commencement of the growth of spiritual ideas.

To sum up, the different grades in the process of the evolution of spiritual thoughts in the matter of the use of pebbles can be thus stated :—

1. In old primitive times, pebbles were one of the easily-found and convenient means or instruments for the purpose of counting.
2. Beginning with secular matters, they began to be used in religious matters or ceremonies for the purpose of counting small prayers that were enjoined to be recited hundreds or thousands of times.
3. Their connection with religious matters or rituals, transferred to them some of the sanctity of the ritual itself or of the prayers themselves.
4. With the introduction of some better and more convenient instruments or means of counting, like the rosaries, they ceased to be used for the original purpose of counting. But the idea of sanctity or purity,

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borrowed by them or given to them at a later stage, continued to be associated with them.

5. Being thus considered as instruments or means of purification or consecration, they themselves began, in the first stage, to be purified or consecrated before being used for the purpose of purification or consecration. They thus received an additional element for elevating the thoughts of participants in the ritual.

In connection with these grades of evolution in thought, it seems, that beads of rosaries may have very likely taken their form from the form of the pebbles. The beads of all kinds of rosaries, whatever be their material—gold, silver, glass, amber, turquoise, &c.—are generally round. The pebbles which had come into use before rosaries, were generally, from their very nature, round, though not always exactly round. So, these round pebbles may have suggested the roundness of the beads of rosaries.

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A TIBETAN FORM OF SALUTATION SUGGESTING AN EXPLANATION OF A PARSEE RITUAL.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A, Ph. D.

The Ritual of holding up of flowers in the Afringân ceremony.

During the recitals of all Âfringâns,[1] the Parsee priests of India place 8 flowers before them in a tray which contains some fruits of the season and cups of milk, water and wine. After the recital of the particular Âfringân or *Kardeh*, in honour of a particular yazata, the priests recite a *kardeh*, which is common for all kinds Âfringâns.[2] This *kardeh* is a prayer for the ruling king. At the commencement of the recital of this *kardeh*, the Joti or the senior officiating priest, takes up two of the above 8 flowers before him and gives one to the Râspi or Âtravakhshi and himself holds the other. They hold the flowers in an upright direction, pointing, as it were, to heaven. When there are more than two priests—there may be hundreds—only the one who begins and officiates is called Joti. All others are Raspis. The others have a flower supplied to each of them beforehand. So, they hold up that flower at the commencement of the above *kardeh*, containing the prayer for the king.

The signification attached at present to the holding of the flowers.

Now, the question is:—What is the signification of this ritual? What does the holding of the flowers by the priests in their hands signify?" The words recited during the process of holding these flowers are "Ahurahê Mazdâo raêvatô kharênanghatô âfrînãmi khshathryân danghu-paiti." These words can be freely translated thus: "O. Resplendent and Glorious Ahura Mazda! I pray for my ruling soverign." Our books do not explain, why, at the recital of this prayer for the king, flowers are held up by the congregation. I myself, and I think others also, thought, that perhaps, by holding up one flower in the hand at the recital of these words, what was meant was: that, as Ahura Mazda or God

1 Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Edition, pp. 408-9. Zend-Avesta par Darmesteter Vol. II p. 723-25.

2 For the text of this *kardeh*, vide Westergaard's Avesta, Âfringân I, 14, p. 321. For the translation of the *kardeh*, vide my Extracts from Zoroastrian books, p. 8.

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was one, so the ruling king was one, and all our loyalty was due to him. But now, I find that this interpretation is not correct. My study of a Tibetan custom, suggested by my visit to Darjeeling, teaches me, what I think to be, a correct explanation. The object of this paper is to give that correct explanation.

A Tibetan mode of salutation.

The Tibetans have peculiar modes of salutation. I have dwelt elsewhere,[1] at some length, on this subject. But, to make this paper complete in itself, and to make it more intelligible, I will repeat here, in short what I have said there. Colonel Waddell thus speaks of the Tibetan salutations: "The different modes of salutation were curiously varied amongst the several nationalities. The Tibetan doffs his cap with his right hand and making a bow pushes forward his left ear and puts out his tongue, which seems to me to be an excellent example of the 'self-surrender of the person salutating to the individul he salutes,' which Herbert Spencer has shown to lie at the bottom of many of our modern practices of salutation. The pushing forward of the left ear evidently recalls the old Chinese practice of cutting off the left ears of prisoners of war and presenting them to the victorious chief. The Mongol, without removing his hat, bows low, placing both palms on the front of his thighs; though equals stretch out both hands, and seizing the other's squeeze and then shake them. The Bhotanese, who often go bareheaded, take the end of their plaid from their shoulders and spread it out as if offering a tray of presents, and at the same time bow low. The Nepalese and Mahomedans make a salaam, bowing and touching their forehead with the palm side of the lips of their fingers, thereby screening their face for the moment from the sacred view of the person they salute."[2]

M. Bonvalot speaking of a Tibetan's mode of salutation, says: He "lifts up his thumbs and protrudes an enormous tongue, while he bows profoundly."[3] He further says: "They express disagreement by joining the thumb-nails, and agreement by putting them just the opposite way. Putting the thumb up means approval and satisfaction; raising the little finger[4] denotes hostility, while to keep it in this position and at the same time to shake head signifies dislike. The two

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 3.

2 "Lhasa and its Mysteries," pp. 423-24.

3 "Across Tibet," being a translation of Bonvalot's "De Paris au Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu" by C. B. Pitman (1891), Vol. II, p. 2. Vide also p. 8.

4. cf. The practice among our children to hold out the last finger, saying *katti* (કટ્ટી), when they want to show hostility.

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thumbs placed perpendicularly one above the other, with the tongue hanging out, denote superlative approval."[1]

M. Le De Milloué thus speaks of their salutation : "Il salue en ôtant son chapeau, comme en Europe, et demeure tête nue devant toute personne qu'il respecte.....il complète son salut par deux gestes.....il tire la langue en l'arrondissant et se gratte l'oreille Quand il se présente devant un supéreur, il se prosterne neuf fois jusqu'à toucher de son front le parquet.....Un élément indespensable de la politesse tibétaine est le don d'une sorte d'écharpe de soie appelée *Khata* 'écharpe de félicité'."[2]

Mr. Rockhill[3] also speaks of "lolling out the tongue" as a kind of saluation. He then adds : "The lower classes here, when saluting superiors, are in the habit of bending the knee very low, putting the right hand beside the right cheek and the left hand under the elbow of the right arm, at the same time sticking out the tongue."[4] In another place he says : "Anyang, who is a brother of Bonbo order, saluted him in a peculiar fashion, the like of which I have not heretofore seen. He kotowed three times, and then both of them crouched in front of each other and made their heads touch."[5]

All the above statements of different travellers show that the following were the prominent modes of salutation.

1 To take off the cap.
2 To push forward the left ear.
3 To put out the tongue.
4 To make a bow.
5 To prostrate one's self.
6 To bend the knee.
7 To hold up the thumb.

They all point to the principle of "self-surrender" referred to by Herbert Spencer, as pointed out by Dr. Waddell. The person saluting, submitted his head, his ear, his tongue, his whole body, to the person whom he saluted, saying, as it were : "All these are at your disposal ; you may, if you like, cut them off or do

1 Bonvalot's Across Tibet, p. 79.
2 Bod Youl ou Tibet, p. 60.
3 Journey through Mongolia and Tibet by W.W. Rockhill (1894), p. 240.
4 Ibid, p. 241. 5 Ibid, p. 280.

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anything you like with them." We know that cutting off the ear, tongue, head &c. were formerly some of the modes of punishment in Central Asia. So, the saluter, as it were, said to the person whom you saluted : " You are my superior. I am your humble servant. You may do whatever you like with the various parts of my body." The most common mode is that of submitting the head. Most of the modern ways of saluting are connected with the head and signify a kind of head-surrender.

The signification of the thumb salute.

Now, what was the signification of the thumb-salute? One may perhaps say, that it also signified a kind of self-surrender. The person saluting submitted his thumb to be done away with. Or, perhaps, the thumb represented the hand, and the saluter offered his hand to be cut off. But, I think, the raising of the thumb was meant to point to the Heavens and was intended to say, that the person trusted upon God and placed his head, ear, and tongue at the disposal of the other person. It seems, that at first, the raising of the thumb, accompanied the other movements, *viz* those of the head, ear or tongue, but, latterly it formed of itself a separate form of salutation. With salutation, it carried the idea of approval and satisfaction. We learn from Tibetan travellers, that in the midst of conversation, when one wanted to express his approval or consent to, or agreement with, what you said, he raised his thumb. Thus, the raising of the thumb meant consent or approval.

We learn from Firdousi,[1] that there prevailed in ancient Irân also, the custom of raising a finger to express consent. In Firdousi's account of the reign of Kâus, we read, that, when Pirân, entrusted to some of the shepherds of Turân, infant Kaikhosru, to be brought up by them in solitude, away from the knowledge of the world, they consented. They raised their fingers and placed them over their eyes and head.

The custom in Persia

On talking over the subject with Mr. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur of Persia, I find, that there still prevails among the Zoroastrians of Persia, a custom of raising a finger to express a kind of approval. That custom is prevalent in connection with a ritual in the Âfringân ceremony. Since my conversation with Mr. Khodayar, his paper on some of the Zoroastrian

1 نهاد نه انگشت برچشم و سر Vullers Schahname, Vol. II p. 673 *l.* 2648, Mecan's Calcutta edition, p. 482 *l.* 3. Mohl's Paris edition, Vol. II, p. 420.

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ceremonies as observed in Persia, has come to my hands for publication in the Sir Jamshedji Madresa Jubilee Volume. Therein, while describing the Âfringân ceremony during the celebration of the Gâhambar, Mr. Khodayar says as follows:—

"On that day, at a certain hour, all those people of the adjoining districts, villages and towns, males and females, young and old, Zoroastrians and aliens, who can afford to come, resort to the place of the Gâhambâr. Mobeds are also invited to consecrate the abovementioned articles of food and to offer blessings upon the donor and the people of the house.

"Within a small space occupied by the *mobeds*, are placed all those dry and fresh fruits and other eata bles also. One of the *mobeds*, who acts as an officiating priest, has the dry fruits put before him. All the fresh fruits are cut into two halves. Another priest, acting as a Rathvî, stands in front of the solemnizer, and the Afringân-i Gâhambâr is initiated by the officiating priest and recited jointly by all the priests present. Here the service of another man called Dahmobed[1] is called in. When the officiating priest reaches the point 'Afrinâmi Khshathryân,' he takes up two of the five blades of the myrtle, which are always required for the ceremony on such occasions, giving one to the Râthvi and keeping the other in his own hand. At this juncture, the Dahmobed calls out, in a loud tone, 'Afrinâmi,' in answer to which the whole congregation raise up the first fingers of their right hands, individually, in token of their concord with the officiating priest in his praise of the King of the time, for the formula, 'Afrinâmi,' is in praise of the king and is intended to show the fidelity, loyalty and attachment of the ancient Zoroastrians to their kings.

"Again, the officiating priest, when coming up to the word 'Vispokhâthrem,' takes up other two blades of the remaining myrtle, giving, as before, one to the Râthvi and keeping the other for himself. At this juncture again, the Dahmobed vociferates 'Vispokhâthrem' and raises up his middle finger, in persuance of which all the lay people do the same, therey showing that they are unanimous with the officiating priest in his prayers. But the priests including the Râthvi join the solemnizer by holding one another's hands, or by other means, keeping pace all the while, with one another, in the recitation of

1 Dahmobed is a man appointed publicly to perform minor duties and services in connection with Gâhambâr, Marriage, Funeral and other public ceremonies.

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the formula, thereby meaning that they are supplementing the strength of the mind of the solemnizer by that of themselves, in producing the desired purpose. When nearing the end of the 'Afrinâmi' formula, the officiating priest effecting three rounds of the 'Nanah[1],' jointly with the Râthvi, over the dry fruits, concludes it by 'Ashem Vohu' which is again called out by the Dahmobed. The Dahmobed while uttering 'Ashem Vohu' raises his two up-lifted fingers to his mouth and then to his forehead. This operation is imitated by the lay audience."

The holding up of flowers signifies approval.

Now, through the medium of Firdousi's above statement about the ancient custom of holding up fingers for an expression of consent, and through the medium of Mr. Khodayar's above description of the modern custom as observed in the recital of the Afringân in Persia, we revert to the custom of holding up flowers among the Zoroastrians of India. We find, that instead of holding up their fingers to express their association with the officiating priest in the prayer for the king, the Zoroastrians of India hold up flowers. In Persia, only the two priests hold up flowers and the rest of the congregation hold up fingers, but in India, all hold up flowers. Thus, we see that the holding up of flowers in the ritual of the Afringân signifies consent, approval, or association in the prayer.

A funeral custom of touching the ground with fingers.

I suspect, that the following custom, observed by me, for the first time, during my last visit at Naosari, when attending the funeral procession of my esteemed preceptor and friend, the late Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia, has, perhaps, some connection with the custom of expressing satisfaction or approval by means of fingers. The custom is this: The mourners on leaving the compound of the Tower of Silence, touch the ground with their fingers which are covered by the skirt of their *jâmâ* and recite an Yathâ Ahu Vairyô. They then walk a few steps and repeat the process. They do so thrice. In the Tamâm Avesta, by the late Mr. Dadabhoy Cawasji[2], we read this custom thus enjoined:

"ધરની તરફ થોડીએક કદમ ચાલીને જમીન શુજારે જમને હાથે કપડાંનું પેવંદ ધરીને તે હાથ જમીન ઉપર મુકે, જમના પગનું ગુઠણ જમીન ઉપર મુકીને ધયથા અહુ વેધરીએા ૧ પઢીઆં પછી તરણ કદમ ચાલીને ફરી બીજી

1 "Nanah" is a small metallic decanter-shaped instrument mounted on four legs, and is always used in Jashan and Gahambar ceremonies by the officiating priest. It should be always filled up with water.

1 Vol. I (1240 Yazdazardi, 1871 A.D.), p. 660.

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વાર એમજ પેવંદ જમીન સુધી ધરીને ઇત્યથા અહુવેરીઓ ૧ પઢે. ફરી તરીજી વાર ભી એજ રવેશે ઇયથા એહુવેરીઓ ૧ પઢી રહેઆ પછી સરોશ બાજ અશહે સુધી પઢીને ઇત્યથા અહુવેરીઓ પઢતાં પઢતાં જે ગુજરેઓ ઓએ તેને ઘેર જએ તાંહાં બેસી સરોજ બાજ મુકીને પોતાને ઘર જએ અને સેતાબીથી ગેાસલ કરે."

From Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar's paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia," I learn that there is a somewhat similar custom in Persia. While speaking of the funeral procession, which starts from the Zadomarg, he says:

"After the priests have finished their recitation, the dead body is taken out of the Zado Marg[1] . . . . The procession proceeding to a certain place, stops. The escort, so to say, with the bier and a few priests, who are to follow the corpse to the Dakhmah, proceed on their way. All the remaining priests, finishing their *iristanâm*[2] formula which they have been reciting repeatedly, sit on their legs with the two fingers of their right hands resting on the ground. At this juncture they begin the 'Yasnemcha' formula, and coming up to 'Shraoshahe' they raise up their fingers from the ground and make a pass or a kind of manipulation of the hand for every word, from the right side to the left of their heads above the ear till the 'Sraoshahe' formula is at an end."

The Persian custom differs a little from the Naosari custom. The principal difference is this, that while in Persia, it is performed by those who part from the procession at the end of the street and who do not follow the bier, at Naosari, it is performed at the place of the Tower by those who have followed the bier.

I think in the case of this custom, the mourners express, by means of their fingers, a kind of resignation, or contentment with what has occurred, *viz* the death of a relative or a friend and say, as it were, to themselves, that they also have to be disposed of there one day.

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1 Zado Marg is a house in the street where the dead are taken for the performance of the Geh-Sarna ceremory before removal to the tower.

2 It is the short prayer in honour of all the dead. It runs thus:
"Idha iristanâm urvânô yazamaide yâo ashaonâm fravashayô." This formula is variously translated. The general sense is this: "We remember here the souls of the dead which are those of the Farohars of the holy."

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THE GEH SÂRNÂ RECITAL AS ENJOINED, AND AS RECITED ABOUT 150 YEARS AGO.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamsetji Modi B.A., Ph. D.

The *Geh-sârnâ* ceremony.

The funeral service, held near a corpse before its removal to the Tower, is known as the Geh-Sârnâ prayer. The words "Geh Sârnâ" come from the Avesta words, "Gathâ Srâvayant" *i.e.* "sing the Gathâs." The word *Geh* is Pahlavi *gâç* [illegible], Avesta Gatha. Sârna is the Gujraticised form of Pers. Saraidan (سرائیدن) to sing which comes from Avesta *sru* ([illegible]), which, in its causal form, means to 'chant.'

As enjoined by the Vendidad.

When we look to the Vendidad, as to what is enjoined therein to be recited on such an occasion, we find the following: In the 9th chapter of the Vendidad, a question from Zarathushtra to Ahura Mazda runs thus:

"O Holy Creator of the material world! How am I to drive away from here the Druj, who (emanating) from the dead, attacks the living? How am I to oppose here the Naçu, which, (emanating) from the dead, infects the living?"

Then Ahura Mazda replied: You recite from the Gatha those words which are *Bishâ-Mruta* (*i.e.* repeated twice); you recite from the Gatha those words which are *Thrishâ mruta* (*i.e.* repeated thrice); you recite from the Gatha those words which are *Chathrushâ mruta* (*i.e.* repeated four-times). O Spitama Zarathushtra! (on this recital,) the Naçush, will fly away (*i.e.* disappear) as fast as a well-drawn arrow, as a year-dry (blade of) straw, as the seasonal growth (of vegetation).[1]

The above question and answer are repeated in the 10th chapter[2], where we find some additional questions and answers. The questions are, as to what are the abovementioned *Bishâ mruta*, *thrishâ mruta* and *Chathrushâ mruta* words of the Gatha The answers give references to various passages in the

1 Chap. IX 45 et seq. 2 Chap. X 1-2.

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different chapters of the Yaçna. In addition to those passages to which references are given, some other passages are given verbatim, which all are to be recited as *bishâ mruta*, *thrishâ mruta*, and *chathrushâ mruta* words.

As practised at present.

According to the present custom, the above passages are not recited as enjoined by the Vendidad. But, in their stead, all the consecutive seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha (XXVIII-XXXIV) are recited. All the above references and quotations show, that the Vendidad itself does not enjoin the recital of the Ahunavaiti Gatha which it is the present custom to recite.

When, and how did the present custom of reciting the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha came in, is a question worth-inquiring

I will shortly describe the *geh-sârna* ceremony here. "Two priests perform the *kusti* and after reciting the prayers for the particular *Gâh*, go to the chamber where the dead body is placed, and, standing at the door or at some distance from the body and holding a *paiwand* between them, put on the *padân* over their face, take the *bâj* and recite the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ (Yaçna chaps. 28 to 34, both inclusive) which treats of Ahura Mazdâ, his Ameshaspentas or immortal archangels, the future life, resurrection and similar other subjects. When they recite nearly half of the *gâthâ* up to Ha XXXI, 4, they cease reciting for some time. Then the *sagdîd* is performed, the Nasasalars lift the body from the slabs of stone and place it over the iron bier. Then the two priests turn to the bier and commence to recite the remaining half of the Gatha. When the recital of the *gâthâ* is finished, a *sagdid* is preformed once more."[1]

The object of the Paper.

The subject of this paper also is suggested to me by the study of the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead. I want to show that the present custom of reciting all the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha at home, before the removal of the body, is a comparatively modern custom. The old custom was to make half the recital at home, and the other half on the way to the Tower of silence, during the funeral march.

Proofs for the older custom.

There are one or two facts, connected with the ceremony itself, which lead to prove this.

(*a*) Firstly, the fact, that after half the recital (Chap. XXXI, 4) the *sagdîd* is preformed, shows, that at first it was intended that

1 Vide my "Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees. Their origin and explanation", pp. 13-14.

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the ceremony at home should end there. The Sagdîd is performed at the end, or at the commencement of a period, not in the middle For example, it is performed at the end of one *gâh* and the commencement of the next *gâh*, but not during the middle of the gâh. So, the Sagdîd, at the recital of Chap. XXXI, 4 shows, that, at one time, that was taken to be the end of the ceremony at home.

(*b*) Secondly, the removal of the body from the stone slabs and placing it on the bier, at the end of the recital of Chap. XXXI, 4, meant that the home recital was finished and preparation was made for the removal.

The custom at Surat, about 150 years ago, according to Anquetil Du Perron.

I am supported in this view by what Anquetil Du Perron says of the custom which he had observed at Surat. It appears, that even 150 years ago, during the time of Anquetil's visit of Surat (1758-61), the practice was to recite only half the Ahunavaiti Gâtha at the house. The rest was recited during the funeral march. Anquetil, while speaking of the Funeral ceremonies as observed in Surat, says, that after the recital of the chapters 28, 29, 30 and 31, and after the usual Sagdîd after this recital as at present, the body on being placed on the bier was removed by the Nasasalars out of doors. I give below the whole of the passage of Anquetil.[1]

" Les Mŏbeds regardant donc le cercueil, récitent l'Iescht gâhan.....et récitent les 28, 29, 30, 31 *hâs* de l'Izeschné, qui sont les quatre premiers Cardés du Gâh Honoüet; et á ces paroles du quatriéme Cardé, *iéhiâ oûeretâ veînînâ drodjem*,...ils se taisent et se tournent vers les Nesasalars qui.....mettent le corps dans le cercueil, et le portent dehors. Alors le Mobed fait un signe, continue dans le même lieu le trente uniéme *hâ* de l'Izeschné, recite les 32, 33 et 34.....Après cela les Nesasalars portent le mort au Dakhmé, le cercueil convert d'un linceul.

Translation —The Mobeds then look at the coffin, recite the Yasht gâhân .. and recite the 28, 29, 30, 31 *Hâs* of the Yazashné, which form the first four Cardês of the Ahunavat Gâtha; and at the words of the fourth *karde*, *iéhiâ oûeretâ veîninâ drodjem*, they cease reciting and turn towards the Nesasalars, who.....place the

1 Zend Avesta. Tome II, pp, 582-84.

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corpse on the bier[1] and carry it out of doors. Then the Mobad makes a sign, continues in the same place the 31st Ha of the Yazashné, recites the 32, 33 and 34 *hâs*... Afterwards the Nesasalars carry the dead to the Dakhmê, the bier being covered with a shroud.

According to Anquetil, the practice at Kerman is clearly the same. He says :

" Au Kirman, à ces paroles (iéhiâ oûeretâ veînînâ drodjem) du quatriéme *Cardé*, on refait le Sagdid. Les Nesasalars mettent le mort dans le cercueil et le portent hors de la maison. Le mort étant dans le cercueil, la tête dècouverte, les Mobeds le regardent, achêvent le quatriéme *Cardé*, et récitent les trois autres en suivant le convoi"[2]

Translation.—At Kirman, at these words of the fourth Kardeh, they perform the Sagdid again. The Nesasalars place the dead body on the bier and carry it out of the house. The dead body being placed on the bier, the head (*i.e.* the face) uncovered, the Mobeds look at it, finish the fourth Kardeh and recite the three others on following the funeral procession.

This account of the custom at Kerman makes the point quite clear.

Lastly, we have the authority of the Ithoter Revâyet. This is a collection of the replies of seventy-eight (*ithoter*) questions of the Parsees of Surat to the Dasturs of Persia. Among the questioners, we find the names of Dastur Darab bin Dastur Sohrâb (the teacher of Anquetil Du Perron), Dastur Kâus Munajjam, Dastur Kaus bin Dastur Rustam Sanjana, Behedin Dhunjeeshaw Munchershaw and others. The 33rd question is, as to whether the recital of the Geh sârnâ is vitiated, if, after the priests have recited half of it, somebody passes between the officiating priests and the corpse. The answer from Persia is that it is not vitiated. At the end of their reply, they say, that they are to recite the second half on the way to the Towers. They say :

از جاي [illegible] خاموش بودن تا مرده‌را نساسالار بر گاهان بندد و بردارد
در آن وقت موبدان در دنبال مرده بردند ویشت گاهان بجا بخوانند [3]

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1 *i. e.* the *gehân*. 2 Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 584 note 1.

3 روایت فارسی پرشش و پاسخ هفتاد وهشت Manuscript copy of the Moola Feroze Library No. 351, folio 22.

Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala's, Ms. p. 71. This Ms. was written for Burzo bin Pallonji bin Behramji Desai, one of the Zemindars (زمینداران) of Naosari. Writer, Dastur Jamshedji bin Rustamji bin

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Translation.—From the place (*i.e.* the words) *Tat môi vîchtdyâi*, the priests have to remain silent. So that the Nasesalars may fasten the corpse on the *gehân* and lift it up. Then the Mobeds may follow the corpse and complete the Yasht gâhân.

The Gujarati translation of this passage as published runs thus :

" મોબેદો ગેહે સારે છે તે તદમોએ વીચેદીઆનાં પદ પઢીને ખામોશ રેહેછે. તેહવારે નશાશાલાર મુરદાને ગેહાન ઉપર બાંધીને તે નશાશાલાર ગેહાન ઉઠાવીને લેઇ ચાલે તેહની પાછવાડે મોબેદો અરધું ગેહ શારણું બાકી રહેલું છે તે રવાનની પછવાડે પઢતા ચાલે તે ગેહેશારણું તમામ કરે "[1]

The question of the Indian Zoroastrians suggests the reason, why they latterly resorted to the practice of reciting the whole of the prayer at the house. It was a doubt entertained by some, that, when on the way to the Tower of Silence, while the other half of the prayer was being recited, somebody —a man or a dog—may, by chance, pass between the corpse and the Mobeds who follow the corpse reciting the Gâthâ, and thus vitiate the ceremony. The doubt seems to have arisen from the fact, that the Vendidad enjoins that the priest must first (*paoirîm*) pass over the way by which a corpse is carried. The question and answer are these : " O Holy Creator of the material world ! How does the road, from which a dead man or a dead dog is carried, become passable for cattle etc". ? The reply is : " First the Âthravan (*i.e.* the priest) should pass by the road reciting the victorious words (of Yathâ Ahu Vairyô and Kemnâ Mazda.)" [2]

Though the Dasturs of Persia had solved the doubt, and said, that there was nothing wrong if some body passed between the corps and the priests, the solution seems to have had no effect and the practice of reciting the whole of the prayer at home seems to have crept in.

Up to a few years, the recital was only one, and that at home. There was no recital at all on the way to the Tower. But since a few years ago, the richer class got the whole of the *Gâtha* also recited on the way to the tower, and now

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Dastur Khurshedji bin Dastur Jamshedji bin Jamaspji. Written on roz Hormuz mah Sherivar 1215, Hindi Samvant 1903. The peculiarity of this Ms. is that every word has a red ink dot on it.

(૧) દીને બેહ. માજદીઅશનીનાં હરતાદો હસ્ત પોરશેશ પાશોખ ઇઆને ઇઠોતેર રેવાએત, શેઠ ફરામજ કાવસજ બનાજની ખાહેશથી છપનાર મી૰ કાવશજ ફરદુનજ મરજબાનજ. (૧૮૪૬ ઇશવી.) p 93.

Vide also Mr. Manockji R. Unvala's Ms., written in 1167 Yazedzardi, by Mobed Darab bin Framroz Munajjam, folios 150-51.

2. Vendidâd VIII, 14.

the practice has become well-nigh general. The whole of the Ahunavaiti Gatha is recited at home and the whole is recited again on the way to the Tower. At Naosari, and at other mofussil towns, there is no second recital on the way to the tower.

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A FEW PERSIAN COUPLETS COMPOSED IN HONOUR OF THE FIRST SIR JAMSETJEE.

BY

The late Ervad Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli.

I am indebted to Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unvalla for these unpublished couplets found by him among the papers of the late Ervad Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli. Mr. Kateli was one of the first pupils of the Institution in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. He was also a teacher of Persian. When Persian ceased to be taught in the Institution, he was appointed Professor of Persian in the Wilson College where he worked upto 1902, when he died. Mr. Kateli was one of the best products of the Madressa. He was the author of Doâ Nâm Setâyashne, which was a Prize Essay, winning a prize of Rs. 500.

I have found among Mr. Kateli's papers, a few pages of the Gujarati transliteration and translation of the Persian couplets. Many pages are missing. I find a few changes here and there in the Gujarati transliteration, of some of the couplets. I give them here and there as foot-notes to the Persian text. I give Mr. Kateli's Gujarati transliteration and translation at the end. The transliteration and translation are not complete as some of the pages are missing. It appears that even the order of the couplets is changed a good deal here and there. However I give these, as I find them. They will be of use to enable the reader to understand some of the couplets in the Persian text and to know some fresh views of the author on the subject of his verses.

The Editor.

بنام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان

به پروردگار یکه او آفرید — بهومت نخست او خرد را کلید
بهوخت او بیاراست هردو سرا — سزاوار بر بنده سجده ورا
خدا آفریده بهو ورشت این — اگر نه زمان و دوار زمین
پیمبر زرا تشت اسفنتمان — انوشه روانرا نمود او روان
ورا داد آنهر سه فرمانها — بود اصل و هم عمده فرمانها
بعالم ره راستی را نمود — بخلقان ره حق پرستی کشود
زما باد بر روح آن نیک نام — انوشه روان و درود و سلام
رقم کرد باید مدح بعد ازان — کسی کو ستوده بود از جهان
چو خواهد خدا رحم کردن بمهر — بملک و بفرق و باقلیم و شهر
ز قدرت یکی شخص آرد پدید — بدستش بداده خرد را کلید
ازان نامور شخص عالم تمام — ترقی و آبادی یابد مدام
چو هرمز بجمشید شاهی بداد — اساس عدل او بعالم نهاد

از او سلطنت را قوانین شده — هنرها و حشمت زاو آئین شده
بکیهان در او شاهي تخت و تاج — نمودار ازو جنگ کشت و خراج
ازان نامور شاه در روزکار — بما سلطنت بد چنین پایدار
بعهد شه یزد جرد آنجلال — بگیتی پزیرفت بر ما زوال
زوالي نهایت پزیرفته بود — که بخت زراتشتیان خفته بود
باین حادث دین داران که بود — به پیش خدا عذر خواهی نمود
ازان باز کرده خدای جهان — بسا لطف بر ما زد یسنیان
بما آن ترقي نموده جدید — چه جمشید ثاني خدا آفرید
چو آن نامور آمد اندر جهان — بشد اهل زرتشتي ازوی عیان
به یورپ به یشیا امیرک هم — شد از دست آن نامور ذی همم
زوالي که بر ما پزیرفته بود — ز دستش زوالش پزیرفته بود
بکوشید بزرتشتي از حد زیاد — فنون نکوئي بگیتي نهاد
ازو از سر نو ما اندر جهان — شدیم خرم و تازه چون بوستان
چو ابر کرم دست بخشش کشاد — بر اهل جهان داد بخشش بداد
به بیچارکان آنقدر کرد جود — ز زر کشت آسوده هرکس که بود
سخاوت چنان کرد اندر جهان — که اشهر بشد حاتم این زمان
* همه کار خوبی بعالم تمام — نموده فنون نیکوئي بعام
* فنون نکوئي از او شد پدید — زان نامور آمد[1] اول کلید
* تخیّل بوهم کسی این نبود — بنای فنون نیکو آن نمود
* زهی مرد راد چنین نامدار — که مانده کزو قانونی بر قرار
[2] مبالغ بر آورد از بهر آن — که آسوده مانند زرتشتیان
[2] مقرر نمود آنچه آن نامدار — بزرتشتیان میرسد آشکار
[3] بهر جا که هستند زرتشتیان — در آنجا چها کرد خوبی عیان
بهر شهر و هر قصبه و هر دهی — بشد مدرسه زان خجسته مهی
اوستا و هندي و انگلیش همه — بر آورد او جا بجا مدرسه
سرائے مسافر شفا خانه هم — بسا جا بپا کرد عالی همم
[4] بسورت چو بکرفت آتش تمام — در آنوقت بخشید زر بر انام

* Guj. text gives these after couplet 50.
1. Guj. text અવલ આમદ اول آمد
2. Guj. text gives these lines after couplet 53.
3. Guj. text gives this after couplet 40
4. Guj. text gives this after couplet 34.

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[1] بغمدید کان تقویت زو شده — که آسوده هر کس ز جودش شده
بسا کرد مانند این کارها — که باشد نوشتنش دشوارها
هزار و دو صد سال شد تا کنون — نیامد چنین رسم از کس برون
نکرده چنین رسم و آئین کسے — اگرچه بدند از بزرگان بسے
بود تا که انکلیش لوا پایدار — بماند همین رسم او برقرار
مفرح دل ما زد یسنیان — بران باز آمد مسرت زمان
که آمد ورا بارونیت این خطاب — ز ویکتوریه شاه گردون جناب
امیری خطاب از چنین بارگاه — که در عدل و دانش فرازد کلاه
زبد و ریاستش تا این زمان — نیامد کسے را بهندوستان
[3] بباید فخر کرد زرتشتیان — باین خانمان و باین خاندان
[4] نتانم کنم وصف همچون کسے — بود کم اگرچه بگویم بسے
[5] اگرچه نماند او بدنیا بسے — ولے زنده نامش بر هر کسے
[5] چه ادنی چه اعلی خلایق تمام — کند نام روشن بهر صبح و شام
[5] بماند بسان کیان نام او — که بنهاد بنیاد نام نکو
ز الطاف خود کردگار مجید — به بخشید ویرا سه پور سعید
ز لطف خدا هرسه نامی شدند — بجود و خرد بس گرامی شدند
یکے پور او هست خورشید نام — چو خورشید مشهور عالم تمام
بود پور دومش رستم بنام — چو والد بشد نامی اندر انام
سیم پور سهراب شد نامدار — بعلم و سخا اشهر روزگار
ز قدرت بکیهان درو هرچه هست — میانیش عمده ز هر شی که هست
از آنست خورشید بچهارم سپهر — از این است میان دل راد مهر
از انست هواوخت هم درمیان — که خلد برین را مدار است آن
جوانی میان زندگانی ازان — جگر هم میانست و دل هم ازان
خدا هم عطا کرد بان کامگار — میان سه پور رستم نامدار
سخاوت تجارت بسان پدر — که برتر ازان این همایون سیر
بود نامور او بسوداگران — بود افتخار همه تاجران

1. Guj. text gives this after couplet 34.
2. Guj. text બે به
3. Guj. text નોમાઇદ ફખર અએ نماید فخرای
4. Guj. text કોનમ મન ન ચું چو نه کنم من
5. Guj. text gives these after couplet 32.

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همه خوی و کردار همچون پدر — به بخشیر در ذات او داد کر
بهر دم زبانش بیاد خدا — بخلق انگساری بحکم خدا
مدامش بدل طاعت کرد کار — بتقوی کند یاد پرورد کار
به نیکو منشی و هم راستی — او یکتا و اظهر دور از کاستی
چراو را امین و خرد مند دید — کورمنک از آنش بکونسل کزید
به لیجس لیٹو کونسل بکار — کورمنک ممبر نمود اختیار
شد از لطف یزدان عز و جل — پدر بارونیت و پسر آنربل
چه کویم من از وصف آن نامدار — بجود و سخا همچو ابر بهار
سخاوت کند موقع و هم بجا — بمستحقان میرسد جا بجا
بهند و بایران و یورپ تمام — ز ابر سخایش رسد بهره عام
بجود و سخا نام آن نامدار — بکیتی شده همچو خور آشکار
بریٹن کریٹ ار شبستان عام — فریدم خطابی ورا کرد عام
هم از شاه پور ٹوکل عالیجناب — ٹوڑی یسپیڈ انیٹ آمد خطاب
چه کویم دکر زاندر بی نظیر — پدر بود میر و پسر هم امیر
در جود بکشاد آن بهر آن — که نام پدر زنده ماند بدان
مقدم بود کار دین بر همه — وزان پس بود هرچه مرغوب همه
ازان پهلویرا بنا بر نهاد — در پهلوی بر همه در کشاد
[1] نژادش چه بد پهلوانی ازان — بشد پهلوی مدرسه زو عیان
یکی مدرسه پهلوی را بنا — به ینبی نمود آن همایون لقا
[2] مبالغ بر آورد آن نیک نام — که از سود آن خرج ماند مدام
کسی بهر تحصیل آید اکر — رسد بهرخرچش ازان سیم وزر
که تا بهره کیرند از آن درجهان — چه هیربد چه دستور زرتشتیان
زبدوی جوانیش تا این زمان — بسا کرد کار نیکو در جهان
همه کار او را نوشتن کسی — نتاند بود کر فصیح و ذکی
که اکنون ز ناخوشیت در [3] کیهان — خبر منتشر شد بر اهل جهان
بنا سازی طبع دشمن ترا — خلایق ز دل ایستاده بپا
بشافی شفا بخش خواهی کند — که کل شے بتو نیکخواهی کند
زمین منتظر هست ای نیک نام — که بروی خرامی نهی شاد کام

1. Guj. text gives the next line above this.
2. Guj. text નફ્અ نفع
3. Guj. text જેહાન جهان

هوا خواه آب زلالست هم شود تازه زو دل و دیده هم
هوا را نظر بر دراست ای سخی که تازه کند صدر تو ای اخی
بدل شایق است آتش و زهرام بد یدار تو راد تا بد مدام
نباتات و اشجار این ره جوند که تو راد دل کی زشان برخورند
ز معدن جواهر بدارد امید با نکشر یت[1] بیا ید سعید
چرنده پرنده رضامند این که برشان فتد سایه تو پاکدین
بزو گاو گوسفند دارد رضا کزایشان خوری شیروزبده صفا
کمیتان بدل هست امیدوار که[2] کردی[3] بزود به پشتش سوار
بماه منور ترغب کمال زما پتابش تازه گردد جمال
بخورشید رخشان بدل آرزو که برتو بنور شرف تابد او
هم امشا سفندان و ایزد تمام کنند التجا بهر خلق انام
به بهبودي تو به پیش خدا شفا یابي این است شا نرا رجا
بمدحت چنان جوشش دل شده که نا بسته مضمون بمن حل شده
چه هرمز ترا در جهان پایه داد باقبال و دولت چه سرمایه داد
زهي روز امروز فرح بی بخلقان و بر مادران مهي
که بهمن به نیا بشارت بداد که امروز تفرج کنه نیک زاد
چه سیرو تفرج که خلقان بسي بدیدار آن مرد راد مردان خوشي
خلائق ازاین مژده شد شادمان ترا گفت مبارک زدل باروان
مبارک ترا باد فرخ بسي شب و روز مانی تو فرخ بسي
ازین در مدح ترا سفته ام سخنهائ رخشان بسي گفته ام
که نشود نمائم شدای نامدار ز ابر سخا ی ابت آشکار
زهي بخت بنده که یزدان مرا فرستادت در سایه ات سورا
منم کمترین ذره خورشید نام بمدحت کشاده زبان را بکام
با میدآنکه نگاهم کني نگاه تلطف براهم کني
سخن ختم اکنون کنم بر دعا که بهتر بود با دعا مدعا
دعائم همین است ای عالیجناب که بخشد ترا باري بریزن خطاب
زیاری یزدان و امشا سفند به بخشد ترا پور اقبالمند
فزون دولتت باده عمرت زیاد زیاده ازین پایگاهت دهاد
بروز مینو باد و تشتر زماه بشد ختم وصف معز و جاه
هزار رود وصد سي فزون چار بود سنه یزد جردی که درکار بود

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1. Guj. text તમામ تمام
2. Guj. text બિયાબ بیابه
3 Guj. text બજુદી بزودی

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બ અકરબ ખુશામદ ન કરદ ઉ બખેશ
બ સાહેબ દવલ હમ ન આવોરદ પેશ.

સગાં વાહાલાંઓની ખુશામદ નહી રાખતા હતા, તેમજ શ્રીમંત લોકોનીબી તરફેન નહી બેંચતા હતા.

ચે અદના ઓ આલા એકસાં બપેશ
કે ખુદ નઇબેતે ઉ બ ઇનશાફ બેશ.

તે સાહેબની નજદીક સું અદના કે સું આલા એક સરબા હતા, કારણ કે વાજબી કરવામાં તે નામદારની નઇબેત વધારે હતી.

ચેના દાદે ઇનસાફ દાદ આં જમાં
ક જુ જેનદેહ શુદ નામે નોશીરવાં.

તે વખતે તે નામદારે હેવી તો ઇનસાફની દાદ આપી કે જેથી નોશીરવાનનું મુબારક નામ તાજું થયું.

અજાં રફઅતશ દાદ દર રોજગાર
જે લોતફે ફેરાવાન પરવરદેગાર.

માટે પરવરદેગારે પોતાની પુરતી મેહરબાનીથી તે સાહેબને દુનીઆમાં ચડતો દરજ્જો બખશીઓ.

નોમાઇદ અબે માજદીબેસ્નીઆં
મસરરત કે આમદ મસરરત જમાં.

અરે ઓ ઇબેજદાં પરસત લોકો તમો ખુશહાલી કરો. કારણ કે આપણ ઉપર ખુશી ભરેલો વખત આવીબ્યો છે.

કે આમદ વરા બારોનાઇટીન બેતાબ
જે વીકટોરીબે શાહે ગરદુન જેનાબ.

કે નામીચી સરકાર વાલી મહારાંણી વીકટોરીઆબે તે નામદાર સાહેબને બારોનાઇટનો અમીરી બેતાબ ભેટ કીધો.

અમીરી બેતાબ અજ ચીનીન બારગાહ
કે દર અદલો દાનેશ ફરાજદ કોલાહ.

આવી મોટી સરકાર કે જે નીઆબે અને વીદીઆમાં આ જગતમાં સરસાઈ ભોગવે છે. તેહવી સરકારથી આવો અમીરી બેતાબ.

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જે બદ્દવે રયાસતશ તા ઇન જમાન
નેઆમદ્દ કસીરા બ હીંદોસ્તાન.

અંગરેજી રાજની શરૂઆતથી તે આજદેન સુધી આ હીનદોસ્તાન દેશમાં આવો મોટો ખેતાબ કોઇને મળ્યો નથી.

નોમાઇદ્દ ફખર અબ્બે જરતોશતીઆં
બ ઇન ખાનોમાનો બ ઇનિ ખાનદાન.

અબ્બે જરતોશતીઓ તમો આ નામીચા ખાનદાન અને ઘરાના ઉપર મગરૂરી કરો.

કોનમ મન ન ચું વસફે હમચું કસી
બુવદ કમ અગરચે બગોએમ બસી.

સું હું એવા નામીચા નામદારની વખાણ નથી કરતો? કે જે સાહેબની જેટલીબી વખાણ કરૂં તે સઘલી થોડીજ ગણાએ.

હમે કારે ખુબી બ આલમ તમામ
નમુદેહ ફનુને નેકોઈ બ આંમ.

કે જે નામદાર સાહેબે પરજાના સુભ કામ માટે ઘણા ખુબી ભરેલા ફંડો ઉતપન કીધાં છે.

ફનુને નેકોઈ અજુ શુદ્દ પદીદ્દ
જે આં નામવર અવલ આમદ્દ કીલીદ્દ.

દુનીઆમાં ખુબી ભરેલા નામીચા ફંડો પ્રથમ તેજ નામદાર સાહેબથી રચાયાં છે.

તખ્યોલ બ વેહમે કસી ઇન નબુદ્દ
બીનાએ ફનુને નેકો ઊ નમુદ્દ.

આવાં નામીચાં ફંડો ઉભા કરવાનો ખેઆલ દુનીયામાં કોઈને નહી હતો. તે આ સખી ગ્રહસ્થે ઉભા કીધા છે.

જહી મરદ્દે રાદ્દે ચીનીન નામદાર
કે માનદેહ અજુ કાનુની બરકરાર.

દુનીઆમાં આવા નામવર સખી મરદોજ ભલાં છે કે જેનાથી આવા ખુબી ભરેલા કાનુનો અને રીતીઓ કાયમ રેહે.

અગરચે ન માનદ્દ ઊ બ દુનીઆ બસી
વલે જેનદેહ નામશ બરે હર કસી.

જો કે તે સખી સાહેબે આ ફાની દુનીઆથી પોતાનો વાસો ઉઠાવીએ છે. તોયપણ તે દુખ ભંજન સાહેબનું મુબારક નામ હરેક ઠેકાણે હયાત છે.

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ચે અદનાએા આલા બલાએક તમામ
કેાનદ નામ વેરદશ બ હર સેાબેાહ સામ.

તમામ દુનીઆંના લેાકેા સુ' અદના કે સું આલા રાત દાહાડેા તે સખીનું નામ સ્મરણ કરે છે

બે માનદ બસાને કયાં નામે ઉ
કે બેનેહાદ બુનીઆદે નામે નેકુ.

તે સરદાર સાહેબે પેાતાના ખુબી ભરેલા નામનેા પાયેા એવેા તેા રચેએા છે. કે કયાનીએાની મુવાફેક તે નામદારનું મુબારક નામ પ્રજામાં સજીવન રહેશે.

મબાલેગ બર આવેારદ અજ બેહરે આં
કે આસુદેહ માનંદ જરતેાશતીઆં.

જરતેાશતી લેાકેા સારી હાલતમાં આવે એવી ધારણાથી તે સખી ગહસ્થે ઘણી મેાટી રકમેા ફંડેામાં આપી છે.

મુકરર નમુદ આંનચે આં નામદાર
બ જરતેાશતીઆં મીરસદ આશકાર.

તે સાહેબે આપણુ જરતેાસ્તીએાને માટે જે ખુબી ભરેલાં ફંડેા મુકરર કીધાં છે તેમાંથી આપણુ લેાકેાને જાહેર રીતે પેાહેાચીઉ જાએ છે.

બ સુરત ચું બેગેરેફત આતશ તમામ
દરાં વકત બખશીદ જર બર અનામ.

પુરાતન સુરત શહેરમાં જ્યારે મેાટી આગ લાગી ત્યારે તે શખી નામવરે બલકના ગરીબ લેાકેા ઉપર પેાતાના દરવીઅનેા એટલેા તેા વરસાદ વરસાવીએા.

બ ગમ દીદેગાં તકવીએત જુ શુદેહ
કે આસુદેહ હરકસ બ જુદશ શુદેહ.

કે જેથી આફત અને ગમમાં પડેલા ગરીબ લેાકેાને તેથી પાછી શકતી આવી. બલકે તે સાહેબની બખશેશથી હરેક શખસ આશુદા થઇ ગયું.

બ હરજા કે અસતંદ જરતેાશતીઆં
દરાં જા ચેહા કરદ બુબી અયાં.

જે જે શહેર અને જગાએ અને ગામેામાં કે જાંહાં જરતેાશતી લેાકેા રહે છે ત્યાં ત્યાં તે નામવર સાહેબે કેટલી બધી બુબીએા કીધી છે.

બ હર શેહેરેા હર કસબાએા હર દેહી
બ શુદ મદરસે જાં બેાજસતે મહી.

દરેક શહેર, કસબાએા અને ગામેામાં તે બુનેરંગ સાહેબથી મદરેશા અને સ્કુલેા બની છે.

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એટલા માટે તેઓ સાહેબે (ઉપલી વીગતે પોતાના મુરબ્બી પીતાની ધઆદગીરી કાયમ રહેવા સારૂ) પેહેલવી. પાઠશાળાનો પાયો નાખીએ, અને સઘલા જરતોસતી લોકો ઉપર પુરાતન પેહલવી ભાષાનો દરવાજો ખોલ્યો.

એકી મદરસેહ પેહલવી રા બેના
બ બંબાઇ નમુદ આં હોમાયુન લેકા.

એટલે જે તે બખતાવર સાહેબે મુંબઈ જેવા વખણાએલા શહેરમાં એક પેહેલવી મદરેસા સ્થાપી.

નેબ્બદશ ચું બુદ પેહલવાની અજા
બશુદ પેહલવી મદરસે જુ અયાં.

એ નામદારની નસલ કયાંની પેહલવાનોથી છે કે જેથી પેહલવી મદરેસા (આજ બારસો વરસની લાંબી મુદત પછે) આ દેશમાં એવો સાહેબથીજ સ્થાપન થઇ છે.

મબાલેગ બર આવોરદ આં નેક નામ
કે અજ નકૂએ આં ખરચ માનદ મુદામ.

તે નેક નામદાર સાહેબે એક મોટી રકમ બાહેર કાઢી છે, કે જેના વીયાજમાંથી તે મદરેસાનો સઘલો ખરચ જથુક ચાલે.

કસી બેહરે તેહસીલ આબેદ અગર
રસદ બેહરે ખરચસ અજા સીબો જર.

અને જે કોઇ શખસ તે મદરેસામાં સીખાતી ભાષાઓ તેહસીલ કરવાને આવે તો તેને ખરચને સારૂ ઉપલી પુંજીના વીઆજમાંથી ચાલાકી પરમાણે નાણાં મળે.

કે તા બેહરે ગીરંદ અજા દર જેહાં
ચે હેરબદ ચે દસતુરે જરતોશતીઆં.

કે તેથી દુનીયામાં સું હેરબદ કે સું દસ્તુર ધરમ સંબંધી જ્ઞાનનો પુરતો ફાએદો મેળવે.

જે બેદવે જવાનીશ તા ધન જમાન
બસા કરદ કારે નેકો દર જેહાંન.

તે નામવરે પોતાની જવાનીના વખતથી તે આજ દીન સુધીમાં એવા ખુબી અને પરજાના ફાએદા ભરેલા કામો તો અતી ઘણા કીધા છે.

હમે કારે ઉરા નવેશતન કસી
ન તાનદ બુવદ ગર ફસી હો જકી.

કે જે સઘલા તે કામોનું વરણન કોઇબી સખસ જો કે તે ઘણોબી ચાલાક અને છટાવાળો હોય તોય પણ તેનાથી લખી નહી શકાય.

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કે અકનુન જેના ખુશીઅત દર જેહાં
ખબર મુનતેશર શુદ બર અહેલે જેહાં.

અએ નામદાર સાહેબ હમણા તમો સાહેબના દુશમનની તબીયત નાસાજ હોવાથી જેહવી કે તે નાખુશ ખબર દુનીઆમાં ફેલાઇ.

બ નાસાજીએ તબએ દુશમન તુરા
ખલાયક જે દેલ ઇસતાદે બ પા.

તેહવાજ તમો બખતાવર સાહેબના દુશમનની તબીઅત બીગડવાથી બલકના લોકો બરાં દીલથી હુભે પગે.

બશાફી શેફા બખશ બાહી કેાનદ
કે કુલ શએ બતો નેક બાહી કેાનદ.

સરવ શકતીમાન તનદરોસતી બખશનાર સાહેબની દરગાહમાં તમો સખી સાહેબની તનદોરસ્તી માગે છે, એટલુંજ નહિ પણ દુનીઆના કુલ્લે પદારથો તમો એકબાલમંદ સાહેબની સુખાકારી અને ભલાઇની દુવા કરે છે.

જમીન મુંનતેજર હસ્ત અએ નેકનામ
કે બરવે ખેરામી નહી શાદ ગામ.

અરે એ નેક નામ સાહેબ આ પૃથ્વી પોતાના દીલમાં આતુરતાઇ રાખે છે કે તમો સાહેબ તે ઉપર પોતાના નાજ ભરેલા મોબારક કદમ તનદોરસ્તી સાથે મુકીને લટકતી ચાલ ચાલો.

હવા બાહ આએ જેલાલ અસ્ત હમ
શવદ તાજેહ તો જુ દેલો દીદેહ હમ.

પાણીબી પોતાના અંતઃકરણથી ઉમેદવાર છે કે તમો સખી સાહેબનું દેલ અને આંખ તેથી તાજી થાએ.

હવા રા નજર બર દર અસ્ત અએ સખી
કે તાજે કેાનદ સદરે તો અએ બખી.

અએ સખી સાહેબ હવા પણ આશાબંધ છે કે તમો મરઉવતવાળા સાહેબની છાતી પોતાથી તાજી અને સુખ ભરેલી કરે.

બ દેલ શાએક અસ્ત આતશે વરહરામ
બ દીદારે તો રાદ તાબદ તમામ.

આતશ બેહેરામ સાહેબબી દીલથી રાહ જુએ છે કે તમો સખી નામદારના મોબારક દીદાર ઉપર પોતાનો રોસની ભરેલો પ્રકાશ નાખે.

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નબાતાતો અશજાર ઈં રેહ જુઅંદ
કે તો રાદ દેલ કએ જે શાં બર ખુરંદ.

વનસ્પતી અને કુલ ફૂળ બી આ ઉંમેદમાં છે કે તમો બખસેશના સાહેબ કયારે તનદોરસ્તી સાથે તેએાથી પુરતાં ફૂળ બાવો.

જે મઆદન જવાહેર બેદારદ ઉમીદ
બ અંગોશતરીઅત બે યાબદ સઇદ.

કુલ જવાહેરાત પોતાની બાણુમાંથી આ ઉમેદમાં દીલભર છે કે તમો એકબાલમંદની અંગુઠીમાં તેએા નેક બખતી પાંમે.

ચરણુદેહ પરણુદેહ રજમંદે ઇન
કે બર શાં ફેતદ સાએ તો પાક દીન.

કુલ ચરંદાં, પરંદાં બી આ વાતને સારૂ આશાવંત છે કે તમો દીનદાર સાહેબનો મોબારક છાંયો તેએા ઉપર પડે.

બોલ્લે ગાવો ગોસપંદ દારદ રજા
ક જીશાં ખુરી શીરો જુબદેહ સફા.

ગાય ગોસપંદ અને બકરાં પોતાના અંતઃકરણુમાં આરજુ રાખે છે, કે તેએાથી તમો સાહેબ બાલેસ દુધ અને માબણ નોશેજાન ફરમાવો.

કુમેતાં બ દેલ હસ્ત ઉમેદવાર
કે ગરદી બજુદી બ પોશતશ સવાર.

ઘોડાએાબી દીલથી ઉમેદવાર છે કે સેતાબીથી તમો દયાળું સાહેબ તેની પીઠ પર સવાર થાવો.

બ માહે મુનવ્વર તરગોબ કમાલ
જે મેહતાબી અશ તાજેહ ગરદદ જમાલ.

પ્રકાશતા ચંદ્રને દીલમાં પુરતો શોક છે કે તેની ચાંદનીમાં તમારો સુંદર ચહેરો તાજગી પાંમે.

બ ખુરશીદે રબશા બ દેલ આરજુ
કે બરતો બનુરે સરફ તાબદ ઊ.

ઝળકતા સુર્યનેબી દેલમાં આ ઉમેદ છે કે તમો મબ્યાત સાહેબ ઉપર તે પોતાના બુજોરગી ભરેલા નુરથી પ્રકાશે.

હમ અમશાસફંદાનો ઇજદ તમામ
કેનદ એલતેજા બેહરે બલકે અનામ.

સઘળા અમસાસપંદો અને તમામ ઇજદો દુનીઆની બલક.....

CHAHARUM CEREMONY.

By

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At the dawn of the 4th day after death, when Mobeds and Bahdins have gathered in the house of the dead, and just before the religious ceremony begins, the Dahmobed vociferates. "Fresh water! A cup of wine! Siro Sidah! A baked egg!" (meaning that these articles should be present.)

On this occasion (*a*) those who are engaged in the prayer are required to sit on their legs, and not square as they sit on other occasions. (*b*) During the "Dahman" ceremony all should held their left hands under the cover of their salves, opposite their mouths; (*c*) none should have on his waist his belt or waistshawl, which forms part of the dress of Iranis, *i.e*, they should keep their waists loose, or without belts or shawls.

Again, just before the morning prayer begins the Dahmobed calls, in a loud voice the attention of the congregation to the occasion and asks them to offer two "Avestaé-Dast-o-Ru" (Sarosh bâj), the 1st of which should be for their own selves, while the 2nd one should be on behalf of the dead whose name is mentioned in the formula "Zadené Nasosh." He enjoins them not to recite the formula "Ahmai Raeshcha" in connection with the prayer that is offered on behalf of the dead.

After the morning prayer has been offered, the "Dahman" ceremony begins. The officiating priest on reciting up to the point, "Ythâ Ahu Vairyo Zaotâ," ejaculates the phrase and stops, when the Dahmobed vociferates, "Yatha Ahu Vairyo Yo Zaotâ Fra me Mrute," which the whole congregation is supposed to repeat. Then resuming the thread, the priest proceeds in his recitation of the Dahman. Then on the recital of the "Afrinami" the officiating priest lifts up a blade of myrtle in his right hand, and the Dahmobed, taking the hint, vociferates, "Afrinami" and raises the fore finger of his right hand, which word and action are repeated by the whole congregation. Arriving at the point "Vispokhathrem," the priest takes up a

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second blade of the myrtle, and the Dahmobed again calls out, "Vispokhathrem" and at the same time raises his middle finger also. The same is done by the congregation. Reciting up to the end of the "Humatanâm" formula, the priest puts the first two fingers of his right hand on the ground and recites "Ashem Vohu." At the recitation of the concluding formula, "Dahmayas Vanghuyas" the priest raises up his two fingers and makes, with them, one pass at every word of the "Dahmayao" formula, opposite his head from the right side to the left and ends it with the last word of the Dahmayao formula. All these actions are supposed to be repeated by the whole assembly at the intimation of the Dahmobed who vocificates at every important point. The Dahmobed then takes the censer of fire in his hand and goes round, offering it to every one in the house, who makes, with his right hand, a pass, downwise, over the fire and shakes it (the hand) towards the ground. The Dahmobed, when ha does so, utters loudly, "Hazangrem Baeshazanâm."

The Dahman ceremony being over, the Dahmobed goes round with a string of beads in his hand, and asks every one to say how many "Avestas" he undertakes to offer on behalf of the dead. He keeps the account of the Avestas by his beads, *e. g.*, suppose the first man undertakes to offer 5 Avestas, then the Dahmobed casts 5 beads; the 2nd one agrees to offer 3 Avestas and 3 beads are cast. In the end the Dahmobed finds out the total by counting the number of beads cast down. When the Dahmobed thus has "collected" Avestas[1] he stands near the precinct occupied by the priests and begins in a loud voice, "Khshnaothra Ahurahe Mazdao Ashem Vohu...; 1,500 Ashem Vohu; 1,000 Yatha Ahu, 300 Khordh Avesta, *i.e.*, Patel Pashimani, Hormazd yasht, Khorshed Nyayish, Gahe Havan, etc.

داور و مهر ایزد و سروش ایزد و رشن ایزد و آشتاد ایزد کرفه ش بجاده روان فلان برساد آمرزیده باد

i.e., May the virtue of these prayers reach, in the Court of justice, in the presence of the angels Mihr, Sarosh, Rashn and Ashtad, to the path of such a man, (here he recites the name of the deceased) and may he be forgiven by God."

In continuation of the above prayers, the Dahmobed prays the following formulæ also, in the same loud strain; during the first-part of which he shakes down both his hands with outstretched palms downwise, while during the latter part he

1.—As to the number of the Avestas mentioned above, we suppose that the total number came to 300. Some persons, and especially the lady class, generally undertake to offer "Ashem" and "Yatha." Every priest is supposed to offer 3 Avestas for the dead, and they are so reckoned by the Dahmobed. After these prayers are concluded the congregation disperses.

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turns upwards both his palms in the same state:—

May all sins wane, and may all virtues wax, ہما وناہ جارشني گرفہ افزایشني

May his sins dry away, perish and be annihilated; may his virtues wax, improve, grow and be exalted and deemed esteemed! وا هش خشک و نیست و نفور باد گرفہ هش ویش و وہ و سبز و بلند و ارجمند باد

May the sin decrease and the virture increase. کا هشني وناہ افزایشني کرفہ

May the sin dry away aud may the virtue grow. وناہ خشک و کرفہ سبز باد

May the road to Hell be closed, and may the road to Heaven be opened! بستن راہ دوزخ گشادن راہ بهشت

May the virtue of these prayers reach the path of such a man! کرفہ اش بجادہ روان فلان برساد

Each of these formulæ is repeated three times by the whole congregation.

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NÂVAR IN IRAN.

By

Prof. Khudayar Dastoor Sheriar B. A., Asst. Professor of Persian, Dayaram College, Sind.

The son of a *mobad*, who wants to become Nâvar, must undergo at least 10 Bareshnums. The first Bareshnum is for the good of his own soul. He must know all the Avesta texts except the Vendidâd. *First of all, he is examined by some authority, and,* if found worthy, *the High Priest gives permission for the Navar ceremony.* Before the fixed time, the would-be-*mobed* must undergo three Bareshnums continually for his own soul. A mobed, who has attained the degree of Nâvar before him, becomes his assistant and is called "*Varsal.*" The duty of the assistant is to help the initiate in his last Bareshnum in every way, *e. g.* to prepare for him *nirang*, water, clothings and all other necessary things. At intervals of three days during the last Bareshnum on the third day for purification, the assistant or Varsal makes Yazeshni in the morning and keeps *nâbar*[1].

At that time the Varsal prepares water and *nirang* for the initiate. During each Bareshnum, three Getikharids should be performed by the initiate. A Geti Kharid consists of three Yazashnas, the 1st of Nonabar, the 2nd of Sraosha, and the 3rd of Seroza.

During the Bareshnum one should change his clothings every time when he eats or drinks.

The last day of the last Bareshnum which is called the "Naozadi Bareshnum," is considered to be the first day of the nâbar.

In the navar ceremony the assistance of two *Yozdathrgars* is called in. The Navar ceremony lasts for four days, during which, generally, all the *mobeds* are entertained as the guests of the initiate A day before the *nâvar* day all the

1 The Varsal after performing Yazeshna ceremony must say grace every time he wants to eat or drink. For the grace the Varsal consecrates a daroon for the commemoration of the Angel Sraosha and reciting the "Vasaschatu" he takes his meal and then continues the prayer from "Vasaschatu" and completes the grace.

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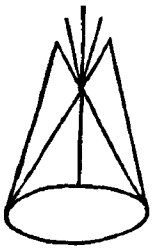
mobeds are invited. An actual crown is made, that is to say a turban is decorated fully with gold and silver coins with a "padân" (Av. Paitidân) hanging from it, which "padân" is also ornamented with gold chains and coins.

A "*varse*" is also prepared. A '*varse*' is a conical figure made of fresh branches of different trees twisted round with fleece of various colours. It should contain six branches of the pomegrenate tree, three branches of the fig tree and one of the willow tree. The fleece should be of red, yellow, violet and white colour. These colours answer to the description of درفش کاویانی of Firdusi

درفش گه سرخ است و زرد و بنفش



The accompanying is a very rough sketch of the Vars which is fixed in a brass tray and covered over with a piece of peacock-coloured cloth. This "Vars" is also decorated with four small encased silver mirrors furnished with chains. This tray also contains a pomegranate and some dry fruit. The ends of the branches, of which the "vars" is made, is decorated with a ring.

One thing more is required for the ceremony. It is *a* T *shaped figure* consisting of a short and somewhat flat silver rod pierced through in the middle by another thin silver rod, both of them painted beautifully.

This flat rod turns round and round when moved with a finger. It is called "Verd." When all these things are ready, in the afternoon of the 2nd day, *i.e.*, the 1st day of the Navar, all mobeds together with other guests and the high priest gather in a hall. The would-be-mobed is brought into the assembly and seated beside the Dastur. A suit of new clothes, the 'varse' covered over with the crown, and a tray containing dry fruits are brought into the assembly. The "Dahmobed" is also present.[1] In the middle of the hall there stands a censer on a high stand burning with blazing fire.

After all the mobeds have performed the Kasti ceremony and have taken their seats, the initiate, the Dahmobed and the *varsal* stand up. The initiate retiring into a room changes his trousers and returns to his place.

1 The "Dahmobed" is one who is entrusted with the work of distributing dry fruits at the time of Gahambar among people, and that of performing other duties required at Sehum, Chaharum, Seroza and so on.

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He then takes off his clothes one by one. When he is quite naked, the Dahmobed calls the attention of the assembly to him to see that there is no wound, or stamp, or mark of any disease on his body. Then the Dahmobed gives him clothings one by one which he puts on. After perforing Kasti, he sits beside the Dastur, and the Dastur reads to him admonitions from a book and makes him repent of his sins and requires a promise for a pious life in future. Afterwards, the assenbly stands up. The *navar* with the assistance of the *varsâl* gives a pomegranate to the Dastur and to some other high priests by way of "Hamâzor." Then making with his hands "Hamazor" with all other mobeds asks their permission to be admitted into the priesthood. All the while the Navar mobed holds the crown over his head. After that, the "Varsal" taking the "Vars" on his head, joins hands with the navar mobed. Then there come the two "Yozdathragars." They join their hands with theirs. All other mobeds and Behdins who wish to do so also join their hands. At the end of the line is the Dahmobed with a small censer burning aloes and sandalwood. The circle of persons, thus formed, go three times round the large censer that is put in the middle of the hall, each time reciting an Âtash nyâyish. The initiate has the crown over his head, and the *varsal* the *vars* over his own. The initiate has also the "verd" in his hand. He turns it all the while. When the procession goes round the fire, the rest of the assembly remains standing on foot, praying and throwing at the initiate by way of blessings dry fruits, which have been distributed among them by the Dahmobed, after the admonishing ceremoney has been finished. Ladies who are willing to see the ceremony, come in crowds. While going round the fire, the lady relations of the navar mobed now and then pour some dry fruits, some times mixed with silver coins upon the crown by way of sacrifice and blessing. Again, there is a special song which is sung only on such occasions. While going round the fire, one of the members of the procession sings the song, line by line. The assembly with the exception of *navar mobed*, the *varsal* and the two Yozdathragars who are reciting the Atash nyayish, repeat the same line in song by way of chorus. After going three times round the fire in the manner described above, the procession goes to the "Yazeshni Khana" (*i. e.* હીંધોરા), the Yozdathragar leading the way. The two Yozdathragars, the Navar mobed and varsal enter the Yazeshni Khana. The rest also may enter if they wish, but gener ally they remain outside, waiting for the time

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to join the set in taking "Baj."[1]

Now the "Yazeshnagar" set (*i.e.* the Navar mobed, the Varsal and the two Yozdathragars) having entered the "Yazeshni Khana" with the crown and the Varse, one of the Yozdathragars makes preparations for Yazeshna ceremony (یزدی میگیرد) *i.e.* arranges the ceremonial instruments and makes all other preparations which are needed for the time by reciting the formulæ fixed for the purpose. After all preparations are made, the Navar-mobed as a "Zaotar" commences his Yazeshna ceremony and all others join him and serve as his "Rathwis". This being the first day, Nonabar Yezeshni is performed, and this is the beginning of a new "Geti Kharid". On the second day, in the same way the Sraosha Yezeshni is performed; on the third day the Seroza, and on the 4th day the Visparat Yezeshni is performed. For the last three days, only the Yazeshngar-set perform the ceremony. During these days, each of the Yazeshngar set must observe "nabar." (i.e. must keep *bâj i.e.* eat and drink with *bâj* and not come into contact with non-Zoroastrians). After this day, the initiated mobed must continue his nabar for either 40 days or 4 months and 10 days.

In the evening of the first navar day also, the "Yazeshngar set" recite afringane-Nozodi and some other Pazand texts. This is repeated for three days. In the evening of the 4th day, the Yazeshngar set, going to a river, recite Ardvisur Nyayish. On their return home, they are stopped on the way at the door of any house by which they pass and the lady of the house throws some sweets and dry fruits placed in a special vessel called "Koti" upon the head of the newly initiated mobed as an offering of blessing. There are some other minor ceremonies which need no special description. Thus ends the navar ceremony.

MARTAB.

In the Martab ceremony, the mobed after learning the Vendidad thoroughly, undergoes a Bareshnum. One night, a Yozdathragar is called to his place to teach him all the necessary "Kyria (ceremony)." At the same night the "Martabvala" recites the whole Vendidad with all ceremonies and the next day he is a martab.

1 When the "Zaotar" commences his Yazeshne ceremoney, other mobeds also who want to join him, commence and recite only those portions which are fixed for a "Rathwi." In other words the "Bajdars" are the "Rathwis." They accompany the "Zaotar" in the recital up to "Pérésat" in the Yazeshni and then separate.

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THE LATE DR. E. W. WEST'S LETTER

ON

THE KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING OF THE PARSEE PRIESTHOOD OF INDIA ABOUT FOUR CENTURIES AGO.

(A few years, there was a controversy raging in Bombay, as to whether the Parsee priests of India of about four centuries ago were well-instructed or ignorant in the matter of the knowledge of their sacred scriptures. The question was then discussed as a side-issue in the question of the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana at the Court of Akbar. At the time of that controversey, Mr. Muncherjee Pallonji Kutar, B.A. LL.B., of Bombay had addressed letters to some of the European *savants*, asking their views on some of the subjects of the controversy. The late Dr. E. W. West was one of the scholars so addressed. I give below his letter in reply giving his views. I have made some use of it in my paper on the Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana, but the letter as a whole requires a permanent record, as it gives, as it were, a short history of the literary acquirements of the Parsees of those times.

The Editor).

MAPLE LODGE, WATFORD.
June 10th 1898.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of 15th April, with eight Newspaper cuttings from the *Bombay Gazette* and three from the *Times of India*, was received by me when I was absent from home and my books, and, therefore, unable to reply earlier than the present time.

I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coin-

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cide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree Junior, and J. O. E.

That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578 seems well attested by the grant of a *jaghir* to him at that time; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth which no educated Parsi of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts.) It would be easy to understand that the Parsi's veneration for the sun would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari.

What is the present form of this myth seems doubtful. Mr. R. P. Kar-Karkaria speaks of an imitation sun which could hardly have deceived a child. While Professor J. Darmesteter, in his introductions to the Vanand Yasht (see his French Translation of the Zend-Avesta, Vol. II, p. 644), describes the myth as follows, on the authority of Mr. Pestanjee Nassarwanjee:—"A magician of Delhi, an accomplice in certain political conspiracies, had produced a cloud which obscured the sun; and Meherji Rana, dissipated it by reciting the Vanand Yasht." In India I have noticed that the heat of the sun itself, without any assistance, often dissipates all approaching clouds before they can pass between it and the earth.

Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujerat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

One of the Iranian scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows:—" For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*nagar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nausari, Kambay, Broch, Surat, and

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Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing." But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian. This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujerati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayet collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and Writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare MSS. from Iran.

The circumstances under which the Parsis first settled in Gujerat, were

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certainly not propitious for the preservation of learning. Emigrating from Persia, probably as a company of traders, with their families, attendants, and dependants, they had to compete for a livelihood with the frugal and industrious race, among whom they had settled. No doubt a few priests must have accompanied them, and brought with them the apparatus and MSS. necessary for ordinary worship, such as the Khordah Avesta and Vendidad Sadeh; but their means of study and education must have been limited.

The date of the arrival of the Parsis at Sanjan is very uncertain. The Parsi Prakash mentions A. D. 716, 745—806, and 720 as having been suggested; but Manushchihar, the supreme Dastur of Iran, in A. D, 881, who mentions (in his Epistle II, viii, 5) that he might have "to wander forth by water even to China," does not speak of India, as he would probably have done if many Parsis had been there, at that time. On the other hand, some Parsis engraved their Pahlavi signatures, as witnesses to a copper-plate grant in Southern India, probably before A. D. 850; but they may have been resident traders from Persia. And at any rate, the Parsis who inscribed their Pahlavi signatures at the Kanheri Caves, with dates corresponding to A. D. 1009 and 1021, may have come from Sanjan.

Another date, which is difficult to settle with certainty, is that of the celebrated Neryosang Dhaval, who is universally admitted to have been the most learned of the old Indian Parsi priests. His incomplete translation of the Pahlavi Yasna into Sanskrit is a convincing proof of his extensive knowledge of both languages, at a time when every translator had to compile his own lexicons and grammars. He also translated some of the Khordah Avesta into Sanskrit, and produced a Pazand-Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi Minokhird, which is much superior to a similar version of the Pahlavi Arda-Viraf by a later hand.

The simplest mode of approximating to the date when Neryosang flourished seems to be afforded by the pedigree of the Broch Dasturs, dated A. D. 1889, which gives nineteen generations backwards from 1838 to the birth of Peshotan Ram probably between 1373 and 1382, as he wrote an old surviving MS. in 1397, when he must have been a young man because his father wrote another one as late as 1410. These nineteen generations in 465 or 456 year simply $24\frac{1}{2}$ or 24 years for each generation. In the colophon of the Ms. of 1397 the genealogy of Peshotan is carried nine generations farther back to Hormazdyar,

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who was contemporary with Neryosang; but three of these generations have been omitted in the English translation of the book of Gosht-i-Fryano, by mistake, as may be seen from the Pahlavi Text. These nine generations, if they were of the same length as the later nineteen, would have extended over 221 or 216 years, and have gone back to A. D. 1152 or 1166 as the date of the birth of either Hormazdyar or Neryosang. So, from these data, we may assume that Neryosang flourished in the latter end of the twelfth century A. D. And as the Indian Parsis seem unable to trace the names of their priesthood more than three generations farther back, or hardly to A. D. 1100, we must suppose that several names have been lost.

Neryosang was, no doubt, a priest of exceptional learning with whom hardly any of the older Parsi priests in India can be fairly compared; but many others were learned and painstaking priests, especially those who compiled the encyclopedical Rivayets and carefully copied MSS; indeed, very few appear to have been in any way incompetent. If we may compare Neryosang in India with such Iranians as Manushchihar, who wrote the Dadistan-i-Dinik, and Aturfarnbag and Aturpad, who compiled the Dinkard, we may certainly compare the great majority of the Indian Dasturs with the great majority of the Iranian Dasturs for competent knowledge and efficiency. With regard to any deficiency in knowledge of Pahlavi, we must recollect that Pahlavi was the vernacular writing of all Iranians till near the end of the ninth century, and continued in use among their Parsi priests for some centuries longer; while in India the priests had to adopt other vernaculars for daily use, which interfered very much with their Pahlavi and Persian studies.

When we find Indian Dasturs asking those in Iran for particular Mss., we are not entitled to imagine that these Mss. did not then exist anywhere in India, but merely that they were not in the possession of the particular Dasturs who applied for them. Thus we find, from the colophon of a Ms. of the Fravardin Yasht (Avesta text written in Persian characters), now in the Haug collection at Munich, that Jamasp Hakim was sent from Yazd to Surat with replies to questions, a supply of Hom and Vars, and an Avesta Ms. of the Fravardin Yasht which the Surat congregation did not then possess. On arrival at Bombay in 1722 he heard that Rustamji Manekji, to whom he was travelling, had died nearly two years before. Proceeding to Surat, he delivered

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the documents and Ms. which he had brought, and stopped about six months near Bombay, when returning home, in order to transliterate the Avesta text of the Fravardin Yasht into Persian characters, which is the Ms. now at Munich. From this colophon it has been erroneously assumed that the Fravardin Yasht was first brought to India by Jamasp Hakim in 1722. But Professor Geldner, in the course of his researches, has discovered three Mss. written in India, which are independent of Jamasp's Ms. and yet contain this Yasht. These are F1 written by Asadin Kaka in 1591, Pt_1 written in 1625, and E_1 whose copy of the Fravardin Yasht is evidently based upon that in F_1. The greater part of the colophon of F_1 has been rewritten at a later date, because the last folio was worn out, but some of the earlier lines of the original colophon still remain attached to the end of the text, and have been accurately copied by the second writer; the handwriting of this Ms. has also been compared with that of Asadin's Ms, A K_2 of the Shikand-gumani, written 21 years later, and the two writings are very much alike. The colophon of Pt_1 has also been rewritten. E1 is more modern, but its Fravardin Yasht was copied from F_1, and not from Jamasp Hakim's Ms. So we must conclude that this Yasht had been at Nausari more than 131 years before Jamasp brought it to Surat. But I am not aware of its first arrival in India being recorded in the Rivayets.

If the Parsis will only read and study Professor Geldner's Prolegomena until they understand them, they will have little apprehension of his being led astray by false colophons, even if they existed, which is so rarely the case in Parsi Mss, that I do not remember to have met with a single one in my thirty years experince. Readers sometimes mis-understand them, but that is from want of experience. Philogists, like scientific men in general, are accustomed to be sceptical of first impressions, until they have thoroughly cross-examined them and considered all possible chances of error.

There are some circumstances, connected with the relative position and intercourse of the Iranian and Indian Parsis, that require more attentive and impartial investigation than they have hitherto received. It appears from the Epistles of Manushchihar, that in A. D 881, or 230 yeare after the death of the last Parsi king of kings, there were still considerable Zoroastrian communities in Irân. Manushchihar himself was the supreme highpriest and special controller of those in Pars and Kirman, and he mentions Shiraz, Sirkan, Kirman, Rai,

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and Sarakhs as still being head-quarters of the old faith These cities were distributed over the greater part of Persia, and we know, from the oldest colophon of the Pahlavi Vendidad, that a Zoroastrian community was also living in Sagastan in A. D. 1205. The Parsis were therefore numerous and prosperous in Iran, while their brethren were struggling to establish themselves in India. Down to the end of the ninth century, as we learn from the Dinkard, books VIII and IX, they still preserved in Iran nineteen Nasks of their sacred literature, out of the original twenty-one; while in India, as we have seen, they had to be content with three in the imperfect state abolutely necessary for ordinary worship.

From the tenth to the fifteenth century, so far as I am aware, Parsi history is almost a blank. What do we know of it, except the long visits of Parsis to the Kanheri caves in A.D. 1009 and 1021; arrivals of priests at Nausari in 1142 and 1215; the return of Mahyar in 1205 to Uchh in the Panjab, with a Pahlavi Vendidad MS., after residing six years in Sagastan; the arrival of the Iranian priest Rustam Mihrapan after 1269, and his writing a Visperad at Anklesar in 1278; also of his great-grand nephew Mihrapan Kai-Khusro, who wrote two Pahlavi Yasnas, two Pahlavi Vendidads, and some other MSS., in 1323 and 1324, for Chahal Sang of Kambay, a deceased Parsi of whom no other record but some five of Mihrapan's colophons has yet been found; and the building of a brick dokhma at Broch in 1309? We may suppose that earlier Rivayets than that of 1478 must have been received in India. Is there no trace of them in the records or registers of remarkable events, the so-called Fihrists or Bar-masias, that used to be kept by many Parsi priests in India?

In A.D. 1478 the surviving Rivayets commenced, and it soon becomes evident thot the Parsis in Iran had lost much of their influence, while those in India were improving their position. In 1511 four Iranian traders brought a Maktub to Gujerat, in which the Iranian Parsis estimate their own population in Sharfabad and Turkabad at 400, in Yezd at 500, in Kirman at 700, in Sistan at 2,700, and in Khurasan at 1,700 individuals (*nafar*). Supposing that *nafar* means "father of a family," this total of 6000 *nafar* would imply a totai Parsi population, in the districts mentioned, of between 25,000 and 30,000, probably no more than then existed in India.

If the Indian Dasturs of those times are to be blamed for inefficiency, be-

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cause they made enquiries to ascertain if the customs and traditions of the Iranian Dasturs were the same as their own, how much more are the latter to be blamed for allowing nine-tenths of their sacred literature, the Nasks, to be lost and destroyed between the tenth and fifteenth centuries? No doubt, those were troublous times for Dasturs in Iran, but they did not all become ignorant, for many valuable Mss. were copied by some of them; though the most important were neglected and remained uncopied, from sheer want of energy, until they disappeared. And when the Indian Dasturs enquired about the Nasks in 1478, they could only obtain a very brief statement of their general contents, which was only partially trustworthy.

It is not owing to a similar want of energy that the modern Parsis, with all their education, enterprise, and common-sense, have allowed, and are still allowing, the gradual destruction of many old documents, in the shape of Fihrists and other memoranda of old members of their community, which would constitute the sole material for much of their history, if complete copies of them were collected and preserved, by their own official leaders, for the future information and use of their community.

I think you will find replies to all your questions in this letter, though not in the same order as you adopted; and you will see that it has been necessary to state the reasons for my opinions at some length. You are at liberty either to publish this letter, or to use it otherwise, as you please: and if yon wish for the newspaper cuttings to be returned kindly let me know.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) E. W. West.

To Mancherji Palanji Kutar, Esq.

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A HAPPY NAOROZ.

(ZOROASTER'S MESSAGE.)

BY

Sorabjee Pestonjee Kanga Esq., Assistant Accountant General,
H. H. The Nizam's Government.

I

Ye, who from far and nigh have come to learn
The Sacred Word of Mazda great and good,
Lend me your ears, your best attention turn
To what I true reveal, and deeply brood
O'er what you hear. If rightly understood,
My message will your minds for ever close
Against all teachings false and doctrines crude,
All spurious faiths and superstitions gross,
Which to the human soul are deadly foes.

II.

And first I'll tell you of the Spirits twain,
The One that showers plenty and increase,
The other causer of all kinds of pain,
Of doubts and fears, of foul and fell disease,
From which there is no respite or release.
In thought, precept, intelligence, and deed,
They are opposed. Their nature disagrees ;
The First inspires you with a noble creed,
The second tempts you to deceit and greed.

III.

Almighty Mazda has divulged to me
The knowledge best to guide man here below ;
This wisdom pure I now convey to ye,
From which all earthly happiness will flow;

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No harm will touch ye, and no grief ye'll know.
But if His sovereign Word ye do not heed,
Each day your sorrows and your woes will grow.
Your lives will seethe in poverty and need ;
From hell's grim jaws your souls will ne'er be freed.

IV.

He is the Lord of all, all-knowing Wise,
The Father of Ârmaiti, noble mind,
The first and fruitful source, from which arise,
All actions virtuous, all feelings kind,
That man to man in love and union bind.
He seeth all and cannot be deceived;
His holy Mãthra ye will always find
A mine of priceless treasures unconceived,
If humbly sought and with true faith received.

V.

Ye, who with zeal obey His high commands,
Perennial health and bliss shall sure attain ;
Your work shall ever prosper in your hands,
Your cherished objects ye shall always gain.
Whilst in His service every nerve ye strain,
Ye'll see His face, His gracious favours win ;
He'll smooth your rugged ways and make them plain.
Lead virtuous lives, unsoiled by taint of sin,
Your bodies clean, your hearts as pure within.

VI.

The Omnipotent's praises let us sing,
He's Truth and Wisdom, Grace and matchless Might,
Of all creation the Eternal King,
Whose ministers are the Amshâspands bright,
That in his presence stand in quenchless light.

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Judicious, just, benevolent and brave,
They guard the faithful and protect the right ;
They guide the wand'ring, and the sinking save,
Distressful tossed on life's tumultuous wave.

VII.

Ahurmazd's laws are immutably fixed ;
The righteous soul to paradise repairs,
Wherein its lot is happiness unmixed.
The evil soul is plunged in carking cares,
In burning hell the direst tortures bears.
In spite of hoarded gold, the miser grieves ;
The bounteous in God's grace and bounty shares.
His store is never less, he dreads no thieves,
The more he gives, the more from Heaven receives.

VIII.

Now offer up to Him your solemn songs,
To the Omniscient Lord, who loveth all,
To whom alone the universe belongs.
Good thought, good word, good deed, these words recall,
They'll save ye from each lure, each snare, each fall
Their magic charm will thrive you here below ;
Hereafter, give you joys that never pall.
To gain His grace divine do not be slow,
Adhere to truth, the rest He will bestow.

IX.

Serve Him alone, discard all wicked Deevs,
Whose ways are crooked and whose words are lies,
Beware of Ahriman, who e'er deceives,
And who with pleasing wiles your downfall tries;
In Mazda trust, who with your prayers complies.
He'll stand your friend, as he has always stood,
If you stand true to this old teaching wise,

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That truth's the daintiest feast, the highest good,
And virtue is supreme beatitude.

X.

So preached Zor'aster in the days of old,
When Persia was the mistress of the world ;
When Parsee monarchs sat on thrones of gold,
When Kava's glorious banner stood unfurled,
And 'gainst all foes defiance hurled.
Those days are gone, a world-wide empire's past,
And we are wand'rers by fortune whirled,
But still those words are true from first to last,
And they shall raise again a race down-cast.

XI.

A glorious legacy for us they are,
Than thrones and crowns and kingdoms valued more ;
Through storms and darkness, like a brilliant star,
They guide us to bright Heaven's blissful shore.
They thrilled the hearts of heroes once before ;
Let their inspiring echoes once more ring
In Parsee ears, as in the days of yore ;
And on this happy Nowroze let them bring,
To all that endless joy of which they sing.

Gosha Mahal Kunta,
Hyderabad (Deccan,)

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SAVAṄHÂCHA ARENAVÂCHA

By Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, Esq., M. A.

The Âbãn (§34), Drvâsp (§14), Râm (§24) and Ashi (§34) Yasts contain the myth of two fair ladies Savaṅhâ and Arenavà. I will make an attempt to prove that they are the Iranian representatives of the Greek constellations Andromeda and Kassiopeia.

Professor Westergaard read the two words bearing the names 'Sa vaṅ ha·vâ cha' and 'Ere na vâ cha.' Dr. Geldner reads them 'Saṅ ha vâ chi' and 'A-rè na vâ chi.

'Saṅ ha vâ chi' is the reading of F_1 (Âbãn), E_1 (Drvâsp) aud F_1, Pt_1 (Râm). F_1 (Drvâsp) has the last vowel of the word, *i*, added on the margin. Three MSS. only have got this reading, out of which two, E_1, Pt_1, also read the word as Saṅ ha vâ cha in the Âbãn, and Pt_1 has the latter reading in the Drvâsp. Thus we see that only one MS. writer is consistent in sticking to the reading in all the places. Moreover there are five MSS. F_1, Pt_1, J_{10}, L_{18}, O_3, which have the latter reading. There are other readings too:—Sa vaṅ hâ cha, Sa vaṅ·ha vâ cha.

As to 'A rè na vâ chi', it is the reading of F_1, Pt_1, (Âbãn) and E_1 (Drvâsp), all which three MSS., have A rè na vâ cha in the Râm, thus as it were stultifying their own reading in the other places; E_1, L_{18}, (Âbãn), and J_{10} (Râm) also have A rè na vâ cha. There are MSS. which have Èrè na vâ cha too.

Both these words were formerly taken as common nouns bv Spiegel (1863), Geldner and Harlez (1881), and it seems that after Darmesteter[1] pointed out the mistake in Europe they were taken as proper names of women and that may explain Geldner's readings Saṅ ha vâ chi and A rè na vâ chi to accord with Firdusi's Saharnâz and Arnavâz.

Of the Parsi translators who interpreted the text in India, the opinion of the first and the foremost, Anquetil's teacher, Kumânâ Dâd-dârû of Surat, can be found in Anquetil's translation (1771). Anquetil does not seem to have seen the two proper names in the text.

1 See "Études Iraniennes," par James Darmesteter, Tome second, (1888) pp. 213-4.

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Dastur Edulji Dârâbji Jâmâsp-âsâ published the translation of the Âbãn Yast in Gujarati in 1833. Dastur Edulji read the two words 'suanghuâêtê èrènuâêchê' and translated them as two adjectives qualifying Thraêtaona and meaning 'રાસતે સખુનનો કેહેનારો', "speaker of truthful words." Dastur Ardesar Mullãn-Firûzjînâ followed Dastur Edulji's translation in 1861.

In 1866, after the commencement in India of the Avesta studies on a scientific basis, initiated by the late Mr. K. R. Cama, Ervad Seheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, perhaps for the first time, declared the two words, Savañhavâcha and Èrènavâcha, as the names of the two sisters of Jamsîd "whom Zahâk kept in his palace and who were delivered by Farîdûn."[1]

Soon after this, in 1872, Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Mehrjirana and Ervad Minocheherji Sapurji Vachha published their *Yast-bâ-m'anî*, Vol. II, in which the two words are taken as proper names.

My revered father Ervad Tahmuras, in his Gujarati translation of the Âbãn Yast published in 1874, translated the two words as proper names.[2]

As an interesting study in the evolution of transtation, I will quote here the translations of the various Parsi translators, and that of Anquetil as being inspired by his Parsi *Ustâd* Kumânâ Dâd-dârû :

" Maintenant aidez-moi, dites que je vive hereux et grand, que mon corps vive dans ce monde avec pureté et sans mal."—Zend Avesta, par M. Anquetil du Perron, Tome second, p. 169, (1771).

" હેવો નાપાક ભુડો જે જેહાક તેહેને તોરવાની મુરાદ ચાહી રાસતે સખુનનો કેહેનારો કે જે છે નેક કાલણુદનો પેદા થાએલો જેહાંનમાંહાં કે નેક જીવશાથે જીવનારો હેવો જે ફરેદુન પાદશાહા."—Âvãn-Yast-bâ-m'anî, by Herbad Edulji Dastur Darabji Jamasp-Asa, p. 60, (1833).

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1 'Zartoshti Abhyas,' by K. R. Camaji, p. 345, (1866-68).

2 See Ardvi-Sûr Yast-bâ-m'anî, transtated by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshah Anklesaria. (7-7-1874), Bombay. In a note on § 34, Ervad Tahmuras says: " Erenavâcha and Savañhâcha were both certain ladies and they were specimens of beauty of their time. As to who these ladies were, it appears from the Avesta that they were both beloved of Zahâk, and Zahâk had kept them hidden in a place of concealment. In most of the Sâh-nâmahs published here (in Bombay), they are said to be the *sisters* of Jamsîd, but in the Sâh nâmah published in Paris in 1838 with French Translation by the French Savant Mohl, they are mentioned as the *daughters* of Jamsîd. Whatever may be the case, none of these statements can be believed as in this passage of the Avesta it is said that Faridûn married them Because, after the fall of Jamsîd, Zahâk took both these ladies away with him ; he ruled for 1000 years, thereafter, along with Zahâk's kingdom, these two ladies, too, were handed over to Farîdûn ; Then, in spite of the age of these two ladies, being almost as old as that of Zahâk, young Farîdûn married them and had children begotten of them."

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" અને.....જે જોહાક છે તેહેને હું મારૂ અને શેકશતે કરૂ હું જે રાશત શખુનનો નેક કાલબુદ્દનો દુનીઆંમાં પેદા થાએલો તે જીંદેગીની સાથે હંમેશ બાલાતર રેહું."—Khordah-Avesta-bâ-m'anî, by Dastur Ardesar bin Mullâ Rustamji Mullâ Firuzjînâ, pp. 368-369, (A. Y. 1230).

" અને તેને હાત જીરતી પકડાઇ ગએલી બે (ઓરતો) સેહેરનવાજ અને અરનવાજ કે જેઓ ઘણાજ ખુબસુરત બદનવાલી અને જેઓ બંનદમો પડેલી છે તેઓને બાકક જનવાસારૂ હું છોડવી લાવું."—Yast-bâ-m'anî, Vol. II, by Eruchji Dastur Sohrabji Meherjiranana and Ervad Minocheherji Sapurji Vachha, p. 55, (1872).

" અને **સવહ્-હુવાચ** (શેહેર્નાજ) અને **એરેનવાચ** (અર્નવાજ) નામે તેની બે પિયારીઓ, જેઓ આ દુન્યામાં જન્મ લેતી સ્ત્રીઓમાં ઘણાંજ સુંદર બદનવાલી છે, અને જેઓને ઘણીજ છુપી જગોમાં રાખવામાં આવી છે, તેઓને હું મારા હાથમાં લાવું (અથવા મેલવું)."—Âvân, Yast-bâ-m'anî, by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshah Anklesaria, p. 35, (1874).

" વળી શેહેરનાજ તથા અરનવાજ (નામની) તેની બે પ્યારીઓ, જેઓ (આએ) દુનિયાંની સ્ત્રીઓમાં સઉથી સોહામણાં શરીરની છે, (તથા) જેઓ ઘણાજ ઉંડા ગારમાં (પડેલી છે) (તેણીઓને) હું છોડવું (અથવા છુટકારો આપું.)."—Khordah Avesta, by Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga, p. 256, (First Ed. 1880, Fifth Edi. 1902).

I take these two words to be two proper names, but I consider that the *cha* at the end of both the names is the conjunctive particle, the names only being S a v a ṅ h â and A r è n a v â .

I take Arènavâ (=Sans. arṇavâ=foaming, restless) as the nymph in the ocean of air. *Cf.* RV, I, 19, 7, 'samudram arṇavam,' "the waving sea" ; *lb.* I, 85, 9, 'apãm arṇavam,' "a flood of the waters." *Cf.* also Y. IX, 22, 'arènâum,' which Ervad Kavasji Kanga takes to mean "the race-course," and Dr. Ch. Bartholomae translates into German "Kampf, Wettkampf."

The other name may possibly be Saṅhavâ, as appears from its persicized form *S*aharnâz, but if it is Savaṅhâ, I may see in the name some connection with the Avesta 'Sâvaṅh', and it may be derived from the Sans. 'savas'='udaka' ="water"; *cf.* Vedic '*S*avasâ,' the name of Indra's mother, (RV. 8,45,5.)

Arènavâ and Savaṅhâ may thus be two sprites residing in the ocean of air: 1) "the sea-born" and 2) " the watery."

There are three words in the sentence, z a z â i t é ê, G a ê t h y â i tê, a b d ô t è m ê, which require careful interpretations.

Ervad Kavasji takes 'zazâitî' to be a derivative of 'zan'="to beget," meaning " the bearer of children." Prof. Ch. Bartholomae takes the word to be an infinitive form meaning 'zur zeugung von Kindern',="for the begetting of children." Dr. Geldner attributed almost the same meaning to the word : "zur

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fortpflanzung." All other Parsi translators seem to have derived the word in the same manner.

Prof. Darmesteter says in his 'Études Iraniennes': [1]

"Le mot zazâitéê est obscur; l'on ne voit pas à quel membre de phrase il se rapporte. Je le traduirais très hypothétiquement "pour les faire sortir," *zâ* étant traduit en pehlvi par *shabkûntan*, persan هشتن, *emittere*."

I take the word 'zazâitî' to be the same as the Vedic 'jajhjhâtî'—"dashing, splashing or rushing waters," which, according to Monier-Williams, is an onomatopoetic word formed like a pres. part. from a supposed rt *jajhjh*.

The variant readings of the word are zazâtéê, zazâitéê, zatâtêê, zazâitê; out of these 'zazâitê' seems to me to be correct.

The readings of the next word are as follows: In F_1, Pt_1, E_1, P_{13}, K_{19} (Âbãn), F_1, E_1 (Drvâsp), it is g a ê th y â i t ê; in L_{18} g a ê t h â i t ê; in JM_4 g a ê t h y â i t é; other forms being g a ê t h y â i t i; g a ê t h y â î c h a (K_{12}); g a i t h y â i t i; g a i t h y â i t a.

On the strength of ML_2 (Drvâsp), Dr. Geldner reads the word g a ê t h y â i . t ê (Âbãn). Prof. Westergaard keeps g a ê t h y â ich a of K_{12}. I think 'gaêthyâitê' or 'gaêthyâiti' is the correct form, from the crude form 'gaêthyaṭ.' It seems to occur only once in the Avesta literature.

Of the next word, 'Abdôtèmê' is the reading in all the MSS. (Âbãn and Rãm, where one MS. has a b d ô t è m è m). The word occurs only once in the Avesta literature Ervad Kavasji takes it to mean "inaccessible," "a deep cavern." Dr. Ch. Bartholomae has '*trefflichste*,' "most excellent". Darmesteter, reading 'gaêthyâicha yôi abdôtèmê' translates "et qui sont la merveille du monde," suggesting that "*Abda* est le parsi *awad*, pehlvi [illegible], persan افد, افده, d'oû افديدن "admirer." The Parsi empirical translators before 1866 translated it as "living a virtuous life."

I take the word 'abda' = ap-dâ = "giving water"; *cf.* Pers. ابد "cloud". Thus 'abdô-tèma' might mean "yielding water the most.'

The verb 'azâni' of the sentence is in four MSS. (Drvâsp) written 'anâni.' I think it is owing to the curious mode of writing *n* almost equal to *z* in the old MSS. that this mistake has taken place. I may take 'az' here to mean "to carry away." Dastur Ardesar Mullã Fîrûzjînâ reads the word 'zânû' and translates it "that is Zohâk." Dastur Jâmâsp-âsâ has the same translation, but the reading of the word is correct.

1 Tome second, p. 215, n. 4.

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I take 'vaŋta' = "the two wives." following the later Parsi translators; *cf.* Sk. 'vanitâ.' Dastur Mullâ Fîrûzjinâ read it 'vaŋtâê', translating it "I may smite", and Dastur E. Jâmâsp-âsâ has " in order to smite".

After accounting for the value of words, I translate the sentence thus :

I (Thraêtaona) may also carry away his (Azi Dahâka's) two wives Savaŋhâ and Arènavâ, who are the fairest of the celestial bodies (kèhrpa) in the most watery material rushing 'ocean of air.'

The Persian forms of the two names, Savaŋhâ and Arènavâ, as occurring in Firdusi's *Sâh*-nâmah, Mojmal Tawârikh and Syâvakhsh-nâmah, are *Sahar*-nâz and Arnavâz.

In Tabari 205,17 the names are Sanawâz and Arwanâz.

As regards the addition of the last *z* in these Persian proper names, it should be noted that it seems to be the practice in the later Pahlavi dialect to embody in the word the conjunctive *cha* appended to some of the Avesta Proper names: *e.g.*, Pahl. Târîch = Av. Taurvi-cha, Pahl. Zârîch = Av. Zairi-cha. Pahl. Aîrij = Av. Airya-cha.

Thus from Tabari's 'Sanawâz' I am led to suppose that either the reading Saŋhavâ or Savaŋhâ is correct, the latter being preferable.

The Avesta mentions them only as the 'vaŋta' of the Azi Dahâka, whom Thraêtaona wished to carry away. The Pahlavi literature does not seem to contain any reference to the two ladies. Firdusi's *Sâh*-nâmah contains more details.

I will give a summary of the story of the two ladies as given by Firdusî :

King Jamsîd had two sisters (daughters?) named *Saharn*âz and Arnawâz. When Ḍahhâk defeated Jamsîḍ, the two were handed over to him, the dragon-faced. After Ḍahhâk had ruled for 960 years, he saw, one long dark night, three warriors in a dream. He unfolded to Arnawâz the details of the dream. At her advice, he invited learned soothsayers to foretell the forebodings of the dream. One of them named Zîrak boldly predicted the fate of Ḍahhâk at the hands of Farîdûn, who would raise the arms in order to avenge the death of his father. Farânak, the mother of Farîdûn, entrusted her son after the death of her husband Âtbîn, to the owner of a meadow in which the cow Purmâyah was. After three years, Ḍahhâk came to know of Farîdûn's place of concealment. Farânak soon removed Farîdûn from the meadow to the Mount Alburz and entrusted him to a pious man. When Farîdûn became sixteen years of age, he came to his mother and learnt from her his father's

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name and parentage and of his cruel death at the hands of the cooks of Ḍahhâk, who fed the two serpents on his shoulders, every day, with the brains of two human beings. Farîdûn with his two elder brothers, Kayânîs and Purmâyah went to fight against Ḍahhâk on the day Khurdâd. They came to the place where the Arab troops were kept, where the Yazdã-worshippers dwelt. A well-wisher of the place, a veritable Sarûs came from heaven and taught Farîdûn the art of magic (afsûn). Thence he directed his course towards the river called Arvand in the Pahlavânî[1] language, which is named Dajlah in Arabic. On reaching the Arvand, he asked the keeper of the river to take him over to the opposite shore with his army. As the keeper refused to do so without the mandate of the king (Ḍahhâk), Farîdûn wrathful at the keeper's words jumped into the river with his horse 'Gulrang' and his co-mates followed him on the back of their swift horses. After swimming across the river, all the warriors, on alighting at the shore, turned their steps towards Bait-ul-mukaddas, which they called Gang-daz-hukht[2] in the Pahlavânî tongue, which is called 'the Holy House' in Arabic. On nearing the city, at the distance of a mile, Farîdûn saw the palace of the Aẓdahâ (=Dragon). With the bull-headed mace, he killed the guards watching the palace, the sorcerers and the 'dîvs' that were within the palace and sat on the throne of the worshipper of sorcery. He brought, out of the harem, black-eyed and sun-faced idols. Then the sisters (daughters?) of king Jamsîd shed tears and asked Farîdûn who he was and recounted unto him what trouble and calamities they suffered on account of the wicked dragon holding the faith of Ahriman. On hearing from Farîdûn his name, the story of his adventure and his resolution to take the revenge of his father's death, Arnavâz soon recognized him as the man of whom Ḍahhâk had seen the dream and greeted him as the killer of the Dragon as predicted by the Sooth-sayer Zîrak. Gandaraw,[3] one of the well-wishers of Ḍahhâk ran up to him and informed him of what had happened. Ḍahhâk hastened to regain his lost possession. On arriving at his palace, when Ḍahhâk saw the two damsels, Ṣiharnâz and Arnawâz, plotting with Farîdûn against his life, he drew out his sharp sword out of the sheathe, and without a word or explanation he rushed against the two damsels. Farîdûn, swift as the wind, laid his hand on the bull-headed mace, smote it on the head of Ḍahhâk and cracked his helmet into two. The auspicious Sarûs came running and said: "Do not kill, for

1 Pahlavi.
2 Avesta 'Kvirinta Duzita'.
3 *Cf.* Avesta Gandareva in the Yasts Âbãn and Zamyâd.

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his time has not come ; tie him, thus broken, like a stone; carry him till you reach two narrowing mountains ; a prison within the narrow passage of the mountains will be good for him." As soon as Farîdûn heard this, he did not tarry long, he prepared a noose out of a lion's skin and bound his two hands and waist in chains, so that even a fighting elephant might not remove his fetters. The soldiers of Farîdûn then brought out the Dragon enchained with a noose on the back of a camel to the Mount Shîrkhvân. When Farîdûn, drove him within the mountain and desired to throw him headlong, the auspicious Sarûs came up and told a secret in Farîdûn's ears: " Take the captive up to the mount Damâvand away from the Arab hordes; take with you none but those without whom you cannot do." Farîdûn, therefore, brought Dahhâk and imprisoned him in the mount Damâvand. He selected a narrow passage in the mountains and observed a cave the bottom of which was invisible. He nailed his brain without injuring it with heavy nails and mannacled his hands on to the mountain. When Farîdûn became fifty years of age, three sons were born of him, two by Saharnâz and the youngest by Arnavâz.

This summary from the story of the Sâh-nâmah, which must have been taken from the old Pahlavi legends which do not seem to be extant, put in brief, states that Arnawâz (Avesta 'Arènavâ') and Saharnâz (Avesta 'Savañhâ') were two sisters (according to some MSS., daughters) of Jamsîd (Avestâ ' Yima khshaêta'), whom Dahhâk (Avestâ Azi Dahâka, the dragon with three mouths, three heads and six eyes) kept in his palace at Kang-dazhukht (Avestâ 'Kvirinta duzita'). Farîdûn relieved them, a thousand years less one day after their capture, from the distressful dungeon, having arrived thither on his gallant steed 'Gulrang', and married them at the age of 18. The two damsels gave birth to three sons, one of whom begotten of Arnawâz and named Aîrij (Avesta 'Airya') became the forefather of the Iranians (*i. e.*, the Persians).

I find in this story a corroboration with the fate of the Greek king Kepheus' daughter Andrŏmedâ, enchained to a rock from whence she was delivered by Perseus.

Kepheus, son of Belus, was king of Æthiopia. His wife Kassiopeia boasted of being fairer than the Nereids, *i.e.*, the Sea-nymphs. Poseidon, the God of the sea, sent a flood and a Sea-monster Cetus who can be satisfied only with human blood, in order to punish the profanity. Andrŏmedâ was the daughter of Kepheus by Kassiopeia and Kepheus was compelled to chain her to a rock on

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the shores, as the oracle of Ammon promised a riddance of the plague, should Andrŏmedâ be thrown to the Sea-monster. Perseus, son of Zeus and Dânâê, rescued Andrŏmedâ, Kepheus having promised her to him in marriage. By Andrŏmedâ he had one daughter and six sons, the eldest of whom Persês was regarded as the ancestor of the Perseîdae. Athena set her among the stars.[1]

It seems that the Æthiopian King Kepheus of the Greek myth represents the Avesta Yima Khshaêta. The boast of Kepheus' wife Kassiopeia has its counterpart in the Avesta account of the Khvarena departing from Yima on account of his untruthful statement and self-arrogation.[2] The flood brought about by Poseidon as alleged in the Greek myth can be compared to "the wicked winter" of Vendidâd Pargard 2, against which Ahura Mazdâ cautioned Yima to prepare, after the completion of 900 years of his rule, in an assembly which was convened in the famous Airyana Vaêja, on the margin of the river 'Good Dâityâ.' The Sea-monster, Cetus, who can be satisfied only with human blood, referred to in the Greek myth, may be the Greek prototype of the Avesta three-mouthed, three-headed, six eyed serpent, the Azî Dahâka, Firdausi's Azdahâ, on whose shoulders two serpents grew up on account of the kisses of Iblis (Ahriman). The Greek hero Perseus who delivered Andrŏmedâ from the chains can be equated with the Avesta Thraêtaona who carried away the two fair damsels Savaŋhâ and Arènavâ, the daughters of Jamsîd from the hold of 'the stinging serpent.' The heroine of this Greek myth, Andrŏ-medâ, seems to be the Median (?) Arènavâ, and her mother Kassiopeia may be taken as her companion named Savaŋhâ in the Avesta story. The steed 'Gulrang' of Farîdûn (Thraêtaona), mentioned only in Firdusi's epic, has a right to be identified with Pegasus, "the winged steed of the fountain," begotten by Poseidon ; he sprang forth from the bleeding body of his mother Medusa, when she was killed by Perseus. It is interesting to note that Pegasus had a twin brother Chrysâôr, who had a son named Gêryon, a giant with three heads and powerful wings; this shows that three-headed monsters are not uncommon in the Greek mythology.

Andrŏ-Medâ, the Median Andrŏ, the ancestress of the famous line of Perseîdae, seems to have something in her name which is common to that of Arènavâ, the Avestan sprite of the ocean of air. The Median Andrŏ's marriage

1 Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, from the German of Dr. Oskar Seyffert, Henry Nettleship, M. A., and J.E. Sandys, Litt. D. (1899).
2 Zamyâd Yast, 34 sq.

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with Perseus and begetting Persês, the ancestor of the Perseîdae, bear a striking resemblance to the marriage of Arnavâz with Farîdûn and her begetting Airya, the ancestor of the Iranians. In fact, the very names Perseus and Persês seem to evidence the fact of their having been borrowed from the Iranian community. The Sarûs of heaven referred to in Firdusi's epic as teaching magic to Farîdûn, may be compared to the Greek Athena showing to Perseus Medusa's head in the mirror of her shield, while she guided his hand for the blow. The advice of Sarûs to Farîdûn to tie Ḍahhâk broken *like a stone*, may be compared to Perseus, at Athena's instruction, *turning* Polydectes and his friends *into stone*, by the sight of the Medusa's head.

If we now turn to Vedic mythology we find the same tale rehearsed in an Indian garb. According to the Vedas (10,8), "Trita Âptya, knowing his paternal weapons and urged by Indra fought against and slew Visvarûpa, the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and released the cows." Again in RV. 10, 99, we are told that Trita slew the loudly roaring three-headed six-eyed demon with iron-pointed bolt. Then RV. I, 32 gives the story of "the *Waters*, *the wives of the destroyer* guarded by Ahî, that stood obstructed, but by slaying Vṛtra, Indra set open the cave that had confined them."[1]

From these three quotations of the Ṛig Veda, it can be seen that the Ahi Vṛtra of the Vedas is a being that can be equated with the Aẓi Dahâka of the Avesta; "the Waters, the wives of the destroyer," may be the two damsels Arènavâ and Savaṅhâ, the wives of Azi Dahâka, and Trita Âptya can be equated with 'Thraêtaona Âthwyânôis.'

The Satapatha Brâhmaṇa mentions Ekata, Dvita and Trita as three sons of Agni born from the waters. In Rig Veda I, 105, "Trita, fallen into the well, invokes the gods for succour; he, (Trita Âptya) also praises the seven rays of the Sun for his extrication from the well, when the ribs of the well close round him, like the rival wives of one husband." According to Sâyana, Ekata, Dvita and Trîta are three brother Ṛsis, Trita being cast into a well by the first two.

This Indian story bears resemblance to that of the two brothers of Farîdûn plotting against his life by hurling a stone over him when he was asleep at the foot of the mountain.[2]

1 For the Vedic quotations I am indebted to Tukârâm Tâtyâ's Edition of the Rigveda-Sanhitâ (1887), The Vedârthayatna, Vols. I-IV. (1876-1881), H. H. Wilson's Rig-Veda Sanhitâ, Vols. I-IV, (1850-1866), and A. A. Macdonell's "Vedic Mythology" (1897), in the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

2 See A. A. Macdonell's "Vedic Mythology", pp. 68-69.

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Rig Veda I, 163 refers to a horse springing from the firmament or from the water, having the wings of the falcon, that was given to Trita by Yama, whom Trita harnessed, whose reins were seized by Gandharba. The horse's mane is of gold ; his feet are of iron, and he is fleet as thought. The "he-goat," his brother is led in front of him and "the prayerful sages" follow him behind.

This horse can be compared with Farîdûn's Gulrang on whose back Farîdûn crosses the waters of the celestial river Arvand in order to save the two daughters of Jamsîd. Yama's giving the horse to Trita, as stated in the Veda, may be accounted for from the story of the *Sâh-nâmah* where Arnavâz and *Saharnâz* are called the daughters of Jamsîd.

The Atharva Veda Saṅhitâ (11, 4, 6) refers to Apô Devî, a constellation named "the waters" located in the North with the Saptarshi, and the Âsvalâyana Gṛhya Sûtra (I, 7, 22) mentions along with the Saptarshi and the Dhruva, the Arundhati of the North. Arundhati is the wife of Vasishṭha, one of the Saptarshis, the seven prayerful sages, representing the seven stars of the Great Bear, and is, by some native interpreters, taken to represent the Northern constellation Kassiopeia the Queen. It is possible that the Apô Devî is Andrŏmedâ resting by the side of Arundhatî.[1]

Moreover we have another post-Vedic legend of Nâga, who can be equated with the Avestâ Dahâka, if derived from the root dah, a fabulous serpent demon having a human face with the tail of a serpent. He is born of Kadru, wife of Kasyapa, in order to people pâtâla, the region below the earth.

It is possible that this post-Vedic nâga is a transformation of the Vedic Ahi Vṛtra representing the Draco of the sky, dwelling in the region below the Earth.

Finally, the reference to Gandaraw in Firdusi's story does not seem unwarranted. The Gandharba of the Vedas is a being hostile to Indra and is 'visvâ-vasu,' "possessing all goods" just like the *rich* Gandaraw of Firdusi. He seems to be localized in the high region of air or sky. He is the lover on whom smiles the Apsarâs, the female sprite moving in the waters. It is possible that Gandaraw was the keeper of the place of captivity of Arnawâz and *Saharnâz*, and Gandharaw's hostillty to Indra must have consisted in helping Vṛtra against the attack of Indra.

1 See Udaya Narain Singh's Hindi Translation of Surya Siddhânta, pp. 37 sq.

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This is a cursory attempt to shew that the Avestâ Arènavâ and Savaŋhâ are two Northern constellations, same as the Greek Andrŏmedâ and Kassiopeia and the Vedic 'âpah,' the wives of the Destroyer, are a distant reference to them. If the translation I offer of the Avesta 'zazâitêê abdôtèmê' be correct, there is no doubt that the author of the Yasts conceived them as aerial nymphs located in the region of the stars. The story of a human being with three heads and six eyes ruling over Iran for one thousand years less one day and his beautiful wives, kept in prison all the while, being freed from captivity by a young hero eighteen years of age, and giving birth to sons after marrying the young hero, can only be intelligibly explained on the hypothesis of their being placed in the region of the starry heavens by an old community, whose chief enjoyment was that of gazing the starry heavens and naming the celestial inmates residing therein. It is possible that the Indo Iranians as the first star gazers must have given, during their stay in the North, the names of Yima, Aẓi Dahâka, Arènavâ, Savaŋhâ and Thraêtaona to the Northern constellations of the royal group, which names must have been corrupted or translated into the language of the country where they were transplanted, after being mutilated in transit by a foreign community such as that of the Semites. Not only do the names, but even the whole story, undergo a transformation according to the tastes of the narrators of the tale and their environments, although the root-idea could not be much altered.

It is interesting to note the allocation of the place where the event is supposed to have taken place. Firdusi mentions Farîdûn as crossing the river Arvand in order to reach the place of concealment of Arnawâz and Śiharnâz, and the Mount Alburz as his place of refuge till he became eighteen years of age. This mount Alburz must be the mythical mount which, as the Bûndahiśn says, surrounds the whole world, and the river Arvand is one of the two rivers, the Arêng and the Vêh, which according to the Bûndahiśn, flowing from the North, envelope the whole world and return to their original source. The Arvand, which is a Persian corruption of Arêng, is the river Araŋhâ, Raŋhâ, of the Avesta, same as the Vedic Rasâ.

It is possible that such a feeble attempt as this to interpret a rare myth of the Avesta may open a new vista of thought with regard to the exegesis and interpretation of Avesta myths and I, therefore, make bold to publish this paper in the Jubilee volume of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zartôstî Madressa, to which I am so much indebted for being initiated into the Avesta-Pahlavi studies.

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APPENDIX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF THE SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY ZARTHOSTI MADRESSA.

In December 1912, I called a meeting of the past and present pupils of the Madressa by means of a public announcement in the Parsee Papers, and by a circulatory letter addressed to most of the past pupils of the Madresa. The meeting was held on 17th December 1912, at the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution. A committee of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, was appointed to organize the Jubilee celebrations.

1. Shams ul-Ulma Dastur Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana, B.A.
2. Dastur Rustamji Jamsetji.
3. Dastur Dr. Manekji N. Dhala, M.A., Ph. D.
4. Dr. Manekji Bomonji Davar, B A., Ph. D.
5. The Late Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia.
6. Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha.
7. Miss Bhicaiji Ardesir Engineer, M.A., L.L.B.
8. Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A.
9. „ Pestonji Cowasji Motiwalla, M.A.
10. „ Framji Hormasji Arjani.
11. Naib Dastur Noshirwan Kaikobad Aderbad.
12. Mr. Hormasji Dinshaw Gharda, B.A., L.L. B.
13. „ Framji Dosabhoy Wadia, M.A.
14. „ Maneksha Nowroji Dastur, M.A.
15. „ Gushtasp Kaikhosru Nariman.
16. „ Dhunjishaw Meherjeebhoy Madon, M. A., L.L.B.
17. „ Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

At the subsequent meeting of the committee, the following names were added.

18. Mr. Khodabux Edalji Poonegar, B. A.

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Group of the Trustees, the teaching staff and the pupils past and present of the Madrasa.

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19. Mr. Maneksha Nuserwanji Dastur, M A.

The Committee appointed Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana B. A. as its President and myself as its Secretary, and resolved to celebrate the Jubilee in the following ways :—

1. To issue a Jubilee Volume.
2. To hold a Jashan on the Jubilee occassion and offer thanks-giving prayers.
3. To get a Prize-giving Exhibition held on the occasion.
4. To present an address to Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Bart., the present holder of the title of the great man whose name the Institution bears.
5. To have a group-photo of the Trustees, Teachers and Pupils of the Madresa.
6. To hold a Literary Conversazione, where coins, old manuscripts, &c. pertaining to Iranian literature may be exhibited.
7. To start a fund for the Jubilee celebrations.

The Jubilee Celebration Fund, opened according to the last item, amounted to Rs. 1,343.

In accordance with these resolutions, a group photo was taken on 3rd March 1913, with the kind permission of the Principal, in the rear compound of the Elphinstone High School. The Conversazione was held at the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, between 5-30 and 7-30 p.m. on 3rd March. An address was given to Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Bart., on the occasion. Thanks-giving Jashan-Service was held at the Seth Hormusji Bomonji Wadia Fire Temple at 9-45 a.m. on 4th March. It was conducted by Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana B.A. The Prize Distribution was held on the evening of the same day at 5-45, when the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, I. C. S., the Senior member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay, presided.

I give below an account of the two evening functions—the Conversazione and the Prize Distribution—as given by the Times of India, in its issues of 4th and 5th March 1913.

The Times of India of Tuesday 4th March 1913.

THE ZARTHOSTI MADRESSA JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS.

"The first of the series of celebrations organized in connection with the fifty years' jubilee of the Sir J. J. Zarthosti Madressa was held on Monday in the

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Sir J. J. Benevolent Institution, Hornby Road, Bombay. The institution, which has turned out 570 scholars during its existence, was founded in the year 1863 by the Dowager Lady Awanbai Jamsetji Jijibhoy, in memory of her husband the first Baronet bearing the name, for the spread of the knowledge of the Iranian languages in general and the Zoroastrian religion in particular among the members of the Parsi community. A conversazione was arranged on Monday by the past and present students of the Madressa at which a large number of Parsi ladies and gentlemen were present. There were also a few Europeans including the Hon. Sir Richard Lamb. The function took the form of an exhibition on a small scale of rare books and coins relating to the Iranian literature and history and a presentation of an address to the Hon. Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy.

"In opening the proceedings, Shams-ul-ulma J.J. Modi gave an interesting account of the exhibits displayed in the hall. The most attractive of these was a manuscript copy of Dante's "Divine Comedy" in Italian about 562 years old, side by side with the copy of "Arda Viraf Nameh," a Persian book, which is supposed by some to be the source from which the Italian poet drew his inspirations. The Italian manuscript is a copy made from the original within thirty years of Dante's death. It was presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827 as its President. Apparently, it remained unrecognised and neglected in the lumber-room of the Society's library for a long time, until at last Sir George Birdwood was appointed secretary of the Society. It seems that while ransacking the room for some book Sir George came across the manuscript and immediately recognising its worth had it placed among the rare books of the library. He estimates its value at one lakh of rupees, an offer to purchase it for Rs. 30,000 being only rejected in recent years. Then there are coins of Sassanian and Parthian Kings worth an inspection. Mr. Modi announced that it was intended to bring out a memorial volume in connection with the jubilee of the institution to which the savants of Europe and America had been invited to contribute and for which he also asked contributions from the past and present students of the Madressa.

"Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, one of the oldest members of the Madressa, then read the address of the past and present students. It referred to the foun-

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dation of the institution by the Dowager Lady Awanbai and to the interest which had been taken in its work by the different members of Sir Jamsetji's family during the past fifty years. It recorded their sense of gratitude to these and other members of the community for the help rendered by them to the institution, including the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji, Jijibhoy, the late Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, the late Mr. K. R. Cama, Dr. Manekji B. Davar, the late Dastur Dr. Peshotan B. Sanjana, the first principal of the institution, and his successor Dastur Darab P. Sanjana In conclusion. they prayed that God Almighty might give long life, health and happiness to the present Sir Jamsetjee and enable him to take an ever-increasing interest in this institution, and that it might bring more and more benefit to the community and honour to the glorious name of his illustrious family.

"The address was put in a beautifully designed silver casket and presented to Sir Jamsetji.

(*The following is the full text of the address*).

To

THE HON'BLE

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, BART.

HONOURABLE SIR,

On this auspicious occasion of the fifty years' Jubilee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa, we, the past and present students of the Institution, beg to approach you, through our Committee appointed for the purpose, and to give an expression to our most sincere feelings of gratitude for all the advantages of learning that we have received at the Institution. During the last 25 years, the Madressa has rendered useful help to the local Colleges affiliated to the Bombay University, as it teaches the course prescribed in the Avesta, Pahlavi and old Persian Languages for the different University Examinations.

The Institution was founded in 1863, by your great grand-mother, the Dowager Lady Awanbai Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, in memory of her illustrious husband, the first Sir Jamsetjee, that great and good man, whose honoured memory the whole of the Parsee Community, whether of Bombay or elsewhere, cherishes with feelings of respect, love and gratitude.

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We revere with feelings of thankfulness the memory of the distinguished lady, who founded the Institution and the memory of your grand-uncle, another great and good man, the late Mr. Rustomjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, who took a very active part in advising the Dowager Lady to found the Institution and evinced great interest in its welfare in the early years of its existence.

Since then, your honoured predecessors in title, and you, Sir, have taken great interest in the welfare of the Institution and have showed great solicitude for its advancement. For all this, we most respectfully and sincerely beg to express our deep gratitude.

This Institution, and the Translation Fund which bears the honoured name of Sir Jamsetjee, have done a good deal of good to our community, by the spread of the knowledge of our Iranian languages in general, and of our Zoroastrian Religion in particular.

The register of the Madressa shows, that during the last fifty years, about 570 students joined the Institution. Of these, a large number finished the five years' course of the Institution. Out of this number, a good many have taken an active part in the spread of the knowledge of our religion and our religious languages. For all these benefits, the Parsee Community is highly indebted to this Institution.

We record our sense of obligation to all the members of the Sir Jamsetjee family, and to all other generous donors, among whom the honoured name of the late Mr. Khurshedjee Furdoonjee Parekh stands at the top, for their liberal endowments.

We take this opportunity to record our thankfulness to the past and present Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, who have taken a great interest in the welfare of the Institution entrusted to their care, and to its past and present Superintendents, the late Mr. Sorabjee Shapurjee Bengalee, the late Mr. Khurshedjee Rustomjee Cama, the well-known scholar who introduced into this city the Western scientific method of learning Oriental languages, and Dr. Maneckji Bamanji Davar, M. A., Ph. D., for the valuable assistance they have given to the Trustees from time to time for the good of the Institution.

We recognize, with feelings of gratitude, the services of the first Principal of the Institution, the late Shams ul-ulma Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byramjee Sanjana, M.A., Ph. D., and tender our homage of thanks to his successor

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The Hon'ble Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.
(Present Baronet).

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Shams-ul-ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., and to all other past and present teachers for the knowledge that we have received at their hands.

In conclusion, we pray, that the Almighty, Ahura Mazda, may be pleased to bestow long life, health and happiness upon you, and enable you to look to this Institution with increased interest, solicitude and affection. We further pray, that this Institution may prosper and bring more and more benefit and advantage to the community, and honour to the glorious name of your illustrious family.

3rd March 1913.

We have the honour to be,
Honourable Sir,
Your most obedient servants.
(*Here follow the Signatures of the Members of the Committee.*)

SIR JAMSETJI'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS.

"Sir Jamsetji replying said:—

'Ervad Sheriarji, the past and present students of the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Zarthosti Madressa, ladies and gentlemen,

'I thank you heartily for the address which you have kindly presented to me on the auspicious occasion of the fifty years' jubilee of the Madressa. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me, the representative of the family whose name this institution bears, and to all the members of the Sir Jamsetjee family, that the institution which my revered great-grand-mother, the Dowager Lady Avabai, had, with the advice of her son, the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, the foresight to found, has successfully passed through a period of 50 years, and has done a deal of good for the cause of Iranian languages in general and of religious literature in particular. Our learned secretary Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Modi has given me an opportunity for a hasty perusal of the history of the institution, which he is going to read here to-morrow, the day of the jubilee. From that history I find, that my great grand-mother, when she founded the institution, had some misgivings at first about its success. So, in her first letter to the trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, announcing her gift of Rs. 35,000 for the purpose of founding the institution to commemorate the name of her husband

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the first Sir Jamsetji, she had stipulated that in case it did not work well, she should have the right to divert the charity to some other purpose for the benefit of the community. But thanks to God, the institution has worked well, and has step by step, enlarged its scope of utility. At first, the portals were open only to young men of the priestly class. They were then thrown open to laymen as well. To-day it teaches the full University course of the Avesta, Pahlavi and Old Persian languages as prescribed for the various Arts Examinations. Before this Institution was founded, there existed here the traditional method of teaching the Avesta This method had, and still has, a particular advantage of its own, but it was found at the time, that in conjunction with the old, the modern Western method must be associated. That object which was held in view from the very commencement, has been steadily pursued. For a number of years, we appointed every year two examiners connected with the Universities of Europe and America to hold annual examinations and we were pleased to find that their reports were satisfactory.

"One of the primary objects in founding the institution, was to supply to the community a sufficient number of young priests versed in our ancient lore —both according to the Eastern traditional and Western scientific method— who could be invested with dasturships and vice-dasturships of our community and with the *panthaks* or headships of our several fire-temples. From inquiry, I have found that the past students of this Madressa have risen to dasturships and naib—dasturships in various Parsi centres like Bombay, Poona, Surat, Oodwada, Mhow and Aden. I am glad to note, that the learned principal and his learned colleagues on the teaching staff and even the secretary of the institution were at one time the pupils of the Madressa. In the case of the teaching staff, I and my colleagues, the trustees of the Parsi Punchayet, have been gratified to find, that one of them, Ervad Edulji Kersaspji Antia, celebrates with the jubilee of the Madressa, as it were, his own jubilee—the jubilee of his connection with the institution. His name stands first on the roll of the very first batch of students, and after a successful career at the Madressa, where he won a fellowship and a medal, he has served the institution as a teacher for the long period of 42 years. His is a unique case and I congratulate him on this happy event. I wish that he may continue to have vigour of mind and body to serve his alma-mater for years to come Of his contemporaries in the first batch

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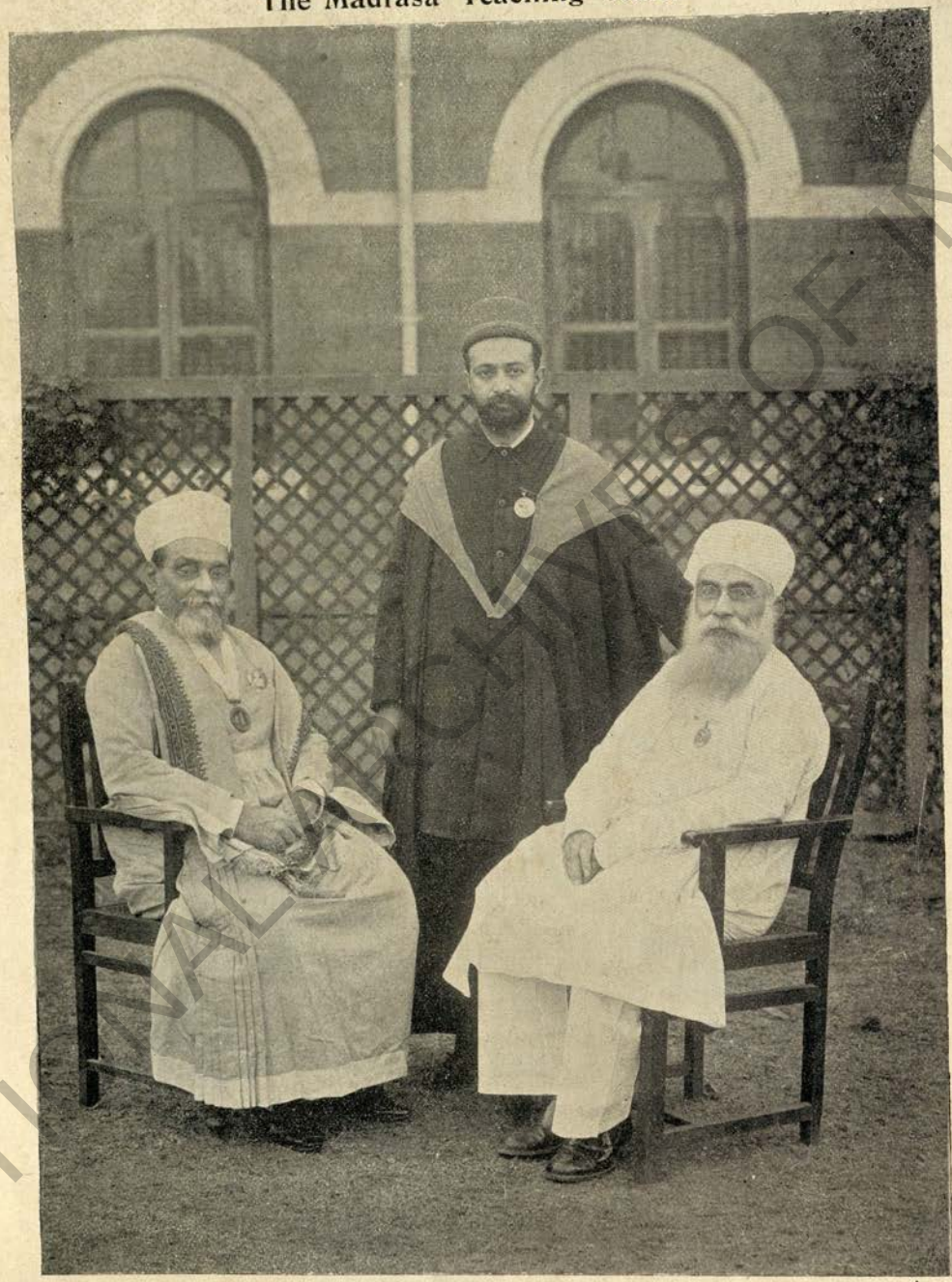
The Madrasa Teaching Staff.



Shams-ul-Ulma
Dastur Darabji Peshotanji
Sanjana, B. A.,
(Principal.)

Mr. Bahramgore Tehmurus
Anklesaria, M. A.

Ervad Edaljee
Kersaspji Antia.

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of 12 students, three are still living ; and among them I am glad to find Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, one of our best Iranian scholars, a devoted student throughout the whole of his life, and the venerable Dastur Rustomji Jamsetji, the Dastur of Surat. It is interesting to recall that Dastur Rustomji was " herbood" of my revered grand-uncle Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, who took such an active part in the founding of the Madressa and in its administration in its early stage. It gives me much pleasure to note the tone which runs throughout the whole of your address—gratitude to all who have given a helping hand to the Madressa, to my respected colleagues, the trustees of the Parsee Punchayet who have always evinced a great interest in the success of the institution, to the learned principal and teachers, to the superintendents, and to all who have with their zealous work and valuable advice led to the success of the Madressa. To all these I offer my hearty thanks as well. I thank you once again very warmly for the honour you have done me. I wish this institution a long and useful career, and I hope it will continue to turn out scholars worthy of the name. (Applause).

"The company broke up after partaking of light refreshments."

The Times of India of Wednesday 5th March 1913.

THE ZARTHOSTI MADRESSA JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS.

"The Hon. Mr. Claude Hill presided on Tuesday evening at the distribution of prizes to the successful pupils of the Sir J. J. Zarthosti Madressa, held at the J. J. Benevolent Institution in Hornby Road, Bombay. This was one of the functions organised by the authorities of the Madressa in connection with the fifty years' jubilee of the institution which is being celebrated this week.

" Shams-ul-Ulma J. J. Modi, secretary of the institution, read a history of the institution. (*A short History of the Madressa is given at the end of the Report*)

" The Secretary, then read a short report of the work of the Madressa during the last two years. It showed that the total expenses came to about Rs. 8,500 in 1911 and Rs. 7,600 in 1912.

" In the absence of Mrs. Hill, Miss Hill presented medals, certificates and prizes to the successful students. An interesting feature of this function was the presentation of jubilee medals to four elderly gentlemen, who had joined the

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Madressa when it was founded. They were Ervad Edulji K. Antia, Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, Dastur Rustomji Jamsetji of Surat, and Mr. Framji H. Arjani.

" Miss Hill also presented a cup to Dr. Sorab K. Nariman, honorary physician of the Parsi Fever Hospital, on behalf of the trustees of the Parsi Punchayet, in recognition of his services for the past several years.

"The President announced that the trustees of the N. M. Wadia's Charities had given a donation of Rs. 5,000 for founding scholarships in the names of the late Bai Motlibai Wadia and the late Mr. N. M. Wadia for the encouragement of the study of Avesta and Pahlavi languages.

" The Hon. Mr. Hill said:—

'Sir Jamsetji, Lady Jijibhoy, ladies and gentlemen,—

'It was with great pleasure that my wife and I accepted the invitation so kindly extended to us to be present on this historic occasion and it is with the greatest regret that my wife unfortunately was at the last moment unable to come here. But I did not know—neither did she—until this morning quite the extent of our regret; for quite apart from the interest which we feel in this Madressa—and if I may say so, in the Parsi Punchayet generally—I learnt this morning that we have a kind of family connection with this Madressa inasmuch as it was my father-in-law, the late Sir Raymond West, who was first instrumental in causing full recognition by the Bombay University in the M.A. curriculum, of the languages in which you are more particularly interested. As I have said, my wife greatly regrets not being here this afternoon and we have had to do the best we could by substituting my daughter in stead The fact that to-day is the 50th anniversary since the foundation of the Jamsetjee Jijeebhoy Zarthusti Madressa, lends the occasion a very special importance, and it must be a matter of gratification to the distinguished decendant of the original founder to reflect that, at a time when so much is fluid, and so many institutions are undoing radical change, a movement initiated 50 years ago is not only still in an active state, but actually is undergoing development. That is surely the highest testimony to the wisdom and foresight of the original benefactor. You are all familiar with the history of the benefaction whose 50th anniversary is to-day, and so I do not propose to detain you with a detailed description of its early inception and growth; but I should like, if I may, to bring into prominence some

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Group of the Surviving four of the first batch of pupils of the Madrasa.

1. Mr. Framji Hormusji Arjani 2. Dustur Rustomjee Jamsetjee of Surat. 3. Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha. 4. Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia.

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of the considerations which emerge from your history, and suggest one or two conclusions which may be worth your thought. Your worthy secretary is a profound student of the history of Zoroastrianism and has written and published many articles and books upon the subject, some of which he has been good enough to send me ; and I have been furnished by its author with Mr. Rawlinson's recently published book on "Bactria", which, incidentally, throws an interesting sidelight upon the extent and influence of Zoroaster's teachings upon Persia and Central Asia some 2500 years ago. There is perhaps no more curious event in history than the two-fold fate of your religion and philosophy; and I know of no completely analogous case of a similarly rapid rise and spread, and an equally widespread fatality; For present purposes a hasty and incomplete sketch must suffice. The creed which found its highest and most philosophic expression in the teachings of Zarthushtra or Zoroaster, was evolved out of the earlier Aryan element-worshipping religions, and reached its widest expansion of influence probably just before the reign of Cyrus the Great, who so nearly succeeded in supplanting with it the idolatrous Olympian myths of the Greeks. It continued to be the State religion of Iran for some centuries, though in the process of time and with the disintegration of Empires and kingdoms, it became overlaid with many superstitions and lost its purity. It was probably, like Buddhism, never a religion that appealed to the exclusion of grosser superstitions, to the mass of the people even of Media its birthplace. The incursion and domination of the Greeks, and later of the Parthians and Scythians further loosened the national character of the religion, and when a few centuries later, Islam over-ran two continents, Zoroastrianism was rooted out from its birthplace, and its devoted remnant of adherents had to emigrate to India whose perennial toleration of religions of every character and shade is one of its most notable historical traits.

'As I have said, there is probably no completely parallel case in the religions of the world ; but I suggest, for what it is worth, that such analogy as exists between the development and decline in India of Buddhism and the history of your religion is attributable to somewhat similar internal characteristics. Of all the great world-religions. Buddhism and Zoroastrianism contain perhaps a greater element of spiritualism and a smaller substratum of anthropomorphism than any others. As in the case of the earlier evolution, from the same

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elemental Aryan religion, of the Vedanta philosophy, so with Zoroastrianism, there was evolved, over and above those elements, a form of a philosophy and a moral teaching the plane of which has hardly been surpassed. Of this, you Zoroastrians have every reason to be proud; and this consideration should be the highest incitement to you to be worthy to-day of the lofty ideals preached to your ancestors when the world was so young—at the very dawn of history. But, as I have had occasion to quote so often, no religion has ever survived in its highest or purest form which has been too far in advance of the plane of thought and understanding of the people among whom it has germinated. The cold austerity of Buddhism was indeed the State religion in India for a few reigns under the orders of an enlightened dynasty of rulers; but it could not survive at that period as a people's religion in the pure form preached by Gautama, and it succumbed. It seems to me that there is some analogy between the past history of the two cases; but there is none whatever in what happened subsequently. There is no other community with which I am acquainted, which, harrassed, exiled and reduced to a handful, has yet clung so tenaciously to its ideals. Your own sacred emblem of fire is indeed the only thing by which the faith and courageous determination of your ancestors can fitly be typified. They held aloft, as it were, a torch in the darkness and through storm and tress, privation and poverty, have kept alive in a most remarkable fashion, the aims and ideals of your first teacher. And the world to-day is the richer. Well, was not the action of the first founder of your Madressa, the Lady Avabai, in requesting that her donation, to perpetuate the memory of the first Sir Jamsetjee, should be devoted to the foundation of a school for the education of the sons of priests and others, on "good principles," in Zend Pahlavi and the Zoroastrian religion—I say was she not, in her own person, demonstrating that the spirit which animated the old Parsis of former days, still survived, and that there is still among you a determination to be worthy of your great inheritance; for you have a spiritual inheritance as great as that of any people of the world. You know what the element underlying the Shintoism of Japan is?—the so-called "ancestor-worship." It seems to be not far removed in its idealism from what we should all emulate—namely, the ambition to be worthy of our inheritance. That, I take it, was at the back of the pious founder's intention.

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'Now, if you will bear with me for a moment, I shoul like to extract a more modern lesson. It was said, the other day, when I had the pleasure of presiding at the Students' Brotherhood, by my friend Father Ailinger, that it seemed to have become a sort of rule that whenever any educational function was in the air, I should turn up ! I know he meant it kindly ; but it made me wonder seriously whether I ought not to give you all a rest. I seem to be always (like Mr. Gould) endeavouring to extract moral lessons from every occasion—and I am in serious jeopardy of becoming that most odious of all things: the professional lay-preacher. But please believe that if I seem to be preaching I am really endeavouring to learn; and I have not only learnt much from the literature on the subject of this Madressa, but desire, in what I shall now say, merely to let you share in certain ideas, which, what I have learnt has suggested to me. The history of the Zarthoshti Madressa, as supplied to me, explains that the Lady Avabai, by the "good principles" on which she desired the teaching of Pahlavi and Zend be conducted, meant Western scientific methods. That has given me the excuse to say something about Western and Indian methods of education. As you know, from the recent exposition of Government's educational policy, we have set before ourselves the task of spreading primary education so widely, that it shall be accessible to all so soon as this is possible consistenly with the supply of an adequately trained and adequately paid staff of teachers. We already, by a system of grants-in-aid, assist secondary and higher education, as provided by voluntary effort as well as providing high schools and so forth. But it is becoming increasingly evident that the more advanced thinkers among the community are coming to recognise, that all this, though it be the limit, perhaps, at which the State should aim, does not complete the educational edifice as viewed by Western eyes and as now demanded by Indian developments. This Madressa is one of the very very few completely self-supporting institutions in this country; and I should like to see the wealthier portion of the community—Parsi, Hindu and Mahomedan—awake to the fact that to complete the edifice "on good principles" (to quote again the words of Lady Avabai) the efforts of Government must be seconded and made whole by private endeavour. High schools and hostels, maintained or aided by Government, as they at present exist, meet the urgent needs of the general public to some degree; but they have been well described as the dry bones of the educational fabric, and do not, as organised, cover the needs of the well-to-do sections of the community in

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Western India, any more than do the Government educational establishments in England satisfy the demands of those who take a pride in securing and paying for the best education that can be got in England. I know that there are parents among you Parsis who, from this very cause, cannot find in India the schools of the type they want, and have to send their children abroad for their education.

'What I would ask you to conisder is whether it is not worth while to organise for yourselves the institutions you want, on the basis and models of some of the great English foundations. Originally those foundations consisted, for the most part, in a small grant of land, and a small grant-in-aid—such as you might confidently rely upon getting; and in process of time, with benefactions and by good organisation and the exaction of adequate fees—paying in full for the services rendered—they have become more than self-supporting. Whether for the community at large, or only for each section of the community, I suggest to you that it is a business proposition; and for you, Zoroastrians, I suggest that an example of a permanent work of this kind is to your hand in the great benefaction, the Jubilee of whose benevolence we are celebrating to-day. (Hear, hear.) I am restricted by time, to-day, to sketching in the barest outline, an idea which has in part been inspired by that example; and I shall hope that some of your leaders will give me the chance of elaborating the idea in greater detail to them. I know that in this community and on this occasion I shall be exonerated from the suspicion which so often attaches to the utterances of those of us who, through no fault of our own, happen to occupy official positions; and I believe that most of you, who know me, will belive me when I say that, in this idea, and in the suggestions which may from time to time emanate from us for the organization of independent self-help in matters educational, we are actuated, not by a niggardly desire to evade our responsibilities, but from a feeling of jealousy for the credit of things Indian and for the interest of the communities which go to make up Indian society and progress. You Parsis are noted for your public spirit and large charities. This question of organising for yourselves on the best principles a scheme of education based on the model of some of the English foundations is not a matter strictly of charity, but is one which concerns the character moulding of furture generations of the leaders of your community. And, as I have said, your whole history is a demonstration of what can be done by a community, however small, which courageously adheres to high principles and high ideals.

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'Before concluding, I must turn to another subject, and say with what pleasure I have learnt of the splendid self-sacrificing work which has, for years past, been done by Dr. Sorabji Nariman. For 12 years past Dr. Nariman has given, gratuitously, his services to the relief of those members of the Parsi community who have been the victims of plague ; and it must be a reward to him, as it is gratifying to us all, to know that his voluntary labours are so deeply appreciated. The reports of the Parsi Punchayet funds which have reached me show that for at least three months of each year, since plague first established its hold here, Dr. Nariman has laboured devotedly and gratuitously for its alleviation. He is, in fact, another of the long list of Parsis, whose lives show that the old spirit which characterised the small band of Zoroastrian refugees still survives.

'Let me thank you once more for giving me the opportunity to be present here to-day and for having asked Miss Hill to distribute the prizes. May the work initiated by the founder of the Madressa go on and prosper, and may others cause it to ramify and grow, so that the high ideals of your religion may find their reflection in the life and progress of the Parsi community' (Applause.)

"The Hon. Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. and Miss Hill, said from a brief glance he had cast at the history of the negotiations which resulted in the foundation of this institution, he was particularly struck by the enlightened spirit in which the donor approached the object she had in view. She was not satisfied that the families of their priestly classes should be instructed merely in the ancient languages and sacred writings of their people but that such instruction should be on the best and most modern lines. With this object, she desired that the requisite knowledge should be imparted by scholars from the West, who would be able to substitute the modern scientific method for the old traditional ways of teaching. Want of sufficient funds necessitated the adoption of a more modest programme, but even then much had been done to conduct the institution in accordance with the wishes of the donor and those who generously devoted their time and thought to help and encourage her plans. They would agree with me that it was this enlightened spirit of incorporating all that was best in thought and culture of the West, resolutely leaving behind the course to which tradition or orthodoxy might drive them, that had helped to give Parsis the position they enjoyed in the public and social life of this country. He thanked the Hon. Mr. Hill for the trouble he had taken in coming

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there and delivering the thoughtful address to which they had listened with such interest. Private enterprise in India in educational matters needed all the encouragement it could get, and the presence of sympathetic officials like Mr. Hill was a guarantee that such help, whenever deserved, would not be sought for in vain. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated."

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Mr. Rustamjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy
Who had a guiding hand in the foundation of the Madrasa.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIR JAMSETJI JEJEEBHOY ZARTHOSHTI MADRESSA.

To perpetuate the memory of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Bart. who died on 15th April 1859, his widow, Lady Avabai, sent to the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, of whom her son, the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy was then the President, Bank of Bengal Shares of the value of Rs. 35,000/ with a letter dated 29th May 1862. She asked that the amount be credited in a separate account in the name of her husband, the first Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, in the books of the Punchayet, that a school or a Madressa be conducted from the income of the fund and that the sons of priests, and if the Trustees thought proper, the sons of laymen as well be given there, on good principles (સારા કાયદાથી), knowledge of the Zend and Pahlavi languages and of subjects pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion. The lady meant by "good principles" the Western Scientific method as an improvement on the traditional method in the teaching of Avesta and Pahlavi, followed upto then, in the class attached to the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution. She added, that if the foundation of the school or Madressa was not possible, the Trustees should use, at their discretion, the income of the above fund in spreading the knowledge of the Zoroastrian religion among the Parsees, and act according to the instructions, which her son, Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, might give them on her behalf. She further added that the Trusts of the fund were not to be immediately declared in any formal way, so that, in case her object in founding the fund was not fulfilled, she would be at liberty to suggest any other proper use. The fund thus started was to be open to subscriptions from other Parsees. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet accepted the donation with thanks by a letter dated the same day.

Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy consulted the late Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali in the matter, as Mr. Sorabji had written a prize essay for the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Translation Fund, on the subject of Zoroastrian Books and languages, under the title of" "જરથોસ્તી ધર્મનાં પુસ્તકો તથા એ પુસ્તકોની ભાષા અને પુરાતનપણું"

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and had, therein, suggested the foundation of such a Madressa. Mr. Sorabji, in his letter dated 31st May 1862, advised that the proposed Institution be called, provisionally, the Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Zend and Pahlavi Madressa, and added, that, as the object of founding the Institution was, that some of the grown up sons of Mobeds might receive such instruction, as would enable them to get the title of Dastur,[1] some other name, indicating this object would be thereafter suggested.

The subject of the donation was discussed at a meeting of the Trustees held on 31st May 1862 and referred to a committee of the following gentlemen:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Rustomji Jamsetji Jejeebhoy.
Dasturji Peshotanji Byramji Sanjana.
Mr. Hirjibhoy Hormusji Sethna, and
Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali.

The Committee submitted its report on 21st June 1862 It made the following recommendations:—

1. "A Madressa of the kind suggested by Lady Avabai be founded, where intelligent members of the priestly community may receive such religious instruction as would enable them to get the title of "Dastur".

2. "The students, on finishing their course, be given "Sanads" or "certificates" conferring on them the title of Dastur.

3. "The sons of Mobads, especially those belonging to the families of Dasturs, of full age, to the number of 15 to 20, be admitted into the Institution.

4. "Those, who know well the Gujarati language and grammar and have passed an examination in the subject, and those who know some other foreign language, be given each a scholarship of Rs. 15 to 20.

5. "The Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian languages be taught in the Institution. The Head Master be a scholar from Europe knowing the Sanskrit and Zend languages.

6. "The Pahlavi and Persian languages be taught by a learned Dastur or Mobad.

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૧ "એ મદ્રેસા ઉભી કરવામાં આપણી મતલબ એવી છે કે મોબેદોના થોડાએક પુખ્ત ઉમરના છોકરાઓ 'દસ્તુરી' નો ખેતાબ મેલવી શકે હેવી તાલીમ લીએ."

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Mr. Sorabji Shapoorjee Bengali,
The first Superintendent of the Madrasa.

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7. "The Madressa be conducted at a monthly cost of Rs. 800, out of which Rs. 300 be paid as salary to the Sanskritist from Europe.

8. "If it be not possible to get a scholar from Europe, an alternative scheme, entailing a monthly expenditure of Rs. 650, be adopted.

9. "As the donation given by Lady Avabai is not sufficient to produce an income that can meet the above expenditure, the Madressa be conducted for a period of three years as an experiment."

As the original fund was not sufficient to meet the expenditure recommended in the Committee's scheme, the Trustees resolved that the Institution be first conducted in such a way as to cost Rs. 150 per month, and the expenditure increased gradually as additional funds came in. The Committee reconsidered their scheme and submitted a fresh scheme entailing a cost of Rs. 250 per month, and Mr. Rustomji Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy offered to make up the deficit of Rs. 100 per month for a period of three years.

On 15th September 1862, the late Mr. Khurshedji Fardunji gave, in memory of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, a sum of Rs. 25000 in Government Promissory Notes bearing interest at the rate of 5%, stipulating, that a seperate account be opened in his name, and the interest of the amount be used for the Madressa. This handsome donation was accepted with thanks on the same day by the Trustees. Mr. Khurshedji Fardunji, later on, gave another sum of Rs. 30,000 for the same purpose, and Mr. Byramji Maneckji Wadia of Surat gave a sum of Rs. 10,000 in honour of Mr. Khurshedji Fardunji. A sum of Rs. 100,000 (one lac) thus formed the endowment fund of the Madressa when it was started.

The Madressa was opened on 4th March 1863, with the late learned Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byramji Sanjana,—the well-known Pahlavi scholar of the time, whose name has been worthily associated with the Pahlavi Dinkard, as its first Editor and Translator—as the first Principal, the late Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali as the first Superintendent, Ervads Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, Kharsedji Muncherji Katelli, and Mr. Ramakant Krishna Bhende, as the first Avesta, Persian and Sanskrit teachers respectively, and twelve students who were awarded monthly scholarships of Rs. 20 each. Dastur Dr. Peshotan died in 1898 and has been succeeded in his post by his learned son Shams-ul-ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji

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Bengali resigned his Superintendentship in 1876 and was thanked by the Trustees for his long and disinterested services. Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha resigned his post in 1869. Mr. Kharshedji Muncherji Katelli continued as a Persian teacher till 1882, when Persian ceased to be taught. Mr. Ramakant Krishna Bhende continued as Sanskrit and English teacher till 1866.

Of the first batch of 12 students, the following four are still living:—

Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia,
Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha,
Dastur Rustomji Jamsetji of Surat,
Mr. Framji Hormusji Arjani.

The first, Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia has been connected with the Madressa, for all the 50 years of its existence, at first as a student, then as a fellow and teacher.

In 1877, the Trustees appointed the following Committee to devise means to make the Institution more useful:—

Mr. Muncherji Hormusji Cama,
Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, C. I. E.
Mr. Khursedji Rustomji Cama,
Mr. Jehangir Merwanji Pleader, and
Mr. Nusserwanji Byramji, the then Secretary of the Parsee Punchayet.

The Committee submitted its report on 27th April 1878, and among several changes suggested by them, one was that of admitting sons of laymen also. Upto then, the sons of priests alone had been admitted. The Trustees adopted this suggestion.

Mr. Kharsedji Rustomji Cama, the well-known oriental scholar, was appointed Superintendent in 1880, and he continued to give his valuable services to the Trustees till his death in 1909. The Trustees recorded their sense of loss at his death at their meeting of 16th September 1909. Dr. Maneckji Bomanji Davar, M.A., Ph. D. was appointed in his place. In a letter dated 8th December 1881, in consultation with the then Secretary Mr. Nusserwanji Byramji, Mr. K. R. Cama suggested some fresh changes. Among them the following were the principal ones:—

" 1. Matriculated students only be admitted into the Madressa.

" 2. The classes of the Madressa, which have upto now been conducted

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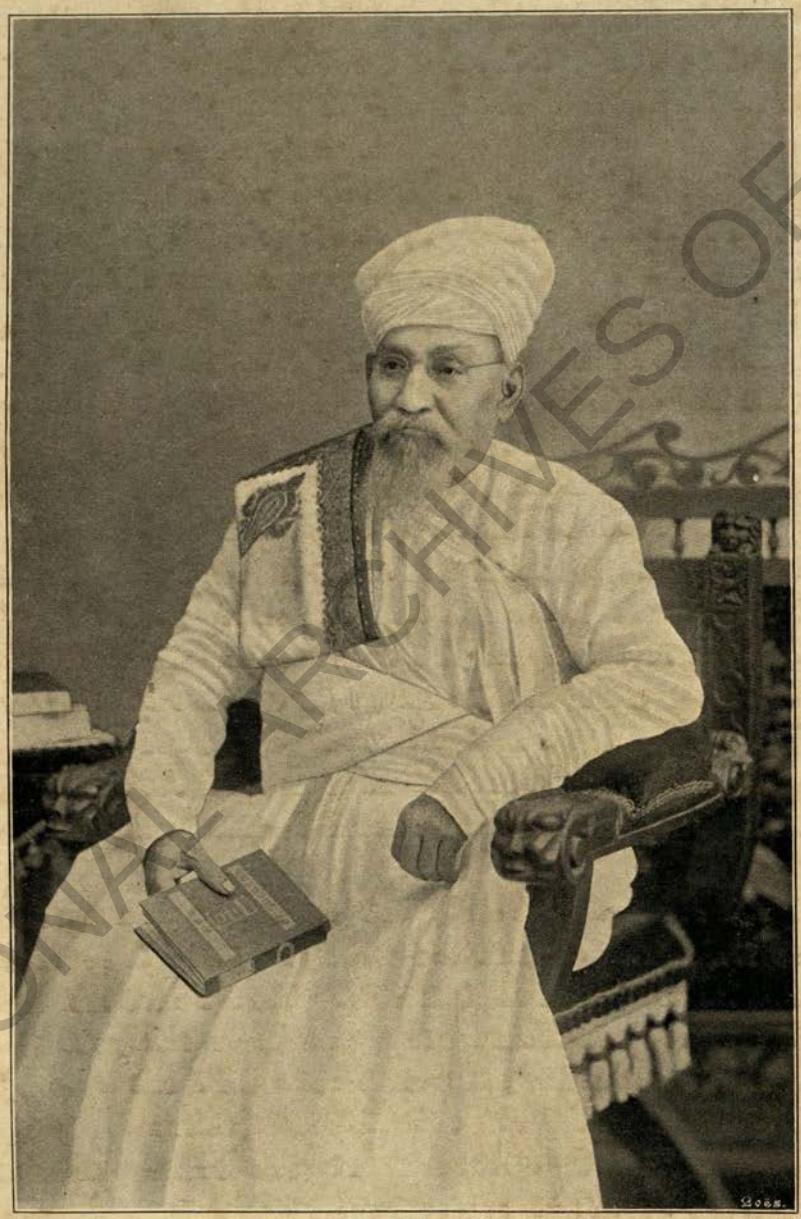

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M. A., Ph. D.

The late Parsee High Priest of Bombay.

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between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m , be hereafter conducted in the morning, so that college students and those who have to do other business during the day can attend these classes.

" 3. The teaching of English and Persian be discontinued.

" 4. Scholarships of higher value be instituted for Matriculated students who enter the Madressa with a knowledge of Persian."

These recommendations were accepted by the Trustees, and in 1882, the Madressa was converted from a whole day Institution into one conducting its classes in the morning, when college students and even those engaged in other pursuits of life can conveniently attend. This change of teaching hours has been found to be beneficial. It has led to an increase in the number of students. During the first 19 years (1863-1881), the total number of students, who entered the Madressa was 47, giving an average of about 2.4 per year. But during the next 31 years (1882-1912), the number of admissions has been 523, giving an average of about 16.8 students per year.

The raising of the standard of admission had the effect of shortening the course. During the previous period, as the preliminary education of some of the students was low, they had to study at the Madressa for about 12 to 15 years. After the change, the students have been confined to a course of five years.

The Trustees have tried the experiment of occasionally appointing Iranian scholars of the West to hold the annual examinations. Drs. West and Mills of England, Prof. Darmesteter of France, Profs. Wilhelm and Geiger of Germany, and Prof. Jackson of America, have, at different times, examined the students of the Madressa, and have, on the whole, expressed their satisfaction with the work done. The object of appointing these scholars as examiners has been to get the work at the Madressa more into line with Western standards.

The teaching of Sanskrit, was discontinued in 1882, but it has been reintroduced as a subject of voluntary study, at the instance of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarker, who recommended its study from the Presidential chair, at the Biennial Prize Distribution in 1906. It is a matter of satisfaction, that one of the several Sanskrit teachers, who taught at different times, the late Mr. Tehemuras Dinshaw Anklesaria was also one of the alumni of the Madressa. He was one of our best Iranian Scholars, and was, as Prof. Darmesteter said of him, a Pahlavisant of the first rank.

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Though the Avesta and Pahlavi languages had been studied at the Universities of Europe and America since many years, the University of Bombay admitted them into its course so late as in 1888. At first, they were admitted for the M. A. Examination only. Mr. Pestonji Kuvarji Motiwalla M.A., LL.B., the first M. A in the Avesta and Pahlavi languages, since their introduction in the University was a pupil of this Institution. In 1894, they were admitted for all the University Examinations. Since that year, the Madressa has adopted the University Curriculum for its course.

As said above, one of the original objects of the Institution was to prepare young Parsee priests for the Dasturship of some of our Parsee centres. It is to be noted with satisfaction, that, that object has been, to some extent, fulfilled. The undermentioned students of the Madressa have risen to the Dasturship or vice-Dasturship of different towns. The names are given in the order of their admission to the Madressa.

1. Dastur Kharsedji Jamshedji Jamaspasa—Dastur at Mhow.
2. Dastur Rustamji Jamsedji—Dastur at Surat.
3. Dastur Edalji Nowroji Meherji Rana—Naib-Dastur at Nowsaree.
4. Dastur Rustomji Kaikobadji Meherji Rana-Acting Dastur for some time at Nowsaree.
5. Dastur Framji Rustomji Kotwal-Dastur at Aden.
6. Dastur Kharsedji Phirozji Mullaferoze—The Kadmi Dastur of Bombay for several years.
7. Dastur Peshotanji Burjorji Mirza—Dastur at Udwada.
8. Shams-ul Ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana B. A.—Dastur at Bombay, Seth Wadiaji's Fire-Temple.
9. Naib-Dastur Rustomji Edulji Sanjana-Naib-Dastur at Bombay, Seth Wadia's Fire-Temple.[1]
10. Dastur Dr. Nusserwanji Manockji Dhalla—Dastur at Karachi.
11. Dastur Noshirwan Kaikobad[2] —Naib-Dastur at Poona and Dastur at Mhow.

Besides these Dasturships, several of the pupils of the Madressa are in charge of the Panthaks or Head-Priestships of fire-temples.

1. He studied for one year at the Madressa.
2. He studied for four years at the Madressa.

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Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A.,

Principal, Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zarathoshti Madressa, Bombay.

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The undermentioned students have been awarded gold medals.

The Furdunji Sorabji Parukh Medal founded by the late Mr. Kharsedji Fardunji Parukh, has been awarded to the following students :—

Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha.
Ervad Tehemuras Dinshaw Anklesaria.
Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia.
Shams-ul Ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A.
Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D.
Mr. Pestonji Cooverji Motiwalla, M.A. LL.B.
„ Beheramgor Tehemurasp Anklesaria, M.A.
„ Merwanji Maneckji Gundevia, M.A.
„ Maneckji Ruttonji Davar, M.A.
„ Hormusji Dinshaw Gharda, M.A.
„ Mnneckji Nowrosji Dastur, M.A.
„ Ardeshir Dorabji Dastur, M.A.
„ Jivanji Kharsedji Taraporewalla, M.A.
„ Maneckshaw Nusserwanji Dastur, M.A.
„ Jal Pallonji Gheewalla, M.A.
„ Khurshed Shapurji Daboo, M.A.

The Shams-ul-ulma Dr. Peshotanji Byramji Sanjana Medal founded by Mr. Framji Hormusji Bomanji Sethna has been biennially awarded to the following students :—

Mr. Ardeshir Muncherji Luskari.
„ Bomanji Hormusji Dastur, B.A.
„ Ruttonji Pallonji Umrigar, B.A
„ Maneckshaw Nusserwanji, Dastur, M.A.
„ Kharsedji Shapurji Dabu, M.A.
„ Hormusji Jamsetji Dastur, B.A.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

(Some of the corrections and additions were made by the authors after their papers were printed.)

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
3	8	Methode	Method
4	9	Persis	Persia
5	7	that on	on
5	7	Roostum, Ormaz,	Roostum, where Ormaz
5	10	provable	probable
5	21	throngh	through
6	ft. note 6 l. 11	وار گار.	روز گار
7	16	(*After* series, *begin new para*)	
13	last line	the the Persian	the Persian
14	4	belife	belief
17	ft. note 1 last sentence	Owing to the vegetable (kiharek) proceeding from every principle limb of the ox etc.	Owing to the vegetable principle (kiharek) proceeding from every limb of the ox etc.
30	12	Infihite	Infinite
31	ft. note 11	Armaiti,	Armaiti.
32	14	trees.	trees.[9]
32	ft. note 11	15	8
33	10	Verethraghna	Verethraghna[14]
33	11	Arshtât	Arshtât[17]
35	17	be	have
38	15	ou right	on right
65	22	the the Master-	the Master-
68	10	tema	'tema'.
68	11	Ga va	Gava.

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Page.	Line	Incorrect	Correct.
68	15	transitive,	transitive.
68	19	;	,
68	ft. note 1	to punish or injure	to see or know
69	10	Naidbyaongho	Naidhyaongho
69	13	corruption	corruption,
69	17	impure (3)	impure[3]
69	ft. note 2 l,6	maidhyâonghem	naidhyâonghem
69	last footnote	(5)	(3)
70	ll. 2 & 5	Greatness	Purity
70	20	Gostemahe	Gaotemahe
71	ft. note (2) last line	15,7	57,12.
70	ll. 6-10	The word Mage .. Magavans,	The word 'maga' denotes the idea of the pure unsullied condition of conduct pertaining to the great rulers of the people; and men of this authority and purity were called 'Magavans.'
71	ll. 16-17	those forces...human beings,	*those high spiritual forces of destiny that* are connected with the good activity of all beings
78	1	matnyusha spentoteme	mainyusha spentotemo
78	11	descerner	discerner
79	29-30	'*Asha-hishta*	*Asha-vahishta*
79	last	Visha Vohu	Vispa Vohu
82	11	rebellions	rebellious
89	Heading	*Maneckji*	*Dastur Dr. Maneckji*
91	23	pledge,	pledge.
93	2	sacrifice it	sacrifice the body
94	15	bi hop	bishop
96	10	use of	acquisition of
106	7	collection	collation
117	4	Zâd Sparam VI. 14.	Zâd-sparam VI. 16
117	27	XIV—6	XIV, 4-6
118	15	Thess	These
118	last	II 11	omit these figures

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Page.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
119	4	XLXIX	XLIX
120 ft.note 2	l. 4	VII. 10	VIII. 10
122 ft.note 1	l. 3	Yt. XIII. 17	Yt III 17.
124	28-29	with)-stand	withstand
131	16	Achaeminian	Aehæmenian
135	21	Agas'tya	Agastya
136	14	XIII. 3	XIII. 4.
138 ft. note 1	l. 2	attitude	altitude
139	13 & 17	Kânsava	Kãsava
140 ft.note 1	l. 3	XLIV. 14	XLIV. 15.
141	2	7 and 14	7 and 15
146	24	Gazetter	Gazetteer
147	8	fram	from
148 ft. note 1	l. 5	8 and	8, 9 and 14
150	7	Gazetter	Gazetteer
155	4	Gazetter	Gazetteer
193	23	rijyâ	rjya
194	1	he who is	he who (is)
194	2	above and	above, and
195	4	purifie (sanctifie)	purifié (sanctifié)
195	21	So.	So ?
197	15	madam-	*madam-*
198	6	Dûshmata.	*Dûshamata.*
210	7	*Ushahîn*	

Ushahin. The particular ceremony of consecrating the suit of clothes which is called ચેહારમનો શીઆવ, and the *Bâjs* (રશને–આશદાદ, મીનો રામ, સરોષ, and અરદા ફરવષ) which are also called ચેહરામની ખાલે, is performed in the *Ushahîn Gâh* of the third day of a dead Zoroastrian according to the computation of days after death in vogue at present. Now this shows that the particular occasion of *chahârûm* (*i. e.* the fourth) begins with *Ushahîn Gâh*, which *Gâh* must be considered as the first *Gâh* of the fourth day. Had the day begun otherwise the above-said ceremony would have been performed in the *Hâvan Gâh* of that day. Hence it is erroneous to consider the occasion of *Chahârûm* (the fourth day) to begin with *Hâvan Gâh.*

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Page.	Line.	Incorrect	Correct
214	11	wko	who
214	18	Rvân	Ravân
215	13	rewarded heavan	rewarded with heavan
227	31	unpurifyable	unpurifiable.
231	top	331	231
231	1	moded	domed, or dome-shaped,
233	5	There	These
234	13	has	had
234 ft. note	4	75. 44·46	75·77=44·46
236 ft. note	7	n. 9	p. 3, n. 5.
236 ft. note	8	*der*	*des*
237 ft. note	1	Jahrücher	Jahrbücher
239	9	Indernes	Idernes
239 ft. note	2	n. 8	p. 3, n. 4.
239 ft. note	5	7·63	7·62
239 ft. note	8	Gatb (a) ruva	Gaub (a) ruva
239 ft.note	10	pp.	vv.
240 ft. note	1	sided	aided
286	9	presen	present
291	6	Srâdha.	Srâdha.'
292	24	accepted	accepted,
294	1	[illegible] and [illegible]	and [illegible]
294	11	अष	अष्
296	17	where in	wherein
300	16	sacer	saucer
302	19	precinct	precinct, as it were, a battery of so many cells.
305	6	nanah	navah = ناوه
305 ft. note	1	nanah	navah = ناوه
306	2	in	into
307	14	Zado Marg[2]	Zado Marg
307 ft. note	2	*Take this footnote on page 312 and make footnote 3.*	
308	12	at different	from different

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Page.	Line.	Incorrect	Correct
308	24	(سقره)	(سفره Sôfrah)
308	25	سافي	ساقي
309	27	دخمه	دخمه)
309	30	reach of a)	reach of a
306 ft. note	2	The third night	At the third night
310	7	pannard,	paiwand,
310	footnote	meals for them	meals required for the occasion.
212	3	كرم آتش	(كهه آتش Kohaé Atish)
312	footnote	*3. Refer to page 307 footnote 2.*	
313	20	and 12 'Ashem Vohus'	and 13 'Ashem Vohus'
314	19	shake, down side	shake downside
432	11	held	hold
432	11	salves	sleeves
433	5	"Dahmayas Vanghuyas"	"Dahamayo Vanghuyao"
433	13	ha	he
433	23	Patel	Patet

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